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THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

IN TWO PARTS.

The First Part.

OF THE

Progress made in it during the Reign

OF

K. Henry the VIII.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

By *GILBERT BURNET*, D. D.

LONDON,

Printed by *T. H.* for *Richard Chiswell*, at the Rose and Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, MDCLXXXI.

The First Part

OF THE

HISTORY

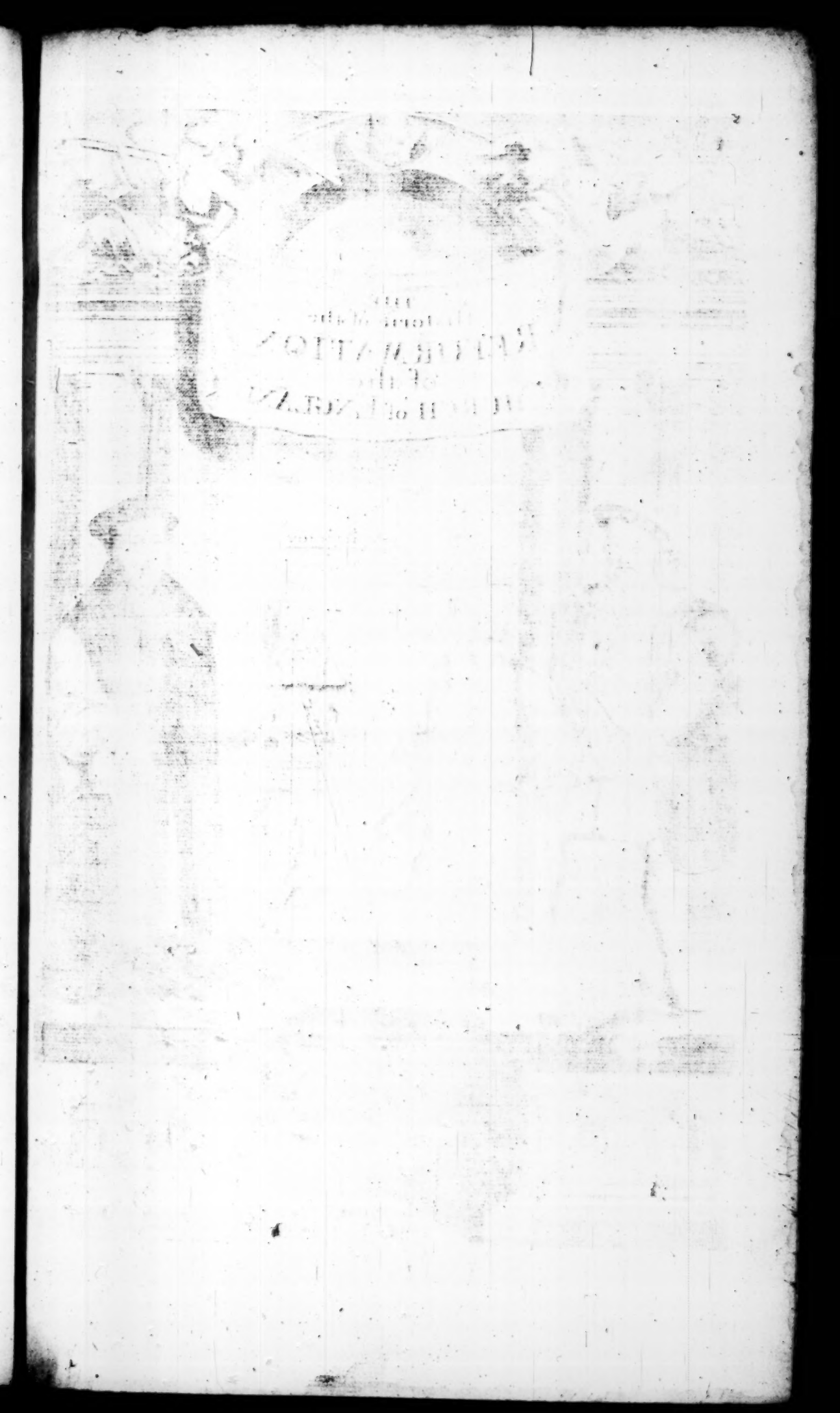
OF THE

REFORMATION.

Whitehall, May 23. 1679.

THis Book, entituled [*The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of ENGLAND*] having been peruſed and approved by Perſons of eminent Quality, and ſeveral Divines of great Piety and Learning, who have recommended it as a Work very fit to be made publick, as well for the Uſefulneſs of the Matter, as for the Induſtry and Integrity the Author hath uſed in compiling of it; the Honourable Mr. Secretary *Coventry* doth therefore allow it to be Printed and Publiſhed.

JO. COOKE.



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TO THE KING.

SIR,

THE firſt ſtep that was made in the *Reformation* of this Church, was the reſtoring to Your Royal Anceſtors the Rights of the Crown, and an entire Dominion over all their Subjects; of which they had been diſſeiſed by the craft and violence of an unjuſt Pretender: to to whom the Clergy, though your Majeſties Progenitors had enriched them, by a Bounty no leſs profuſe than ill-managed, did not only adhere, but drew with them the Laity, over whoſe Conſciences they had gained ſo abſolute an Authority, that our Kings were to expect no Obedience from their People, but what the Popes were pleaſed to allow.

It is true, the Nobler part of the Nation did frequently in Parliament, aſſert the Regal Prerogatives againſt thoſe Papal invaſions; yet theſe were but faint endeavours; for an ill-executed Law is but an unequal match to a Principle ſtrongly infuſed into the Conſciences of the People.

But how different was this from the teaching of Chriſt and his Apoſtles? They forbad men to uſe all thoſe Arts by which the Papacy grew up and yet ſubſiſts:

ſiſts: They exhorted them to obey Magiſtrates, when they knew it would coſt them their Lives: They were for ſetting up a Kingdom, not of this World, nor to be attained, but by a holy and peaceable Religion. If this might every where take place, Princes would find Government both eaſie and ſecure: It would raiſe in their Subjects the trueſt courage, and unite them with the firmeſt charity: It would draw from them Obedience to the Laws, and Reverence to the Perſons of their Kings. If the Standards of Juſtice and Charity, which the Goſpel gives, of doing as we would be done by, and loving our Neighbours as our ſelves, were made the meaſures of mens actions, how ſteadily would Societies be governed, and how exactly would Princes be obeyed.

The deſign of the *Reformation*, was to reſtore Chriſtianity to what it was at firſt, and to purge it of thoſe Corruptions, with which it was over-run in the latter and darker Ages.

GREAT SIR, This Work was carried on by a ſlow and unſteady Progreſs under King *Henry* the VIII. it advanced in a fuller and freer courſe under the ſhort, but bleſſed Reign of King *Edward*; was Sealed with the Blood of many Martyrs under Queen *Mary*; was brought to a full ſettlement in the happy and glorious days of Queen *Elizabeth*; was defended by the Learned Pen of King *James*; but the eſtabliſhed frame of it, under which it had ſo long flouriſhed, was overthrown with your Majeſties bleſſed Father, who fell with it, and honoured it by its unexempled Suffering for it; and was again reſtored to its former beauty and order, by Your Majeſties happy Return.

What

What remains to compleat and perpetuate this Bleſſing, the compoſing of our differences at home, the eſtabliſhing a cloſer correſpondence with the Reformed Churches abroad, the ſecuring us from the reſtleſs and wicked practiſes of that Party, who hoped ſo lately to have been at the end of their deſigns; and that which can only entitle us to a Bleſſing from God, the Reforming of our Manners and Lives, as our Anceſtors did our Doctrine and Worſhip; All this is reſerved for Your Majeſty, that it may appear, that Your Royal Title of Defender of the Faith is no empty Sound, but the real Strength and Glory of Your Crown.

For attaining theſe ends, it will be of great uſe to trace the ſteps of our firſt Reformers; for if the Landmarks they ſet be obſerved, we can hardly go out of the way. This was my chief deſign in the following ſheets, which I now moſt humbly offer to Your Majeſty, hoping that as You were graciouſly pleaſed to command that I ſhould have free acceſs to all *Records* for compoſing them, ſo You will not deny Your Royal Patronage to the Hiſtory of that Work, which God grant Your Majeſty may live to raiſe to its perfection, and to compleat in Your Reign the Glory of all Your Titles. This is a part of the moſt earneſt as well as the daily Prayers of,

May it pleaſe Your Sacred Majeſty,

Your Majeſties moſt Loyal,

moſt Faithful, and moſt

devoted Subject and Servant,

G. BURNET.

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THE

THE
PREFACE.

THere is no part of Hiſtory better receiv'd than the account of great Changes, and Revolutions of States and Governments, in which the Variety of unlooked-for Accidents and Events, both entertains the Reader, and improves him.

Of all Changes, thoſe in Religion that have been ſudden and ſignal, are inquired into with the moſt ſearching Curioſity: where the Salvation of Souls being concern'd, the better ſort are much affected; and the Credit, Honour and Intereſt of Churches and Parties draw in theſe, who though they do not much care for the Religous part, yet make noiſe about it to ſerve other ends. The Changes that were made in Religion in the laſt Century have produc'd ſuch effects every where, that it is no wonder if all perſons deſire to ſee a clear account of the ſeveral ſteps in which they advanced, of the Counſels that directed them, and the Motives both Religious and Political that inclined men of all conditions to concur in them. Germany produceth a Sleidan, France a Thuanus, and Italy a Frier Paul, who have given the World as full ſatisfaction in what was done beyond Sea as they could deſire. And though the two laſt lived and died in the Communion of the Church of Rome, yet they have delivered things to Poſterity, with ſo much Candour, and Evenneſs, that their Authority is diſputed by none but thoſe of their own Party.

But while Foreign Churches have ſuch Hiſtorians, ours at home have not had the like good Fortune: for whether it was, that the Reformers at firſt, preſumed ſo far on their Legal and calm proceedings, on the continued Succeſſion of their Clergy, the Authority of the Law, and the protection of the Prince, that they judged it needleſs to write an Hiſtory, and therefore employed their beſt Pens, rather to juſtifie what they did, than to deliver how it was done; or whether by a meer neglect the thing was omitted, we cannot determine. True it is, that it was not done to any degree of Exactneſs, when matters were ſo freſh in Mens Memories, that things might have been opened with greater Advantages, and vouch'd by better Authority, than it is to be expected at this diſtance.

They were ſoon after much provok'd by Sanders's Hiſtory, which he publiſhed to the World in Latin: yet either deſpiſing a Writer, who did ſo impudently deliver falſhoods, that from his own Book many of them may be diſproved, or expecting a Command from Authority, they did not then ſet about it. The beſt account I can give of their Silence is, that moſt of Sander's Calumnies being levelled at Queen Elizabeth, whoſe Birth and Parents he deſigned chiefly to diſgrace, it was thought too tender a Point by her Wiſe Counſellors to be much enquired into: it gave too great credit to his Lies, to anſwer them; an Anſwer would draw forth a Reply, by which thoſe Calumnies would ſtill be kept alive; and therefore it was not without good reaſon thought

better to let them lie unanſwered and deſpiſed. From whence it is come that in this Age that Author is in ſuch Credit, that now he is quoted with much aſſurance: moſt of all the Writers in the Church of Rome *rely on his Teſtimony as a good Authority. The Collectors of the General Hiſtory of that Age, follow his thread cloſely, ſome of them tranſcribe his very words. One* Pollini *a Dominican, publiſhed an Hiſtory of the Changes that were made in* England, *in* Italian, *at* Rome, Anno 1594. *which he ſhould more ingenuouſly have called a Tranſlation, or Paraphraſe of* Sanders's *Hiſtory: and of late more candidly, but no leſs maliciouſly, one of the beſt Pens of* France *has been employed to tranſlate him into their Language, which has created ſuch prejudices in the minds of many there, that our Reformation, which generally was more modeſtly ſpoken of, even by thoſe who wrote againſt it, is now look'd on by ſuch as read* Sanders, *and believe him, as one of the fouleſt things that ever was.*

Fox *for all his Voluminous Work, had but few things in his Eye when he made his Collection, and deſigned only to diſcover the Corruptions and Cruelties of the* Roman *Clergy, and the Sufferings and Conſtancy of the Reformers. But his Work was written in haſte, and there are ſo many defects in it, that it can by no means be called a Compleat Hiſtory of theſe times; though I muſt add, that having compared his Acts and Monuments with the Records, I have never been able to diſcover any errors or prevarications in them, but the utmoſt Fidelity and exactneſs.* Parker, *Arch-biſhop of* Canterbury, *deſigned only in his account of the* Britiſh Antiquities, *to do juſtice and honour to his See, and ſo gives us barely the life of* Cranmer, *with ſome few and general hints of what he did.* Hall *was but a ſuperficial Writer, and was more careful to get full Informations of the Cloaths that were worn at the Interviews of Princes, Juſts, Tournaments, and great Solemnities, than about the Counſels, or ſecret Tranſactions of the time he lived in.* Holingſhead, Speed, *and* Stow, *give bare relations of things that were Publick, and commit many faults. Upon their ſcent moſt of our later Writers have gone, and have only collected and repeated what they wrote.*

The Lord Herbert *judged it unworthy of him to trifle as others had done, and therefore made a more narrow ſearch into Records and Original Papers, than all that had gone before him; and with great fidelity and induſtry, has given us the Hiſtory of King* Henry *the Eighth. But in the Tranſactions that concern Religion, he dwells not ſo long as the matter required, leaving thoſe to Men of another Profeſſion, and judging it perhaps not ſo proper for one of his condition to purſue a full and accurate Deduction of thoſe matters.*

Since he wrote, two have undertaken the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Fuller *and* Heylin. *The former got into his hands ſome few Papers, that were not ſeen before he publiſhed them; but being a Man of fancy, and affecting an odd way of writing, his work gives no great ſatisfaction. But Doctor* Heylin *wrote ſmoothly and handſomly, his Method and Stile are good, and his Work was generally more read than any thing that had appeared before him: but either he was very ill informed, or very much led by his Paſſions; and be being wrought on by moſt violent prejudices againſt ſome that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in ſuch a manner, and ſo ſtrangely, that one would think he had been ſecretly ſet on to it by thoſe of the Church of* Rome, *though I doubt not he was a ſincere Proteſtant, but violently carried away by ſome particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excuſed, That he never vouched any Authority for what he writ, which is*

not

not to be forgiven any who write of Tranſactions beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what Grounds he wrote a great deal of his Book we can only conjecture, and many in their gueſſes are not apt to be very favourable to him.

Things being delivered to us with ſo much alloy and uncertainty, thoſe of the Church of Rome *do confidently diſparage our Reformation. The ſhort Hiſtory of it, as it is put in their mouths, being, That it was begun by the luſts and paſſions of King* Henry *the Eighth, carried on by the Ravenouſneſs of the Duke of* Somerſet, *under* Edward *the Sixth, and confirmed by the Policy of Queen* Elizabeth *and her Council to ſecure her Title. Theſe things being generally talked and ſpread abroad in Foreign parts, eſpecially in* France, *by the new Tranſlation of* Sanders, *and not being yet ſufficiently cleared, many have deſired to ſee a fuller and better account of thoſe Tranſactions than has yet been given; ſo the thing being neceſſary, I was the more encouraged to ſet about it by ſome perſons of great Worth and Eminence, who thought I had much leiſure and other good Opportunities to go through with it, and wiſhed me to undertake it. The Perſon that did engage me chiefly to this work, was on many accounts much fitter to have undertaken it himſelf, being the moſt indefatigable in his Induſtry, and the moſt Judicious in his Obſervations, of any I know, and is one of the greateſt Maſters of Stile now living. But being engaged in the Service of the Church, in a ſtation that affords him very little leiſure, he ſet me on to it, and furniſhed me with a curious Collection of his own Obſervations. And in ſome ſort this work may be accounted his, for he corrected it with a moſt Critical Exactneſs; ſo that the firſt materials, and the laſt finiſhing of it, are from him. But after all this I lie under ſuch reſtraints from his Modeſty, that I am not allowed to publiſh his Name.*

I had two Objections to it, beſides the knowledge of my own unfitneſs for ſuch a Work. One was my Unacquaintedneſs with the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Nation, not being born in it: the other was the Expence, that ſuch a Search as was neceſſary, required, which was not eaſie for me to bear: My acquaintance with the moſt ingenious Maſter William Petyt, *Councellor of the* Inner Temple, *cleared one difficulty, he offering me his aſſiſtance and direction, without which I muſt have committed great faults. But I muſt acknowledge my ſelf highly obliged by the favour and bounty of the Honourable Maſter of the Rolls, Sir* Harebottle Grimſtone, *of whoſe worth and Goodneſs to me I muſt make a large digreſſion, if I would undertake to ſay all that the Subject will bear: The whole Nation expreſſed their value of him, upon the moſt Signal Occaſion, when they made him their Mouth and Speaker in that Bleſſed Aſſembly which called home their King, after which real evidence all little Commendations may be well forborn. The Obligations he has laid on me are ſuch, that as the Gratitude and Service of my whole life, is the only equal return I can make for them; ſo as a ſmall tribute I judge my ſelf obliged to make my acknowledgments in this manner, for the leiſure I enjoy under his Protection, and the Support I receive from him; and if this work does the World any ſervice, the beſt part of the Thanks is due to him, that furniſhed me with particular Opportunities of carrying it on. Nor muſt I conceal the Nobleneſs of that Renowned Promoter of Learning Mr.* Boyle, *who contributed liberally to the Expence this Work put me to.*

Upon theſe encouragements I ſet about it, and began with the Search of all Publick Records and Offices, the Parliament *and* Treaty-Rolls, *with all the*

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Patent-Rolls, *and the Regiſters of the Sees of* Canterbury *and* London, *and of the* Augmentation-Office. *Then I laid out for all the MSS. I could hear of, and found things beyond my Expectation in the famous* Cotton *Library, where there is ſuch a Collection of original Papers relating to theſe times, as perhaps the World can ſhew nothing like it. I had alſo the favour of ſome MSS. of great value, both from the Famous and Eminently Learned Doctor* Stillingfleet, *who gave me great Aſſiſtance in this Work, and from Mr.* Petyt *and others. When I had look'd theſe over, I then uſed all the Endeavours I could, to gather together the Books that were printed in thoſe days, from which I not only got conſiderable hints of matters of Faſt, but (that which I chiefly look'd for) the Arguments upon which they managed the Controverſies then on foot, of which I thought it was the part of an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian to give an Account, as I could recover them, that it may appear upon what Motives and Grounds they proceeded.*

The Three chief Periods of Henry *the Eighth his Reign, in which Religion is concerned, are, Firſt, from the beginning of his Reign, till the Proceſs of his Divorce with Queen* Katherine *commenced. The Second is from that, till his total Breaking off from* Rome, *and ſetting up his Supremacy over all Cauſes and Perſons. The Third is from that, to his Death.*

When I firſt ſet about this Work, I intended to have carried on the Hiſtory of the Reformation to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, *in which it was finiſhed and fully ſettled; but I was forced to change that Reſolution. The chief reaſon, among many others, was, that I have not yet been able to diſcover ſuch full Informations of what paſſed under the Succeeding Reigns as were neceſſary for a Hiſtory; and though I have ſearch'd the publick Regiſters of that time, yet I am ſtill in the dark my ſelf in many particulars. This made me reſolve on publiſhing this Volume firſt, hoping that thoſe in whoſe hands any Manuſcripts or Papers of that time, will from what is now performed, be encouraged to communicate them: or if any have made a conſiderable Progreſs in thoſe Collections, I ſhall be far from envying them the honour of ſuch a Work, in which it had been inexcuſable Vanity in me to have medled, if the deſires of others, who have great Power over me, had not prevailed with me to ſet about it, And therefore, though I have made a good Advance in the following part of the Work, I ſhall moſt willingly reſign it up to any who will undertake it, and they ſhall have the free uſe of all my Papers. But if none will ſet about it, who yet can furniſh materials towards it, I hope their zeal for carrying on ſo deſired a Work, will engage them to give all the help to it that is in their Power.*

There is only one paſſage belonging to the next Volume, which I ſhall take notice of here, ſince from it I muſt plead my Excuſe for ſeveral Defects, which may ſeem to be in this Work. In the ſearch I made of the Rolls and other Offices, I wondred much to miſs ſeveral Commiſſions, Patents, and other Writings, which by clear evidence I knew were granted, and yet none of them appeared on Record. This I could not impute to any thing but the omiſſion of the Clerks, who failed in the enrolling thoſe Commiſſions, though it was not likely that matters of ſo high Concernment ſhould have been neglected, eſpecially in ſuch a Critical time and under ſo ſevere a King. But as I continued down my ſearch to the Fourth year of Queen Mary, *I found in the Twelfth Roll of that Year, a Commiſſion, which cleared all my former doubts, and by which I ſaw what was become of the things I had ſo anxiouſly ſearched after. We have heard of the Expurgation of Books practi-*

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ſed in the Church of Rome, *but it might have been imagined, that publick Regiſters and Records would have been ſafe; yet leaſt theſe ſhould have been afterwards Confeſſors, it was reſolved they ſhould then be Martyrs; for on the* 29th *of* December, *in the* 4th *year of her Reign, a Commiſſion was iſſued out under the Great Seal to* Bonner *Biſhop of* London, Cole *Dean of St.* Pauls, *and* Martine *a Doctor of the Civil Law, which is of that importance, that I ſhall here inſert the material words of it:* Whereas it is come to our knowledge, that in the time of the late Schiſm divers Compts, Books, Scrolls, Inſtruments, and other Writings were practiſed, deviſed, and made, concerning Profeſſions againſt the Popes Holineſs, and the See Apoſtolick, and alſo ſundry infamous Scrutinies taken in Abbeys and other Religious Houſes, tending rather to ſubvert and overthrow all good Religion and Religious Houſes, than for any truth contained therein: Which being in the Cuſtody of divers Regiſters, and we intending to have thoſe Writings brought to knowledge, whereby they may be conſidered and ordered according to our Will and Pleaſure; *thereupon, thoſe three, or any two of them are empowered* to cite any Perſons before them, and examine them upon the Premiſſes upon Oath, and to bring all ſuch Writings before them, and certifie their diligence about it to Cardinal *Pool*, that further order might be given about them.

When I ſaw this, I ſoon knew which way ſo many Writings had gone: and as I could not but wonder at their boldneſs, who thus perſumed to raze ſo many Records; ſo their ingenuity in leaving this Commiſſion in the Rolls, by which any who had the Curioſity to ſearch for it, might be ſatisfied how the other Commiſſions were deſtroyed, was much to be commended. Yet in the following Work, it will appear that ſome few Papers eſcaped their Hands.

I know it is needleſs to make great Proteſtations of my ſincerity in this Work. Theſe are of courſe, and are little conſidered, but I ſhall take a more effectual way to be believed, for I ſhall vouch my Warrants for what I ſay and tell where they are to be found. And having copied out of Records and MSS. many Papers of great importance, I ſhall not only inſert the ſubſtance of them in the following Work, but at the end of it ſhall give a Collection of them at their full length, and in the Language in which they were originally written: from which as the Reader will receive full evidence of the truth of this Hiſtory; ſo he will not be ill pleaſed, to obſerve the Genius and way of the Great Men in that time, of which he will be better able to judge, by ſeeing their Letters, and other Papers, than by any repreſentation made of them at ſecond hand. They are digeſted into that order, in which they are referred to in the Hiſtory.

It will ſurprize ſome to ſee a Book of this Bigneſs, written of the Hiſtory of our Reformation, under the Reign of King Henry *the Eighth: ſince the true beginnings of it, are to be reckoned from the Reign of King* Edward *the 6. in which the Articles of our Church. And the Forms of our Worſhip, were firſt compiled and ſet forth by Authority. And indeed in King* Henry's *time the Reformation was rather conceived than brought forth, and two Parties were in the laſt* 18 *years of his Reign ſtrugling in the Womb, having now and then advantages on either ſide, as the unconſtant humour of that King changed, and as his Intereſts, and often as his Paſſions ſwayed him.*

Cardinal Wolſey *had ſo diſſolved his mind into pleaſures, and puffed him up with Flattery and ſervile Compliances, that it was not an eaſie thing to ſerve him; for being boiſtrous and impatient naturally, which was much*

heightned by his most extravagant vanity, and high conceit of his own Learning and Wisdom, he was one of the most uncounsellable Persons in the World.

The Book which he wrote, had engaged him deep in these Controversies, and by perpetual flatteries, he was brought to fancy it was written with some degrees of Inspiration. And Luther *in his Answer had treated him so unmanerly, that it was only the necessity of his Affairs, that forced him to any correspondence with that Party in* Germany.

And though Cranmer *and* Cromwell *improved every advantage, that either the Kings Temper, or his Affairs offered them, as much as could be; yet they were to be pitied, having to do with a Prince, who upon the slightest pretences threw down those whom he had most advanced; which* Cromwel *felt severely, and* Cranmer *was sometimes near it.*

The faults of this King being so conspicuous, and the severity of his proceedings so unjustifiable, particularly that heinous violation of the most sacred Rules of Justice and Government, in condemning men without bringing them to make their Answers; most of our Writers have separated the Concerns of this Church from his Reign: and imagining that all he did, was founded only on his Revenge upon the Court of Rome, *for denying his Divorce, have taken little care to examine how matters were transacted in his time.*

But if we consider the great things that were done by him, we must acknowledge that there was a signal Providence of God, in raising up a King of his temper, for clearing the way to that blessed Work that followed: and that could hardly have been done, but by a Man of his Humour; so that I may very fitly apply to him the witty Simile of an Ingenious Writer, who compares Luther *to a* Postilion *in his Waxed Boots and Oiled Coat, lashing his Horses through thick and thin, and bespattering all about him.*

This Character befits King Henry *better (saving the Reverence due to his Crown) who as the* Postilion of Reformation, *made way for it through a great deal of mire and filth. He abolished the Popes Power, by which not only that Tyranny was destroyed, which had been long an heavy burthen on this oppressed Nation; but all the Opinions, Rites, and Constitutions, for which there was no better Authority than Papal degrees, were to fall to the Ground; The Foundation that supported them being thus sapped. He suppressed all the Monasteries; in which though there were some inexcusable faults committed, yet he wanted not reason to do what he did. For the Foundation of those Houses being laid on the Superstitious Conceit of Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, by saying Masses for them; they whose Office that was, had by counterfeiting Relicks, by forging of Miracles, and other like Impostures, drawn together a vast Wealth, to the enriching of their Saints, of whom some perhaps were damn'd Souls, and others were never in being. These Arts being detected, and withal their great Viciousness in some places, and in all, their great abuse of the Christian Religion, made it seem unfit they should be continued. But it was their dependence on the See of* Rome, *which, as the state of things then was, made it necessary that they should be suppress. New Foundations might have done well, and the scantness of those, considering the number and wealth of those which were suppressed, is one of the great blemishes of that Reign. But it was in vain to endeavour to amend the old ones. Their Numbers were so great, their Riches and Interests in the Nation so considerable, that a Prince of Ordinary mettal would not have attempted such a design, much less have compleated it in Five years time. With these fell the Superstition of Images, Reliques, and the Redemption of Souls out of*

Purgatory

Purgatory. And thoſe Extravagant Addreſſes to Saints that are in the Roman *Offices were thrown out, only an* Ora pro nobis *was kept up, and even that was left to the liberty of Prieſts, to leave it out of the Litanies as they ſaw cauſe. Theſe were great preparations for a Reformation. But it went further, and two things were done, upon which a greater change was reaſonably to be expected. The Scriptures were Tranſlated into the* Engliſh *Tongue, and ſet up in all Churches, and every one was admitted to read them, and they alone were declared the Rule of Faith. This could not but open the Eyes of the Nation, who finding a profound ſilence in theſe Writings about many things, and a direct oppoſition to other things that were ſtill retained, muſt needs conclude, even without deep Speculations or nice Diſputing, that many things that were ſtill in the Church had no Ground in Scripture, and ſome of the reſt were directly contrary to it. This* Cranmer *knew well would have ſuch an operation, and therefore made it his chief buſineſs to ſet it forward, which in Concluſion he happily effected.*

Another thing was alſo eſtabliſhed, which opened the way to all that followed: That very National Church was a Compleat Body within it ſelf, ſo that the Church of England, *with the Authority and concurrence of their Head, and King, might examine and reform all Errors and Corruptions, whether in Doctrine or Worſhip. All the Provincial Councils in the Ancient Church, were ſo many Precedents for this, who condemned Hereſies, and Reformed abuſes as the occaſion required. And yet theſe being all but parts of one Empire, there was a leſs reaſon for their doing it, without ſtaying for a General Conncil, which depended upon the pleaſure of one man (the* Roman *Emperor) than could be pretended, when* Europe *was divided into ſo many Kingdoms: By which a common Concurrence of all theſe Churches was a thing ſcarce to be expected; and therefore this Church muſt be in a very ill Condition, if there could be no endeavours for a Reformation, till all the reſt were brought together.*

The Grounds of the new Covenant between God and Man in Chriſt, were alſo truly ſtated, and the terms on which Salvation was to be hoped for, were faithfully opened according to the New Teſtament. And this being in the ſtrict notion of the Word, the Goſpel, *and the glad Tidings preached through our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour, it muſt be confeſſed that there was a great Progreſs made, when the Nation was well inſtructed about it; though there was ſtill an alloy of other Corruptions, embaſing the Purity of the Faith. And indeed in the whole progreſs of theſe Changes, the Kings deſign ſeemed to have been to terrifie the Court of* Rome, *and cudgel the Pope into a Compliance with what he deſired: for in his heart he continued addicted to ſome of the moſt extravagant Opinions of that Church, ſuch as Tranſubſtantiation and the other Corruptions in the Maſs, ſo that he was to his lives end more Papiſt than Proteſtant.*

There are two Prejudices, which Men have generally drunk in againſt that time. The one is, from the Kings great Enormities, both in his perſonal Deportment and Government, which make many think, no good could be done by ſo ill a Man, and ſo cruel a Prince. I am not to defend him, nor to leſſen his faults. The vaſtneſs and irregularity of his Expence procured many heavy Exactions, and twice extorted a publick Diſcharge of his Debts, embaſed the Coin, with other Irregularities. His proud and impatient Spirit occaſioned many cruel proceedings. The taking ſo many lives, only for denying his Supremacy, particularly Fiſher's *and* More's, *the one being extream old,*

and

and the other one of the Glories *of his Nation, for Probity and Learning: The taking advantage from ſome Eruptions in the North, to break the Indempnity he had before proclaimed to thoſe in the Rebellion, even though they could not be proved Guilty of thoſe ſecond diſorders: his Extream Severity to all Cardinal* Pool's *Family: his cruel uſing, firſt* Cromwel, *and afterwards the Duke of* Norfolk *and his Son, beſides his unexampled Proceedings againſt ſome of his Wives; and that which was firſt of all, the laying a Precedent for the ſubverſion of Juſtice, and oppreſſing the cleareſt Innocence, by attainting men without hearing them: Theſe are ſuch remarkable blemiſhes, that as no man of ingenuity can go about the whitening them; ſo the poor Reformers drunk ſo deep of that bitter Cup, that it very ill becomes any of their followers, to endeavour to give fair Colours to thoſe red and bloody Characters, with which ſo much of his Reign is ſtained.*

Yet after all this ſad enumeration, it was no new nor unuſual thing in the methods of Gods Providence, to employ Princes who had great Mixtures of very groſs faults, to do ſignal things for his Service. Not to mention David *and* Solomon, *whoſe ſins were expiated with a ſevere Repentance; it was the Bloody* Cyrus *that ſent back the Jews to their Land, and gave them leave to re-build their Temple.* Conſtantine *the Great is by ſome of his Enemies charged with many blemiſhes both in his Life and Government.* Clovis *of* France, *under whom that Nation received the Chriſtian Faith, was a Monſter of Cruelty and Perfidiouſneſs, as even* Gregory *of* Tours *repreſents him, who lived near his time, and nevertheleſs makes a Saint of him.* Charles *the Great, whom ſome alſo make a Saint, both put away his Wife for a very ſlight cauſe, and is ſaid to have lived in moſt unnatural Luſts with his own Daughter.* Irene, *whom the Church of* Rome *magnifies, as the Reſtorer of their Religion in the Eaſt, did both contrary to the Impreſſions of Nature, and of her Sex, put out her own Sons Eyes, of which he died ſoon after, with many other execrable things. And whatever Reproaches thoſe of the Church of* Rome *caſt on the Reformation, upon the account of this Kings faults, may be eaſily turned back on their Popes, who have never failed to court and extol Princes that ſerved their ends, how groſs and Scandalous ſoever their other faults have been. As* Phocas, Brunichild, Irene, Mathildis, Edgar *of* England, *and many more. But our Church is not near ſo much concerned in the perſons of thoſe Princes, under whom the Reformation began, as theirs is in the perſons of their Popes, who are believed to have far higher Characters of a Divine Power and Spirit in them, than other Princes pretend to. And yet if the Lives of thoſe Popes, who have made the greateſt advances in their Juriſdiction be examined, particularly* Gregory *the Seventh, and* Boniface *the Eighth, vices more eminent, than any can be charged on King* Henry, *will be found in them. And if a leud and wicked Pope may yet have the Holy Ghoſt dwelling in him, and directing him infallibly; why may not an ill King do ſo good a Work as ſet a Reformation forward? And if it were proper to enter into a diſſection of Four of thoſe Popes, that ſate at* Rome *during this Reign, Pope* Julius *will be found beyond him in a vaſt Ambition, whoſe bloody Reign did not only embroil* Italy, *but a great part of Chriſtendom. Pope* Leo *the Tenth was as extravagant and prodigal in his expence, which put him on baſer Shifts, than ever this King uſed, to raiſe Money; not by embaſing the Coin, or raiſing new and heavy Taxes, but by embaſing the Chriſtian Religion, and proſtituting the pardon of ſin in that foul trade of Indulgences.* Clement *the*

Seventh

Seventh was falſe to the higheſt degree; a vice which cannot be charged on this King. And Paul *the third was a vile and lewd Prieſt, who not only kept his Whore, but gloried in it, and raiſed one of his Baſtards to an high Dignity, making him Prince of* Parma *and* Piacenza; *and himſelf is ſaid to have lived in Inceſt with others of them. And except the ſhort Reign of* Hadrian *the Sixth, there was no Pope at* Rome *all this while, whoſe example might make any other Prince bluſh for his faults; ſo that* Guicciardine, *when he calls Pope* Clement *a good Pope, adds,* I mean not Goodneſs Apoſtolical; for in thoſe days he was eſteemed a good Pope, that did not exceed the wickedneſs of the worſt of Men.

In ſum, Gods Ways are a great Deep, who has often ſhewed his Power and Wiſdom, in raiſing up unlikely and unpromiſing Inſtruments, to do great ſervices in the World; not always employing the beſt Men in them, leſt good Inſtruments ſhould ſhare too deep in the Praiſes of that, which is only due to the Supream Creator and Governour of the World. And therefore he will ſtain the Pride of all Glory, *that* ſuch as Glory may only Glory in the Lord. Jehu *did an acceptable Service to God, in deſtroying the Idolatry of* Baal, *though neither the way of doing it be to be imitated, being groſly inſincere, nor was the Reformation compleat, ſince the Worſhiping the two Calves was ſtill kept up; and it is very like, his chief deſign in it, was to deſtroy all the Party that favoured* Ahab's *Family; yet the thing was good, and was rewarded by God: So whatever this Kings other faults were, and how defective ſoever the Change he made was, and upon what ill motives ſoever it may ſeem to have proceeded; yet the things themſelves being good, we ought not to think the worſe of them becauſe of the Inſtrument, or manner by which they were wrought; but are to adore and admire the paths of the Divine Wiſdom, that brought about ſuch a Change, in a Church, which being ſubjected to the See of* Rome, *had been more than any other part of* Europe, *moſt tame under its Oppreſſions, and was moſt deeply drenched in Superſtition: And this by the means of a Prince, who was the moſt devoted to the Intereſt of* Rome *of any in Chriſtendom, and ſeemed to be ſo upon knowledge, being very learned; and continued to the laſt much leavened with Superſtition, and was the only King in the World whom that See declared,* Defender of the Faith. *And that this ſhould have been carried on ſo far, with ſo little Oppoſition, ſome riſings though numerous and formidable being ſcattered and quieted without Blood; and that a mighty Prince, who was Victorious almoſt in all his undertakings,* Charles *the* 5th. *and was both provoked in point of honour and Intereſt, yet could never find one ſpare ſeaſon to turn his Arms upon* England, *are great Demonſtrations of a particular Influence of Heaven in theſe Alterations, and of its watchful care of them.*

But the other prejudice touches the Reformation in a more vital and tender part; and it is, That Cranmer *and the other Biſhops, who promoted the Reformation in the Succeeding Reign, did in this comply too ſervilly with King* Henry's *humours, both in carrying on his frequent Divorces, and in retaining thoſe Corruptions in the Worſhip, which by their throwing them off in the beginning of King* Edward's *Reign, we may conclude were then condemned by them; ſo that they ſeem to have prævaricated againſt their Conſciences in that Complyance.*

It were too faint a way of anſwering ſo ſevere a Charge, to turn it back on the Church of Rome, *and to ſhew the baſe Compliances of ſome, even of the beſt of their Popes, as* Gregory *the Great, whoſe Congratulations to*

the Usurper Phocas, *are a strain of the meanest, and undecentest flattery that ever was put in writing. And his Complements to* Brunichild, *who was one of the greatest Monsters both for Lust and Cruelty that ever her Sex produced, show that there was no person so wicked that he was ashamed to flatter: but the blemishing them will not (I confess) excuse our Reformers, therefore other things are to be considered for their Vindication. They did not at once attain the full knowledge of Divine Truth, so that in some particulars, as in that of the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, both* Cranmer *and* Ridley *were themselves then in the dark.* Bertram's *Book first convinced* Ridley, *and he was the chief Instrument in opening* Cranmer's *eyes: So if themselves were not then enlightned, they could not instruct others. As for other things, such as the giving the Cup to the Laity, the Worshiping God in a known Tongue, and several Reformations about the Mass, though they judged them necessary to be done as soon as was possible; yet they had not so full a perswasion of the necessity of these, as to think it a sin not to do them. The Prophets words to* Naaman *the* Syrian, *might give them some colour for that mistake, and the practise of the Apostles, who continued not only to worship at the Temple, but to Circumcise and to offer Sacrifices (which must have been done by St.* Paul, *when he purified himself in the Temple) even after the Law was dead, by the appearing of the Gospel, seemed to excuse their Compliance. They had also observed, that as the Apostles were* all things to all men, that so they might gain some; *so the Primitive Christians had brought in many rites of Heathenism into their Worship: Upon which inducements they were wrought on to comply in some uneasie things, in which if these excuses do not wholly clear them, yet they very much lessen their Guilt.*

And after all this, it must be confessed they were men, and had mixtures of fear and Humane infirmities with their other excellent Qualities. And indeed Cranmer *was in all other points so extraordinary a Person, that it was perhaps fit, there should be some ingredients in his Temper, to lessen the Veneration, which his great worth might have raised too high, if it had not been for these feeblenesses, which upon some occasions appeared in him. But if we examine the failings of some of the greatest of the Primitive Fathers, as* Athanasius, Cyril, *and others, who where the most zealous asserters of the Faith, we must conclude them to have been nothing inferiour to any that can be charged on* Cranmer; *whom if we consider narrowly, we shall find as eminent vertues, and as few faults in him, as in any Prelate that has been in the Christian Church for many Ages. And if he was prevailed on to deny his Master through fear, he did wash off that stain by a sincere Repentance and a patient Martyrdom, in which he expressed an eminent resentment of his former frailty, with a pitch of Constancy of mind above the rate of modern Examples.*

But their vertues as well as their faults are set before us for our instruction; and how frail soever the Vessels were, they have conveyed to us a treasure of great value, The pure Gospel of our Lord and Saviour: *which if we follow, and govern our lives and hearts by it, we may hope in easier and plainer paths to attain that Blessedness, which they could not reach but through scorching flames: and if we do not improve the Advantages, which this light affords, we may either look for some of those trials, which were sent for the exercise of their Faith and Patience, and perhaps for the punishment of their former Compliance; or if we escape these, we have cause to fear the worse in the Conclusion.*

THE

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THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK I.

A Summary View of King Henry *the* Eighth's *Reign, till the Proceſs of his Divorce was begun, in which the State of* England, *chiefly as it related to* Religion, *is opened.*

ENGLAND had for a whole Age felt the Miſeries of a long and cruel War between the Two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; during which time, as the Crown had loſt great Dominions beyond Sea, ſo the Nation was much impoveriſhed, many Noble Families extinguiſht, much Blood ſhed, great Animoſities every where raiſed, with all the other Miſeries of a laſting Civil War: But they now ſaw all theſe happily compoſed when the Two Families did unite in King *Henry* the Eighth. In his Fathers Reign they were rather cemented and joyned than united; whoſe great Partiality to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, from which he was Deſcended, and Severity to the Branches of the Houſe of *York*, in which even his own Queen had a large ſhare, together with the Impoſtors that were ſet up to diſturb his Reign, kept theſe Heats alive, which were now all buried in his Grave: and this made the Succeſſion of his Son ſo univerſally acceptable to the whole Nation, who now hoped to revive their former pretenſions in *France*, and to have again a large ſhare in all the Affairs of *Europe*, from which their Domeſtick Broils had ſo long excluded them.

King *Henry*'s Succeſſion to the Crown. *Apr.* 22. 1509

There was another thing, which made his firſt coming to the Crown no leſs acceptable, which was, that the ſame Day that his Father

He proceeds againſt *Dudley* and *Empſon*.

Father died, * he ordered *Dudley* and *Empſon* to be committed to the Tower: His Father whether out of Policy, or Inclination, or both, was all his life much ſet on the gathering of Treaſure, ſo that thoſe Miniſters were moſt acceptable, who could fill his Coffers beſt, and though this occaſioned ſome Tumults, and diſpoſed the People to all thoſe Commotions, which fell out in his Reign; yet he being ſucceſsful in them all, continued in his courſe of heaping up Money.

* *Hall* ſays the ſame day. L. *Herbert* ſays the day following.

Towards the end of his Life, he found out thoſe two Inſtruments, who out-did all that went before them, and what by vexatious Suits upon Penal but obſolete Laws, what by unjuſt Impriſonments, and other violent and illegal proceedings, raiſed a general *odium* upon the Government; and this grew upon him with his years, and was come to ſo great a height towards the end of his Life, that he died in good time for his own quiet: For as he uſed all poſſible endeavours to get Money, ſo what he got, he as carefully kept, and diſtributed very little of it among thoſe about him; ſo that he had many Enemies, and but few Friends. This being well conſidered by his Son, he began his Government with the diſgrace of thoſe Two Miniſters, againſt whom he proceeded according to Law; all the other inferiour Officers whom they had made uſe of were alſo impriſoned.

When they had thus fallen, many and great Complaints came in from all parts againſt them; they alſo apprehending the danger they were like to be in upon their Maſters Death, had been practiſing with their Partners to gather about them all the Power they could bring together, whether to ſecure themſelves from popular Rage, or to make themſelves ſeem conſiderable, or formidable to the new King. This and other Crimes being brought in againſt them, they were found guilty of Treaſon in a legal Trial. But the King judged this was neither a ſufficient Reparation to his Oppreſſed People, nor Satisfaction to Juſtice: Therefore he went further, and both ordered Reſtitution to be made by his Fathers Executors of great Sums of Money, which had been unjuſtly extorted from his Subjects; and in his firſt Parliament which he Summoned to the Twenty firſt of *January* following, he not only delivered up *Empſon* and *Dudley* with their Complices to the Juſtice of the Two Houſes, who attainted them by Act of Parliament, and a little after gave order for *their Execution*; but did alſo give his Royal Aſſent to thoſe other Laws by which the Subject was ſecured from the like Oppreſſions for the future: and that he might not at all be ſuſpected of any ſuch Inclinations as his Father had to amaſs Treaſure, he was the moſt magnificent in his Expence of any Prince in Chriſtendom, and very bountiful to all about him; and as one extream commonly produces another, ſo his Fathers Covetouſneſs led him to be Prodigal; and the vaſt Wealth which was left him, being reckoned no leſs than 1800000 *l.* was in Three years diſſipated, as if the Son in his expence had vied Induſtry with his Father in all his Thrift.

Hall.

He holds a Parliament. *Jan* 21. 1510.

His great Expence.

Thomas Earl of *Surrey*, (afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*) to ſhew how compliant he was to the Humours of the Princes whom he ſerved, as he had been Lord-Treaſurer to the Father the laſt Seven years of his Life; ſo being continued in the ſame Office by this King, did as dextrouſly comply with his Prodigality, as he had done formerly with his Fathers ſparingneſs.

But

But this in the beginning of the Princes Reign did much endear him both to the Court and Nation: there being a freer Circulation of Money by which Trade was encouraged; and the Courtiers taſted ſo liberally of the Kings bounty, that he was every where much magnified, though his Expence proved afterwards heavier to the Subject, than ever his Fathers Avarice had been.

His Affairs beyond Sea.

Another thing that raiſed the Credit of this King was, the great Eſteem he was in beyond Sea, both for his Wiſdom and Power; ſo that in all the Treaties of Peace and War he was always much conſidered; and he did ſo exactly purſue that great Maxime of Princes, of *Holding the Ballance*, that ſtill as it grew heavier, whether in the Scale of *France*, or *Spain*, he governed Himſelf and Them as a wiſe *Arbiter*. His firſt Action was againſt *France*, which by the Acceſſion of the Dutchy of *Britain*, through his Fathers over-ſight, was made greater and more formidable to the Neighbouring Princes; therefore the *French* Succeſſes in *Italy* having United all the Princes there againſt them, *Spain* and *England* willingly joyned themſelves in the Quarrel. The Kingdom of *Spain* being alſo then United, conquered *Navarre*, which ſet them at great eaſe, and weakned the King of *France* on that ſide. Whoſe Affairs alſo declining in *Italy*, this King finding him ſo much leſſened, made Peace with him; having firſt managed his ſhare of the War, with great Honour at Sea and Land: For, going over in Perſon, he did both defeat the *French* Army, and take *Terwin* and *Tourney*; the former he demoliſhed, the latter he kept: and in theſe Exploits he had an unuſual Honour done him, which though it was a ſlight thing, yet was very pleaſant to him; *Maximilian* the Emperor taking Pay in his Army, amounting to a Hundred Crowns a-day, and upon all publick Solemnities giving the King the precedence.

A War with *France*.

Aug. 24. & *Octob.* 2. 1513.

The Peace between *England* and *France* was made firmer by *Lewis* the *French* Kings Marrying *Mary* the Kings Siſter; but he dying ſoon after, new Counſels were to be taken, *Francis*, who ſucceeded, did in the beginning of his Reign, court this King with great Offers to renew the Peace with him, which was accordingly done. Afterward *Francis* falling in with all his Force upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, all endeavours were uſed to engage King *Henry* into the War, both by the Pope and Emperor, this laſt feeding him long with hopes of reſigning the Empire to him, which wrought much on him; inſomuch that he did give them a great Supply in Money, but he could not be engaged to divert *Francis* by making War upon him: and *Francis* ending the War of *Italy* by a Peace, was ſo far from reſenting what the King had done, that he courted him into a ſtraiter League, and a Match was agreed between the *Dolphin* and the Lady *Mary* the Kings Daughter, and *Tourney* was delivered up to the *French* again.

Aug. 7. 1514. A Peace, and a Match with *France*. *Oct.* 9. *Lewis* dies *Jan.* 1. 1515.

Lady *Mary* Betrothed to the *Dolphin*. *Octob.* 8. 1518.

But now *Charles*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria* by his Father, and Heir to the Houſe of *Burgundy* by his Grand-mother, and to the Crown of *Spain* by his Mother, began to make a great Figure in the World; and his Grand-father *Maximilian* dying, *Francis* and He were Corrivals for the Empire: but *Charles* being preferred in the Competition, there followed, what through perſonal Animoſities, what through reaſon of State, and a deſire of Conqueſt, laſting Wars between them; which though they were ſometimes for a while cloſed up, yet were never

Emperor dies, *Jan.* 12. 1519. *Charles* Elected. *June* 28.

clearly ended. And thoſe two great Monarchs as they eclipſed moſt other Princes about them, ſo they raiſed this Kings glory higher, both courting him by turns, and that not only by earneſt and warm Addreſſes, but oft by unuſual Submiſſions; in which they, knowing how great an Ingredient Vanity was in his temper, were never deficient when their Affairs required it. All which tended to make him appear greater in
1520. the eyes of his own People. In the Year 1520. there was an Interview agreed on between the *French* King and Him; but the Emperor, to prevent the effects he feared from it, reſolved to out-do the *French* King
The Emperor comes to *England*, *May* 26. in the Complement, and without any Treaty or previous Aſſurances came to *Dover*, and ſollicited the Kings friendſhip againſt *Francis*: and to advance his deſign gained Cardinal *Wolſey*, who then Governed all the Kings Counſels, by the promiſe of making him Pope; in which he judged he might, for a preſent Advantage, promiſe a thing that ſeemed to be at ſo great a diſtance, (Pope *Leo* the Tenth being then but a young Man) and with rich Preſents, which he made both to the King, the Cardinal, and all the Court, wrought much on them. But that which prevailed moſt with the King was, that he ſaw, though *Charles* had great Dominions, yet they lay at ſuch a diſtance, that *France* alone was a ſufficient Counterpoiſe to him; but if *Francis* could keep *Milan* recover *Naples*, *Burgundy*, and *Navarre*, to all which he was then preparing, he would be an uneaſie Neighbour to himſelf; and if he kept the footing he then had in *Italy*, he would lie ſo heavy on the Papacy, that the Popes could no longer carry equally in the Affairs of Chriſtendom, upon which much depended, according to the Religion of that time. Therefore he reſolved to take part with the Emperor, till at leaſt *Francis* was driven out of *Italy*, and reduced to juſter terms: ſo
June 7. that the following Interview between *Francis* and him, produced nothing but a vaſt Expence and high Complements: and from a ſecond
July 10. Interview between the King and the Emperor, *Francis* was full of jeaA ſecond War with *France*. louſie, in which what followed juſtified his apprehenſions; for the War going on between the Emperor and *Francis*, the King entred in a League with the former, and made War upon *France*.

Leo 10. dies, *Dec.* 1. 1521. But the Pope dying ſooner than it ſeems the Emperor look'd for, Cardinal *Wolſey* claimed his promiſe for the Papacy; but before the Meſſen-
Adrian choſen Pope. *Jan.* 9. 1522. ger came to him, *Adrian* the Emperors Tutor was choſen Pope: yet to feed the Cardinal with freſh hopes, a new promiſe was made for the next vacancy, and in the mean while he was put in hope of the Archbiſhoprick of *Toledo*. But two years after, That Pope dying, the Em-
He died *Septemb.* 14. 1523. peror again broke his word with him; yet though he was thereby totally alienated from him, he concealed his indignation, till the publick
Clement the 7th choſen, *Novemb.* 19. Concerns ſhould give him a good opportunity to proſecute it upon a better colour; and by his Letters to *Rome*, diſſembled his reſentments ſo artificially, that in a Congratulation he wrote to Pope *Clement*, He 'proteſted his Election was matter of ſuch joy both to the King and 'himſelf, that nothing had ever befaln them which pleaſed them bet-'ter, and that he was the very perſon, whom they had wiſhed to ſee
1522. raiſed to that Greatneſs. But while the War went on, the Emperor did cajole the King with the higheſt Complements poſſible, which al-
Emperor Landed at *Dover*, *May* 26. ways wrought much on him, and came in perſon into *England* to be inſtalled Knight of the *Garter*: where a new League was concluded,

ded, by which, beſide mutual aſſiſtance, a Match was agreed on between the Emperor and the Lady *Mary*, the Kings only Child by his Queen, of whom he had no hopes of more Iſſue. This was ſworn to on both hands, and the Emperor was obliged, when She was of Age, to marry Her, *Per verba de præſenti*, under pain of Excommunication and the forfeiture of 100000 Pounds. The Emperor contracted to the Kings Daughter, *June* 19.

The War went on with great ſucceſs on the Emperors part, eſpecially after the Battel of *Pavia*, in which *Francis* his Army was totally defeated, and himſelf taken Priſoner and carried into *Spain*. After which the Emperor being much offended with the Pope for joyning with *Francis*, turned his Arms againſt him, which were ſo ſucceſsful, that he beſieged and took *Rome*, and kept the Pope Priſoner Six Months. *May* 6. 1527.

The Cardinal finding the publick Intereſts concur ſo happily with his private Diſtaſtes, engaged the King to take part with *France*, and afterwards with the Pope againſt the Emperor, his Greatneſs now becoming the Terror of Chriſtendom; for the Emperor lifted up with his ſucceſs, began to think of no leſs than an Univerſal Empire. And firſt, that he might unite all *Spain* together, he preferred a Match with *Portugal*, to that which he had before Contracted in *England*; and he thought it not enough to break off his ſworn Alliance with the King, but he did it with an heavy Imputation on the Lady *Mary*: for in his Council it was ſaid that ſhe was illegitimate, as being born in an unlawful Marriage, ſo that no Advantage could be expected from her Title to the Succeſſion, as will appear more particularly in the Second Book. And the Pope having diſpenſed with the Oath, he Married the *Infanta of Portugal*. Beſides, though the King of *England* had gone deep in the Charge, he would give him no ſhare in the Advantages of the War; much leſs give him that Aſſiſtance which he had promiſed him, to recover his Ancient Inheritance in *France*. The King being irritated with his manifold ill uſage, and led on by his own Intereſts, and by the offended Cardinal, joyned himſelf to the Intereſts of *France*. Upon which there followed not only a firm Alliance, but a perſonal Friendſhip, which appeared in all the moſt obliging expreſſions that could be deviſed. And upon the Kings threatning to make War on the Emperor, the *French* King was ſet at liberty, though on very hard terms, if any thing can be hard that ſets a King out of Priſon; but he ſtill acknowledged he owed his Liberty to King *Henry*. *Mar.* 18. 1526

Then followed the famous *Clementine League* between the Pope and *Francis*, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, by which the Pope abſolved the *French* King from the Oath he had ſworn at *Madrid*, and they all united againſt the Emperor, and declared the King of *England Protector of the League*. This gave the Emperor great diſtaſte, who complained of the Pope as an ungrateful and perfidious Perſon. The firſt beginning of the ſtorm fell heavy on the Pope; for the *French* King, who had a great mind to have his Children again into his own hands, that lay Hoſtages in *Spain*, went on but ſlowly in performing his part. And the King of *England* would not openly break with the Emperor, but ſeemed to reſerve himſelf to be Arbiter between the Princes. So that the *Colonna*'s being of the Imperial Faction, with 3000 Men entered *Rome*, and ſack'd a part of it, forcing the Pope to fly into the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and The *Clementine* League, *May* 22. 1526. *September* 20.

to make Peace with the Emperor. But as ſoon as that fear was over, the Pope returning to his old Arts complained of the Cardinal of *Colonna*, and reſolved to deprive him of that Dignity, and with and Army entred the Kingdom of *Naples*, taking divers places that belonged to that Family. But the Confederates coming ſlowly to his Aſſiſtance, and he hearing of great Forces that were coming from *Spain* againſt him, ſubmitted himſelf to the Emperor, and made a Ceſſation of Arms; but being again encouraged with ſome hopes from his Allies, and (by a Creation of 14 Cardinals for Money) having raiſed 300000 Duckats, he diſowned the Treaty, and gave the Kingdom of *Naples* to Count *Vaudemont*, whom he ſent with Forces to ſubdue it: But the Duke of *Bourbon* prevented him, and went to *Rome*; and giving the Aſſault, in which himſelf received his mortal wound, the City was taken by Storm, and plundered for ſeveral days, about 5000 being killed. The Pope with 17 Cardinals fled to the Caſtle St. *Angelo*, but was forced to render his perſon, and to pay 400000 Duckats to the Army.

1527.

Rome taken and ſack'd, *May* 16.

This gave great offence to all the Princes of Chriſtendom, except the *Lutherans* of *Germany*; but none reſented it more loudly than this King, who ſent over Cardinal *Wolſey* to make up a new Treaty with *Francis*, which was chiefly intended for ſetting the Pope at liberty. Nor did the Emperor know well how to juſtifie an Action which ſeemed ſo inconſiſtent with his Devotion to the See of *Rome*; yet the Pope was for ſome months detained a Priſoner, till at length the Emperor having brought him to his own terms, ordered him to be ſet at liberty: but he being weary of his Guards eſcaped in a diſguiſe, and owned his Liberty to have flowed chiefly from the Kings endeavours to procure it. And thus ſtood the King as to Forreign Affairs: he had infinitely obliged both the Pope and the *French* King, and was firmly united to them, and engaged in a War againſt the Emperor, when he began firſt to move about his Divorce.

July 11.

Decemb. 9.

As for *Scotland*, the near Alliance between him and *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland* did not take away the ſtanding Animoſities between the two Nations, nor interrupt the Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*. And therefore when he made the firſt War upon *France* in the Fourth year of his Reign, the King of *Scotland* came with a great Army into the North of *England*, but was totally defeated by the Earl of *Surrey* in *Floudon* Field. The King himſelf was either killed in the Battel, or ſoon after; ſo that the Kingdom falling under Factions, during the Minority of the new King, the Government was but feeble, and ſcarce able to ſecure its own quiet. And the Duke of *Albany*, the chief Inſtrument of the *French* Faction, met with ſuch oppoſition from the Parties that were raiſed againſt him by King *Henry*'s means, that he could give him no diſturbance. And when there came to be a laſting Peace between *England* and *France*, then, as the King needed fear no trouble from that Warlike Nation, ſo he got a great Intereſt in the Government there. And at this time Money becoming a more effectual Engine than any the War had ever produced, and the diſcovery of the *Indies* having brought great Wealth into *Europe*, Princes began to deal more in that Trade than before: ſo that both *France* and *England* had their Inſtruments in *Scotland*, and gave conſiderable yearly Penſions to the chief Heads of Parties and Families. In the ſearch I have made

The Kings ſucceſs againſt *Scotland*.

Sept. 9. 1513.

made, I have found ſeveral Warrants for Sums of Money, to be ſent into *Scotland*, and divided there among the Favourers of the *Engliſh* Intereſt; and 'tis not to doubted but *France* traded in the ſame manner, which continued till a happier way was found out for extinguiſhing theſe Quarrels, both the Crowns being ſet on one Head.

His Counſels at home.

Having thus ſhewed the State of this Kings Government as to Forreign Matters, I ſhall next give an account of the Adminiſtration of Affairs at home, both as to Civil and Spiritual Matters. The King upon his firſt coming to the Crown did chooſe a wiſe Council, partly out of thoſe whom his Father had truſted, partly out of thoſe that were recommended to him by his Grand-mother, the Counteſs of *Richmond* and *Derby*, in whom was the Right of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, though ſhe willingly devolved her pretenſions on her Son, claiming nothing to her ſelf, but the Satisfaction of being Mother to a King. She was a Wiſe 1509. and Religious Woman, and died ſoon after her Grand-ſon came to the Crown. There was a Faction in the Council between *Fox* Biſhop of *VVincheſter*, and the Lord Treaſurer, which could never be well made up, though they were oft reconciled: *Fox* always complaining of the Lord Treaſurer, for ſquandring away ſo ſoon that vaſt Maſs of Treaſure, left by the Kings Father; in which the other juſtified himſelf, that what he did, was by the Kings Warrants which he could not diſobey: but *Fox* objected that he was too eaſie to anſwer, if not to procure theſe Warrants, and that he ought to have given the King better advice. *Jan.* 21 1510. In the Kings firſt Parliament things went as he deſired upon his delivering up *Empſon* and *Dudley*, in which his preventing the ſeverity of the Houſes, and proceeding againſt them at the Common Law, as it ſecured his Miniſters from an unwelcome Preſident, ſo the whole honour of it fell on the Kings Juſtice.

His next Parliament was in the third year of his Reign, and there *Feb.* 4. 1512. was conſidered the *Brief* from Pope *Julius* the Second to the King, complaining of the Indignities and Injuries done to the Apoſtolick See and the Pope by the *French* King, and entreating the Kings aſſiſtance with ſuch cajoling words as are always to be expected from Popes on the like occaſions. It was firſt read by the Maſter of the Rolls in the Houſe of Lords, and then the Lord Chancellor (*VVarham* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*) and the Lord Treaſurer, with other Lords, went down to the Houſe of Commons and read it there. Upon this and other Reaſons they gave the King Subſidies towards the War with *France*. At this time *Fox*, to ſtrengthen his party againſt the Lord Treaſurer, finding *Thomas VVolſey* to be a likely man to get into the Kings favour, uſed Cardinal Wolſey's riſing. all his endeavours to raiſe him, who was at that time neither unknown nor inconſiderable, being Lord Almoner; he was at firſt made a Privy Counſellor, and frequently admitted to the Kings Preſence, and waited on him over to *France*. The King liked him well, which he ſo managed that he quickly engroſſed the Kings favour to himſelf, and for 15 years together was the moſt abſolute Favourite that had ever been ſeen in *England*; all Forreign Treaties and Places of Truſt at home were at his Ordering; he did what he pleaſed, and his Aſcendant over the King was ſuch, that there never appeared any Party againſt him all that while. The great Artifice by which he inſinuated himſelf ſo much on the King, is ſet down very plainly by one that knew him well, in theſe

Cavendiſh life of *Wolſy* MSS. in *Biblioth. Nob.* D. G. Pierpoint.

theſe words. *In him the King conceived ſuch a loving fancy, eſpecially for that he was moſt earneſt and readieſt in all the Council to advance the Kings only Will and Pleaſure, having no reſpect to the caſe; and whereas the Ancient Counſellors would according to the Office of good Counſellors, divers times perſwade the King to have ſometime a recourſe unto the Council, there to hear what was done in weighty Matters, the King was nothing at all pleaſed therewith; for he loved nothing worſe than to be conſtrained to do any thing contrary to his pleaſure, and that knew the* Almoner *very well, having ſecret Inſinuations of the Kings Intentions; and ſo faſt as the others Counſelled the King to leave his pleaſures, and to attend his Affairs, ſo buſily did the* Almoner *perſwade him to the contrary, which delighted him much, and cauſed him to have the greater affection and love to the* Almoner. Having got into ſuch Power, he obſerved the Kings Inclinations exactly, and followed his Intereſts cloſely: for though he made other Princes retain him with great Preſents and Penſions, yet he never engaged the King into any Alliance, but what was for his Advantage. For Affairs at home, after he was eſtabliſhed in his Greatneſs, he affected to Govern without Parliaments; there being from the Seventh year of his Reign, after which he got the Great Seal, but one Parliament in the 14*th* and 15*th* year, and no more till the One and Twentieth, when matters were turning about: But he raiſed great Sums of Money by Loans and Benevolences. And inded if we look on him as a Miniſter of State, he was a very extraordinary Perſon; but as he was a Churchman, he was the diſgrace of his Profeſſion. He not only ſerved the King in all his ſecret pleaſures, but was lewd and vicious himſelf; ſo that his having the *French Pox* (which in thoſe days was a matter of no ſmall infamy) was ſo publick, that it was brought againſt him in Parliament when he fell in diſgrace: he was a man of moſt extravagant vanity, as appears by the great State he lived in; and to feed that, his Ambition and Covetouſneſs were proportionable.

Octob. 1513.

He was firſt made Biſhop of *Tourney*, when that Town was taken from the *French*; then he was made Biſhop of [a] *Lincoln*, which was the firſt Biſhoprick that fell void in this Kingdom; after that, upon Cardinal *Bembridge* his death, he parted with *Lincoln* and was made Arch-biſhop of [b] *York*; then *Hadrian*, that was a Cardinal and Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, being deprived, that [c] See was given to him; then the Abbey of [d] St. *Albans* was given to him in *Comendam*; he next parted with *Bath* and *Wells*, and got the Biſhoprick of [e] *Dureſme*, which he afterwards exchanged for the Biſhoprick of [f] *Wincheſter*: But beſides all that he had in his own hands, the King granted him a full Power of diſpoſing of all the Eccleſiaſtical Benefices in *England* (which brought him in as much Money as all the Places he held) for having ſo vaſt a Power committed to him both from the King and the Pope as to Church-preferments, it may be eaſily gathered what advantages a man of his temper would draw from it. *Warham* was Lord Chancellor the firſt ſeven years of the Kings Reign, but retired to give place to this aſpiring Favourite, who had a mind to the Great Seal, that there might be no interfering between the Legantine and Chancery Courts. And perhaps it wrought ſomewhat on his vanity, that even after he was Cardinal, *Warham* as Lord Chancellor took place of him, as appears from the Entries made in the Journals of the Houſe of Peers in the Parliament held

[a] Reſt. temp. 4. *March* 5 *Regni* 1 *part Rot. pat.*
[b] *Novemb.* 6. *Regni*, 1. *part.* R. P.
[c] *Aug.* 28. 10. *Regni*, 1. *part.* R. P.
[d] *Decemb.* 7. 13. *Regni.* 3. *part.* R. P.
[e] *April* 30. 15. *Reg.* 2. *part.* R. P.
[f] *May* 4. 20. *Reg.* 2 *part.* R. P.

held the 7*th* year of the Kings Reign, and afterwards gave him place, as appears on many occasions, particularly, in the Letter written to the Pope 1530. set down by the Lord *Herbert*, which the Cardinal subcribed before *Warham*. We have nothing on Record to shew what a Speaker he was, for all the Journals of Parliament from the 7*th* to the 25*th* year of this King are lost, but it is like he spoke as his Predecessor in that Office *Warham* did, whose Speeches as they are entred in the Journals, are Sermons begun with a Text of Scripture; which he expounded and applyed to the business they were to go upon, stuffing them with the most fulsome flattery of the King that was possible.

The next in Favour and Power was the Lord Treasurer, restored to his Fathers Honour of Duke of *Norfolk*, to whom his Son succeeded in that Office as well as in his hereditary Honours; and managed his Interest with the King so dexterously, that he stood in all the Changes that followed, and continued Lord Treasurer during the Reign of this King, till near the end of it, when he fell through Jealousie rather than Guilt; this shewed how dexterous a Man he was, that could stand so long in that employment under such a King.

But the chief Favorite in the Kings pleasures, was *Charles Brandon*, a gallant graceful Person, one of the strongest Men of the Age, and so a fit Match for the King at his Justs and Tiltings, which was the manly diversion of that time, and the King taking much pleasure in it, being of a robust Body, and singularly expert at it, he who was so able to second him in these Courses, grew mightily in his favour; so that he made him first Viscount *Lisle*, and some Months after Duke of *Suffolk*. Nor was he less in the Ladies favours, than the Kings; for his Sister the Lady *Mary* liked him, and being but so long Married to King *Lewis* of *France*, as to make her Queen Dowager of *France*, she resolved to choose her second Husband her self, and cast her Eye on the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was then sent over to the Court of *France*. Her Brother had designed the Marriage between them, yet would not openly give his Consent to it; but she by a strange kind of Wooing, prefixed him the Term of four days to gain her Consent, in which she told him if he did not prevail, he should for ever lose all his hopes of having her, though after such a Declaration he was like to meet with no great difficulty from her. So they were Married, and the King was easily pacified and received them into favour; neither did his favour die with her, for it continued all his life: but he never medled much in business, and by all that appears was a better Courtier than States-Man. Little needs be said of any other Person more than will afterwards occur.

May 15. 5*to* *Reg.* 1. *Part* *Rot. pat.*

April 1515.

Lady *Mary* died, *Jun.* 23. 1533.

The King loved to raise mean Persons, and upon the least distaste to throw them down: and falling into disgrace, he spared not to sacrifice them to publick discontents. His Court was magnificent, and his Expence vast; he indulged himself in his pleasures: and the hopes of Children (besides the Lady *Mary*) failing by the Queen, he, who of all things desired Issue most, kept one *Elizabeth Blunt*, by whom he had *Henry Fitzroy*, whom in the 17*th* year of his Reign he created Earl of *Nottingham*, and the same day made him Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, and intended afterwards to have put him in the Succession of the Crown after his other Children; but his death prevented it.

Jun. 17. 18. *Reg. Rot. Pal.*

Duke *Rich.* died, *Jun.* 22. 1536.

As for his Parliament, he took great care to keep a good understanding

ſtanding with them, and chiefly with the Houſe of Commons, by which means he ſeldom failed to carry Matters as he pleaſed among them: only in the Parliament held in the 14*th* and 15*th* of his Reign, the Demand of the Subſidy towards the War with *France*, being ſo high as 800000 *l.* the fifth of Mens Goods and Lands, to be paid in Four years, and the Cardinal being much hated, there was great Oppoſition made to it: for which the Cardinal blamed Sir *Thomas More* much, who was then Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; and finding that which was offered, was not above the half of what was asked, went himſelf to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired to hear the Reaſons of thoſe who oppoſed his Demands, that he might anſwer them: but he was told the Order of their Houſe was to reaſon only among themſelves, and ſo went away much diſſatisfied. It was with great difficulty that they obtained a Subſidy of 3 *s.* in the *lib.* to be paid in four years. This diſappointment it ſeems did ſo offend the Cardinal, that as no Parliament had been called for Seven years before, ſo there was none ſummoned for Seven years after. And thus ſtood the Civil Government of *England* in the 19*th* year of the Kings Reign, when the Matter of the Divorce was firſt moved. But I ſhall next open the State of Affairs in Reference to Religious and Spiritual Concerns.

He was bred a Scholar.

King *Henry* was bred with more care than had been uſually beſtowed on the Education of Princes for many Ages, who had been only trained up to thoſe Exerciſes that prepared them to War; and if they could read and write, more was not expected of them. But Learning began now to flouriſh; and as the Houſe of *Medici* in *Florence* had great Honour by the Protection it gave to learned Men, ſo other Princes every where cheriſhed the Muſes. King *Henry* the 7*th*, though illiterate himſelf, yet took care to have his Children inſtructed in good Letters. And it generally paſſes current that he bred his ſecond Son a Scholar, having deſigned him to be Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, but that has no foundation; for the Writers of that time tell, that his Elder Brother Prince *Arthur* was alſo bred a Scholar. And all the Inſtruction King *Henry* had in Learning, muſt have been after his Brother was dead, when that Deſign had vaniſhed with his life. For he being born the 28*th* of *June* 1491. and Prince *Arthur* dying the ſecond of *April* 1502. he was not full eleven years of Age, when he became Prince of *Wales*; at which Age Princes have ſeldom made any great progreſs in Learning. But King *Henry* the 7*th* judging either that it would make his Sons Greater Princes, and fitter for the Management of their Affairs, or being jealous of their looking too early into buſineſs, or their pretending to the Crown upon their Mothers Title, which might have been a dangerous competition to him, that was ſo little beloved by his Subjects, took this Method for amuſing them with other things: thence it was, that his Son was the moſt learned Prince that had been in the World for many Ages, and deſerved the Title *Beau-Clerke*, on a better account than his Predeceſſor that long before had carried it. The Learning then in credit, was either that of the Schools, about abſtruſe Queſtions of Divinity, which from the days of *Lombard* were debated and deſcanted on with much ſubtlety and nicety, and exerciſed all Speculative Divines; or the Study of the Canon-Law, which was the way to Buſineſs and Preferment. To the former of theſe the King

King was much addicted, and delighted to read often in *Thomas Aquinas*; and this made Cardinal *Wolſey* more acceptable to him, who was chiefly converſant in that ſort of Learning. He loved the purity of the Latin Tongue, which made him be ſo kind to *Eraſmus* that was the great Reſtorer of it, and to *Polidore Virgil*; though neither of theſe made their Court dextrouſly with the Cardinal, which did much intercept the Kings favour to them; ſo that the one left *England*, and the other was but courſly uſed in it, who has ſufficiently revenged himſelf upon the Cardinals Memory. The Philoſophy then in faſhion was ſo intermixed with their Divinity, that the King underſtood it too; and was alſo a good Muſician, as appears by two whole Maſſes which he compoſed. He never wrote well, but ſcrawled ſo that his hand was ſcarce legible.

Being thus inclined to Learning, he was much courted by all hungry Scholars, who generally over *Europe* dedicated their Books to him, with ſuch flattering Epiſtles, that it very much leſſens him, to ſee how he delighted in ſuch Stuff. For if he had not taken pleaſure in it, and rewarded them, it is not likely that others ſhould have been every year writing after ſuch ill Copies. Of all things in the World Flattery wrought moſt on him; and no ſort of Flattery pleaſed him better than to have his great Learning and Wiſdom commended. And in this, his Parliaments, his Courtiers, his Chaplains, Forreigners and Natives, all ſeemed to vie who ſhould exceed moſt, and came to ſpeak to him in a Stile which was ſcarce fit to be uſed to any Creature. But he deſigned to entail theſe Praiſes on his Memory, cheriſhing Church-men more than any King in *England* had ever done; he alſo Courted the Pope with a conſtant ſubmiſſion, and upon all occaſions made the Popes Intereſts his own, and made War and Peace as they deſired him. So that had he died any time before the 19*th* year of his Reign, he conld ſcarce have eſcaped being Canonized, notwithſtanding all his faults; for he abounded in thoſe vertues, which had given Saintſhip to Kings for near 1000 years together, and had done more than they all did, by writing a Book for the *Roman* Faith.

The Kings Prerogative in Eccleſiaſtical matters.

England had for above 300 years been the tameſt part of Chriſtendom to the Papal Authority, and had been accordingly dealt with. But though the Parliaments and two or three High-ſpirited Kings, had given ſome interruption to the cruel exactions and other illegal proceedings of the Court of *Rome*, yet that Court always gained their deſigns in the end. But even in this Kings days, the Crown was not quite ſtript of all its Authority over Spiritual Perſons. The Inveſtitures of Biſhops and Abbots, which had been originally given by the delivery of the Paſtoral Ring and Staff, by the Kings of *England*, were after ſome oppoſition wrung out of their hands; yet I find they retained another thing, which upon the matter was the ſame. When any See was vacant, a Writ was iſſued out of the Chancery for ſeizing on all the Temporalities of the Biſhoprick, and then the King recommended one to the Pope, upon which his Bulls were expeded at *Rome*, and ſo by a Warrant from the Pope he was conſecrated, and inveſted in the Spiritualities of the See; but was to appear before the King either in Perſon or by Proxy, and renounce every clauſe in his Letters and Bulls, that were or might be prejudicial to the Prerogative of the Crown, or contrary to the Laws of the Land, and was to ſwear Fealty

Cuſtodia Temporalitatis.

and Allegiance to the King. And after this a new Writ was iſſued out of the *Chancery*, bearing that this was done, and that thereupon the Temporalities ſhould be reſtored. Of this there are ſo many Precedents in the Records, that every one that has ſearched them muſt needs find them in every year; but when this began, I leave to the more Learned in the Law to diſcover. And for proof of it the Reader will find in the Collection the fulleſt Record which I met with concerning it in *Henry* the *7th* his Reign, of Cardinal *Adrians* being Inveſted in the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*. So that upon the matter the Kings then diſpoſed of all Biſhopricks, keeping that ſtill in their own hands which made them moſt deſired in thoſe Ages; and ſo had the Biſhops much at their Devotion.

Reſtitutio Temporalitatis.

Collect. *Numb.* 1.

But King *Henry* in a great degree parted with this, by the above-mentioned Power granted to Cardinal *Wolſey*, who being Legate as well as Lord Chancellor, it was thought a great error in Government, to lodge ſuch a truſt with him which might have paſt into a Precedent, for other Legates pretending to the ſame Power; ſince the Papal greatneſs had thus riſen, and oft upon weaker Grounds, to the height it was then at. Yet the King had no mind to ſuffer the Laws made againſt the ſuing out of Bulls in the Court of *Rome* without his leave to be neglected; for I find ſeveral Licences granted to ſue Bulls in that Court, bearing for their Preamble the Statute of the 16 of *Richard* the Second againſt the Popes pretended Power in *England*.

License to the Prior of *Peterburg. Novemb.* 3. 1 *part.* 3^to^ *Reg. Rot. Pat.*

But the immunity of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons was a thing that occaſioned great complaints. And good cauſe there was for them. For it was ordinary for Perſons after the greateſt Crimes to get into Orders; and then not only what was paſt muſt be forgiven them, but they were not to be queſtioned for any Crime after Holy Orders given, till they were firſt degraded; and till that was done they were the Biſhops Priſoners. Whereupon there aroſe a great diſpute in the beginning of this Kings Reign, of which none of our Hiſtorians having taken any notice, I ſhall give a full account of it.

A Conteſt about the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity. *Kitlways* Reports.

King *Henry* the Seventh in his Fourth Parliament did a little leſſen the Priviledges of the Clergy, enacting that Clerks convicted ſhould be burnt in the Hand. But this not proving a ſufficient reſtraint, it was Enacted in Parliament in the Fourth year of this King, that all Murderers and Robbers ſhould be denied the benefit of their Clergy. But though this ſeemed a very Juſt Law, yet to make it paſs through the Houſe of Lords, they added two Proviſo's to it, the one for excepting all ſuch as were within the Holy Orders of *Biſhop*, *Prieſt*, or *Deacon*; the other that the Act ſhould only be in force till the next Parliament. With theſe Proviſo's it was unanimouſly aſſented to by the Lords on the 26 *Jan.* 1513. and being agreed to by the Commons, the Royal Aſſent made it a Law: Purſuant to which many Murderers and Felons were denied their Clergy, and the Law paſſed on them to the great Satisfaction of the whole Nation. But this gave great offence to the Clergy, who had no mind to ſuffer their Immunities to be touched or leſſened. And judging that if the Laity made bold with Inferiour Orders, they would proceed further even againſt Sacred Orders; therefore as their Oppoſition was ſuch, that the Act not being continued, did determine at the next Parliament (that was in the fifth

year

year of the King,) ſo they not ſatisfied with that, reſolved to fix a cenſure on that Act as contrary to the Franchiſes of the Holy Church. And the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* being more forward than the reſt, during the Seſſion of Parliament in the 7*th* year of this Kings Reign, in a Sermon at *Pauls* Croſs, ſaid openly, That that Act was *contrary to the Law of God, and to the Liberties of the Holy Church, and that all who aſſented to it, as well Spiritual as Temporal Perſons, had by ſo doing incur'd the Cenſures of the Church.* And for Confirmation of his Opinion, he publiſhed a Book to prove, that all Clerks, whether of the greater or lower Orders, were ſacred, and exempted from all Temporal Puniſhments by the Secular Judge, even in Criminal Caſes. This made great noiſe, and all the Temporal Lords, with the cocurrence of the Houſe of Commons, deſired the King to ſuppreſs the growing Inſolence of the Clergy. So there was a hearing of the Matter before the King, with all the Judges and the Kings Temporal Council. Doctor *Standiſh*, Guardian of the Mendicant Friers in *London* (afterwards Biſhop of Saint *Aſaph*) the chief of the Kings Spiritual Council, argued, That by the Law, Clerks had been ſtill convened and judged in the Kings Court for Civil Crimes, and that there was nothing either in the Laws of God, or the Church, inconſiſtent with it; and that the publick good of the Society, which was chiefly driven at by all Laws, and ought to be preferred to all other things, required that Crimes ſhould be puniſhed. But the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* being Counſel for the Clergy, excepted to this and ſaid, *There was a Decree made by the Church expreſly to the contrary, to which all ought to pay Obedience under the pain of Mortal ſin; and that therefore the trying of Clerks in the Civil Courts was a ſin in it ſelf. Standiſh* upon this turned to the King and ſaid, *God forbid that all the Decrees of the Church ſhould bind. It ſeems the Biſhops think not ſo, for though there is a Decree that they ſhould reſide at their Cathedrals all the Feſtivals of the year, yet the greater part of them do it not*; Adding, That no Decree could have any force in *England*, till it was received there; and that this Decree was never received in *England*, but that as well ſince the making of it, as before, Clerks had been tryed for Crimes in the Civil Courts. To this the Abbot made no Anſwer, but brought a place of Scripture to prove this Exemption to have come from our Saviours words, *Nolite tangere Chriſtos meos*, Touch not mine Anointed; and therefore Princes ordering Clerks to be arreſted and brought before their Courts, was contrary to Scripture, againſt which no cuſtom can take place. *Standiſh* replyed, theſe words were never ſaid by our Saviour, but were put by *David* in his *Pſalter* 1000 years before Chriſt; and he ſaid theſe words had no relation to the Civil Judicatories, but becauſe the greateſt part of the World was then wicked, and but a ſmall number believed the Law, they were a Charge to the reſt of the World, not to do them harm. But though the Abbot had been very violent, and confident of his being able to confound all that held the contrary opinion, yet he made no Anſwer to this. The Laity that were preſent being confirmed in their former opinion by hearing the Matter thus argued, moved the Biſhops to order the Abbot to renounce his former opinion, and recant his Sermon at *Pauls Croſs*. But they flatly refuſed to do it, and ſaid they were bound by the Laws of the Holy Church to maintain the Abbots opinion in

every point of it. Great heats followed upon this during the sitting of the Parliament, of which there is a very Partial Entry made in the Journal of the Lords House; and no wonder, the Clerk of the Parliament, Doctor *Tylor* Doctor of the Canon-Law, being at the same time Speaker of the Lower House of Convocation. The entry is in these Words. *In this Parliament and Convocation there were most dangerous Contentions between the Clergy and the Secular Power, about the Ecclesiastical Liberties, one* Standish *a Minor Frier being the Instrument and Promoter of all that Mischief.* But a passage fell out, that made this matter be more fully prosecuted in the *Michalemas-Term.* One *Richard Hunne* a Merchant-Taylor in *London*, was questioned by a Clerk in *Middlesex* for a Mortuary, pretended to be due for a Child of his that died five Weeks old. The Clerk claimed the *beering* sheet, and *Hunne* refusing to give it; upon that he was sued, but his Counsel advised him to sue the Clerk in a *Præmunire*, for bringing the Kings Subjects before a Forreign Court; the Spiritual Court sitting by Authority from the Legate. This touched the Clergy so in the quick, that they used all the Arts they could to fasten Heresie on him; and understanding that he had *Wickliffs* Bible, upon that he was attached of Heresie, and put in the *Lollards* Tower at *Pauls*, and examined upon some Articles objected to him by *Fitz-James* then Bishop of *London.* He denied them as they were charged against him, but acknowledged he had said some Words sounding that way, for which he was sorry, and asked Gods Mercy, and submitted himself to the Bishops Correction; upon which he ought to have been enjoyned Penance and set at Liberty; but he persisting still in his Sute in the Kings Courts, they used him most cruelly. On the Fourth of *December* he was found hanged in the Chamber where he was kept * Prisoner. And Doctor *Horsey* Chancellor to the Bishop of *London*, with the other Officers who had the charge of the Prison, gave it out that he had hang'd himself. But the Coroner of *London*, coming to hold an Inquest on the dead Body, they found him hanging so loose, and in a silk Girdle, that they clearly perceived he was killed; they also found his Neck had been broken, as they judged, with an Iron Chain, for the Skin was all fretted and cut; they saw some streams of Blood about his Body, besides several other evidences which made it clear he had not murdered himself; whereupon they did acquit the dead Body, and laid the Murder on the Officers that had the charge of that Prison: and by other proofs they found the Bishops Sumner and the Bell-ringer guilty of it, and by the deposition of the Sumner himself it did appear, that the Chancellor and he, and the Bell-ringer, did Murder him, and then hang him up.

But as the Inquest proceeded in this Trial, the Bishop began a new Process against the dead body of *Richard Hunne*, for other points of Heresie; and several Articles were gathered out of *Wickliffs* Preface to the Bible with which he was charged. And his having the Book in his Possession being taken for good evidence, he was judged an Heretick, and his Body delivered to the Seculiar Power. When judgment was given, the Bishops of *Duresme* and *Lincoln*, with many Doctors both of Divinity and the Canon-Law sate with the Bishop of *London*; so that it was look'd on as an Act of the whole Clergy, and

Made Clerk, *Octob.* 29. 1. *Reg. Rot. Pat. Part* 1°.

Journal Procerum 7 *Hen.* 8. *Dissolutum & finitum fuit hoc Parliamentum* 22 *Dec.* 1515 *Johanne Tylor Juris Pontificij Doct. clerico Parliamentorum Domini Regis: & eodem tempore Prolocutore Convocationis Cleri quod raro accidit. In hoc Parliamento & Convocatione periculosissimæ seditionis exortæ sunt inter Clerum & Secularem potestatem super libertatibus Ecclesiasticis, quodam Fratre Minore, nomine* Standish, *omnium malorum ministro ac stimulatore.*

Hall, and *Fox.*

* *Hunne* hanged in Prison.

and done by common consent. On the 20*th* of *December* his body was burnt at *Smithfield*. And his body burned. *Dec.* 20. 1514.

But this produced an effect very different from what was expected, for it was hoped that he being found an Heretick no body should appear for him any more: whereas on the contrary, it occasioned a great outcry, the Man having lived in very good Reputation among his Neighbours; so that after that day the City of *London* was never well affected to the Popish Clergy, but declined to follow any body who spoke against them, and every one lookt on it, as a Cause of common concern. All exclaimed against the Cruelty of their Clergy, that for a Mans suing a Clerk according to Law, he should be long and hardly used in a severe Imprisonment, and at last cruelly murdered; and all this laid on himself to defame him, and ruin his Family. And then to burn that body which they had so handled, was thought such a complication of Cruelties, as few Barbarians had ever been guilty of. The Bishop finding that the Inquest went on, and the whole matter was discovered, used all possible endeavours to stop their proceedings; and they were often brought before the Kings Council, where it was pretended that all proceeded from Malice and Heresie. The Cardinal laboured to procure an Order to forbid their going any further, but the thing was both so foul and so evident that it could not be done: and that opposition made it more generally believed. In the Parliament there was a Bill sent up to the Lords by the Commons for restoring *Hunne*'s Children, which was passed, and had the Royal Assent to it; but another Bill being brought in about this Murder, it occasioned great heats among them. The Bishop of *London* said that *Hunne* had hanged himself, that the Inquest were false perjured Caitiffs, and if they proceeded further he could not keep his House for Hereticks; so that the Bill which was sent up by the Commons was but once read in the House of Lords, for *April* 3. the Power of the Clergy was great there. But the Trial went on, and both the Bishops Chancellor and the Sumner were endicted as Principals in the Murder.

The Convocation that was then sitting, finding so great a stir made, and that all their Liberties were now struck at, resolved to call Doctor *Standish* to an Account for what he had said and argued in that matter; so he being summoned before them, some Articles were objected to him by word of Mouth, concerning the judging of Clerks in Civil Courts; and the day following they being put in writing, the Bill was delivered to him, and a day assigned for him to make Answer. The Doctor perceiving their intention, and judging it would go hard with him if he were tried before them, went and claimed the Kings Protection, from this trouble that he was now brought in, for discharging his Duty as the Kings Spiritual Counsel. But the Clergy made their excuse to the King, that they were not to question him for any thing he had said as the Kings Counsel; but for some Lectures he read at St. *Pauls* and elsewhere, *contrary to the Law of God, and Liberties of the holy Church, which they were bound to maintain*; and desired the Kings Assistance according to his *Coronation Oath*, and as he would not incur the Censures of the holy Church. On the other hand the Temporal Lords and Judges, with the concurrence of the House of Commons, addressed to the King, to maintain the Temporal Jurisdiction according to his *Coronation Oath*, and

and to protect *Standiſh* from the Malice of his Enemies.

This put the King in great perplexity, for he had no mind to loſe any part of his Temporal Juriſdiction, and on the other Hand was no leſs apprehenſive of the dangerous effects that might follow on a breach with the Clergy. So he called for Doctor *Veyſey*, then Dean of his Chappel, and afterwards Biſhop of *Exeter*, and charged him upon his Allegiance to declare the truth to him in that matter: which after ſome ſtudy he did, and ſaid, upon his *Faith*, *Conſcience*, and *Allegiance*, he did think that the convening of Clerks before the Secular Judge, which had been always practiſed in *England*, might well conſiſt with the Law of God and the *true Liberties of the Holy Church*. This gave the King great Satisfaction; ſo he commanded all the Judges, and his Council both Spiritual and Temporal, and ſome of both Houſes, to meet at *Black-Friers*, and to hear the matter argued. The Bill againſt Doctor *Standiſh* was read, which conſiſted of Six Articles that were objected to him. Firſt, *That he had ſaid that the lower Orders were not ſacred.* Secondly, *That the Exemption of Clerks was not founded on a Divine Right.* Thirdly, *That the Laity might coerce Clerks when the Prelates did not their duty.* Fourthly, *that no poſitive Eccleſiaſtical Law binds any but thoſe who receive it.* Fifthly, *That the Study of the Cannon-Law was needleſs.* Sixthly, *That of the whole Volume of the* Decretum, *ſo much as a Man could hold in his fiſt, and no more, did oblige Chriſtians.* To theſe Doctor *Standiſh* anſwered, That for thoſe things expreſt in the third, the Fifth, and the Sixth Articles he had never taught them; as for his aſſerting them at any time in diſcourſe, as he did not remember it, ſo he did not much care, whether he had done it or not. To the firſt he ſaid, *Leſſer Orders in one ſenſe* are *Sacred*, and in another they are *not Sacred.* For the Second and Fourth, he confeſſed he had taught them, and was ready to juſtifie them. It was objected by the Clergy, that as by the Law of God, *no man could judge his Father*, it being contrary to that Commandment, *Honour thy Father*: So Church-men being *Spiritual Fathers*, they could not be judged by the Laity who were their *Children.* To which he anſwered, That as that only concluded in favour of *Prieſts*, thoſe in Inferiour Orders not being *Fathers*; ſo it was a miſtake to ſay a Judge might not ſit upon his Natural Father, for the Judge was by another Relation above his Natural Father: And though the Commandment is conceived in general Words, yet there are ſome exceptions to be admitted; as though it be ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not kill*, yet in ſome caſes we may lawfully kill; ſo in the caſe of Juſtice a Judge may lawfully ſit on his Father.

But Doctor *Veyſey*'s Argument was that which took moſt with all that were preſent. He ſaid, it was certain that the Laws of the Church *did not bind any but thoſe who received them.* To prove this, he ſaid, that in old times all Secular Prieſts were Married; but in the days of St. *Auguſtine*, the Apoſtle of *England*, there was a Decree made to the contrary, which was received in *England*, and in many other places, by vertue whereof the Secular Prieſts in *England* may not Marry: but this Law not being univerſally received, *the Greek Church never judged themſelves bound by it*, ſo that to this day the Prieſts in that Church have Wives as well as other Seculer Men. If then the Churches of the *Eaſt* not having received the Law of the Celibate of the Clergy, have never

ver been condemned by the Church, for not obeying it; then the conveening Clerks having been always practiſed in *England*, was no ſin, notwithſtanding the Decree to the contrary, which was never received here. Nor is this to be compared to thoſe Priviledges that concern only a Private Mans Intereſt, for the Common-wealth of the whole Realm was chiefly to be look'd at, and to be preferred to all other things.

When the Matter was thus argued on both ſides, all the Judges delivered their Opinions, in theſe Words. *That all thoſe of the Convocation who did award the Citation againſt* Standiſh, *were in the caſe of a Præmunire facias*; and added ſomewhat about the Conſtitution of the Parliament, which being forreign to my buſineſs, and contrary to a received Opinion, I need not mention, but refer the Reader to *Keilway* for his Information, if he deſires to know more of it: And thus the Court broke up. But ſoon after, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with many of the Houſe of Commons, and all the Judges and the Kings Council, were called before the King to *Baynards* Caſtle; and in all their preſence the Cardinal kneeled down before the King, and in the Name of the Clergy ſaid, *That none of them intended to do any thing that might derogate from his Prerogative, and leaſt of all himſelf who owed his advancement only to the Kings Favour. But this matter of Conveening of Clerks, did ſeem to them all to be contrary to the Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Church, which they were bound by their Oaths to maintain according to their Power*; Therefore in their Name he humbly begged, *That the King to avoid the Cenſures of the Church, would refer the Matter to the deciſion of the Pope and his Council, at the Court of* Rome. To which the King anſwered, *It ſeems to us that Doctor* Standiſh, *and others of our Spiritual Council, have anſwered you fully in all points.* The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* replyed, *Sir, I warrant you Doctor* Standiſh *will not abide by his Opinion at his Peril.* But the Doctor ſaid, *What ſhould one poor Frier do alone, againſt all the Biſhops and Clergy of* England? After a ſhort ſilence the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid, *That in former times divers Holy Fathers of the Church had oppoſed the execution of that Law, and ſome of them ſuffered Martyrdom in the Quarrel.* To whom *Fineux* Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, *That many Holy Kings had maintained that Law, and many holy Fathers had given Obedience to it, which it is not to be preſumed they would have done, had they known it to be contrary to the Law of God:* and he deſired to know by what Law Biſhops could judge Clerks for Felony, it being a thing only determined by the Temporal Law; ſo that either it was not at all to be tryed, or it was only in the Temporal Court; ſo that either Clerks muſt do as they pleaſe, or be tryed in the Civil Courts. To this no Anſwer being made, the King ſaid theſe words: *By the Permiſſion and Ordinance of God we are King of* England, *and the Kings of* England *in times paſt had never any Superiour, but God only. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the Right of our Crown, and of our Temporal Juriſdiction as well in this, as in all other Points, in as ample manner as any of our Progenitors have done before our time. And as for your Decrees we are well aſſured that you of the Spirituality go expreſly againſt the words of divers of them, as hath been ſhewed you by ſome of our Council; and you interpret your Decrees at your pleaſure, but we will not agree to them more than our Progenitors have done in former times.* But the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* made moſt humble Inſtance, that the Matter

Matter might be ſo long reſpited, till they could get a Reſolution from the Court of *Rome*, which they ſhould procure at their own Charges; and if it did conſiſt with the Law of God, they ſhould conform themſelves to the Law of the Land. To this the King made no anſwer: but the Warrants being out againſt Doctor *Horſey* the Biſhop of *London*'s Chancellor, he did abſcond in the Arch-biſhops Houſe; though it was pretended he was a Priſoner there, till afterwards a temper was found that *Horſey* ſhould render himſelf a Priſoner in the Kings Bench and be tryed. But the Biſhop of *London* made earneſt Applications to the Cardinal that he would move the King to command the Attorny-General to confeſs the Indictment was not true, that it might not be referred to a Jury; ſince he ſaid the Citizens of *London* did ſo favour Hereſie, that if he were as innocent as *Abel*, they would find any Clerk guilty. The King not willing to irritate the Clergy too much, and judging he had maintained his Prerogative by bringing *Horſey* to the Bar, ordered the Attorney to do ſo. And accordingly when *Horſey* was brought to the Bar and Endited of Murder, he pleaded *Not guilty*; which the Attorney acknowledging, he was diſmiſſed, and went and lived at *Exeter*, and never again came back to *London*, either out of fear or ſhame. And for Doctor *Standiſh*, upon the Kings Command, he was alſo diſmiſſed out of the Court of Convocation.

It does not appear that the Pope thought fit to interpoſe in this Matter. For though upon leſs Provocations, Popes had proceeded to the higheſt Cenſures againſt Princes; yet this King was otherwiſe ſo neceſſary to the Pope at this time, that he was not to be offended. The Clergy ſuffered much in this buſineſs, beſides the loſs of their Reputation with the People, who involved them all in the guilt of *Hunne*'s Murder; for now their Exemption being well examined, was found to have no foundation at all but in their own Decrees; and few were much convinced by that Authority, ſince upon the matter it was but a judgment of their own, in their own favours: nor was the City of *London* at all ſatisfied with the Proceedings in the Kings-Bench, ſince there was no juſtice done; and all thought the King ſeemed more careful to maintain his Prerogative than to do Juſtice.

This I have related the more fully, becauſe it ſeems to have had great influence on Peoples Minds, and to have diſpoſed them much to the Changes that followed afterwards. How theſe things were entred in the Book of Convocation, cannot be now known. For among the other ſad loſſes ſuſtained in the late burning of *London*, this was one, that almoſt all the Regiſters of the Spiritual Courts were burnt, ſome few of the Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury* and Biſhops of *London*'s Regiſters being only preſerved. But having compared *Fox* his Account of this and ſome other matters, and finding it exactly according to the Regiſters that are preſerved, I ſhall the more confidently build, on what he publiſhed from thoſe Records that are now loſt.

The King obliged the Popes highly, and was much courted by them.

This was the only thing in the firſt 18 years of the Kings Reign that ſeemed to leſſen the Greatneſs of the Clergy, but in all other Matters he was a moſt Faithful Son of the See of *Rome*. Pope *Julius* ſoon after his coming to the Crown, ſent him a Golden Roſe with a Letter

Letter to Arch-biſhop *Warham* to deliver it, and though ſuch Preſents might ſeem fitter for young Children, than for men of diſcretion; yet the King was much delighted with it: and to ſhew his Gratitude, there was a Treaty concluded the year following between the King and *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, for the defence of the Papacy againſt the *French* King. And when in oppoſition to the Council, that the *French* King and ſome other Princes and Cardinals had called, firſt to *Piſa* (which was afterwards tranſlated to *Milan*, and then to *Lions*, that ſummoned the Pope to appear before them, and ſuſpended his Authority) Pope *Julius* called another Council to be held in the *Lateran*; the King ſent the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Rocheſter*, the Prior of St. *Johns*, and the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* to ſit in that Council, in which there was ſuch a Repreſentative of the Catholick Church as had not been for ſeveral of the latter Ages in the *Weſtern* Church: in which a few Biſhops packt out of ſeveral Kingdoms, and many *Italian* Biſhops with a vaſt number of Abbots, Priors, and other Inferiour Dignified Clergy-men, were brought to Confirm together whatever the Popes had a mind to Enact; which paſſing eaſily among them, was ſent over the world with a ſtamp of Sacred Authority, as the Decrees and Deciſions of the *Holy Univerſal Church aſſembled in a General Council.*

Collect. *Numb.* 22. Treaty-Rolls 3 *Reg.* 19 *April* 1512.

Nor was there a worſe underſtanding between this King and Pope *Leo* the 10*th.* that ſucceeded *Julius*, who did alſo complement him with thoſe Papal Preſents of Roſes, and at his deſire made *Wolſey* a Cardinal; and above all other things obliged him by conferring on him the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, (upon the preſenting to the Pope his Book againſt *Luther*) in a pompous Letter Signed by the Pope, and 27 Cardinals, in which the King took great pleaſure; affecting it always beyond all his other Titles, though ſeveral of the former Kings of *England* had carried the ſame Title as *Spelman* informs us. So eaſie a thing it was for Popes to oblige Princes in thoſe days, when a Title or a Roſe was thought a ſufficient Recompence for the greateſt Services.

1521. *October* 11. L. *Herbert.*

The Cardinal Governing all Temporal Affairs as he did, it is not to be doubted but his Authority was abſolute in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, which ſeemed naturally to lye within his Province; yet *Warham* made ſome oppoſition to him, and complained to the King of his encroaching too much in his Legantine Courts, upon his Juriſdiction; and the things being clearly made out, the King chid the Cardinal ſharply for it, who ever after that hated *Warham* in his heart, yet he proceeded more warily for the future.

But the Cardinal drew the hatred of the Clergy upon himſelf, chiefly by a Bull which he obtained from *Rome*, giving him Authority to viſit all Monaſteries, and all the Clergy of *England*, and to diſpence with all the Laws of the Church for one whole year after the date of the Bull. The power that was lodged in him by this Bull was not more invidious, than the words in which it was conceived were offenſive; for the Preamble of it was full of ſevere Reflections againſt the Manners and Ignorance of the Clergy, who are ſaid in it to have been delivered over *to a Reprobate mind.* This, as it was a publick Defaming them, ſo how true ſoever it might be, all thought it did not become the Cardinal, whoſe Vices were notorious and ſcandalous, to tax others whoſe faults were neither ſo great, nor ſo eminent as his were.

A Bull for Reforming the Clergy. 10 *June* 1519. L. *Herbert*, and Article 29. of his Impeachment.

The Cardinal's Pride. *Polyd. et Virgil*

He did also affect a Magnificence and Greatness, not only in his Habit (being the first Clergy-man in *England* that wore Silks) but in his Family, his Train, and other pieces of State equal to that of Kings. And even in performing Divine Offices, and saying Mass, he did it with the same Ceremonies that the Popes use; who judge themselves so nearly related to God, that those humble Acts of Adoration, which are Devotions in other persons, would abase them too much. He had not only Bishops and Abbots to serve him, but even Dukes and Earls to give him the Water and the Towel. He had certainly a vast mind; and he saw the corruptions of the Clergy gave so great Scandal, and their Ignorance was so profound, that unless some effectual ways were taken for correcting these, they must needs fall into great disesteem with the People: For though he took great liberties himself, and perhaps according to the Maxime of the Canonists, he judged Cardinals, as Princes of the Church, were not comprehended within ordinary Ecclesiastical Laws; yet he seemed to have designed the Reformation of the Inferiour Clergy by all the means he could think of, except the giving them a good Example: Therefore he intended to visit all the Monasteries of *England*, that so dicovering their corruptions, he might the better justifie the design he had to suppress most of them, and convert them into Bishopricks, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches and Colledges: For which end he procured the Bull from *Rome*, but he was diverted from making any use of it, by some who advised him rather to suppress Monasteries by the Popes Authority, than proceed in a Method which would raise great hatred against himself, cast foul aspersions on Religious Orders, and give the Enemies of the Church great advantages against it. Yet he had communicated his design to the King; and his Secretary *Cromwell* understanding it, was thereby instructed how to proceed afterwards when they went about the total suppression of the Monasteries.

He designs a Reformation.

And a Suppression of Monasteries.

The Calling of Convocations.

The Summoning of Convocations he assumed by vertue of his Legantine Power. Of these there were two sorts, the first were called by the King; for with the Writs for a Parliament there went out always a Summons to the Two Arch-Bishops for calling a Convocation of their Provinces; the Stile of which will be found in the Collection. It differs in nothing from what is now in use, but that the King did not prefix the day; requiring them only to be Summoned to meet with all convenient speed; and the Arch-Bishops, having the King's pleasure signified to them, did in their Writs prefix the day. Other Convocations were called by the Arch-Bishops in the several Provinces, upon great Emergencies, to meet and treat of things relating to the Church, and were Provinical Councils. Of this I find but one, and that called by *Warham* in the first year of this King, for restoring the Ecclesiastical Immunities that had been very much impaired, as will appear by the Writ of Summons. But the Cardinal did now, as Legate, issue out Writs for Convocations. In the year 1522. I find by the Register there was a Writ issued from the King to *Warham* to call one, who upon that Summoned it to meet at St. *Pauls* the 20*th.* of *April.* But the Cardinal prevailed so far with the King, that on the 2*d.* of *May* after, he by his Legantine Authority dissolved that Convocation; and issued out a Writ to *Tonstall* Bishop of *London* to bring the Clergy of *Canterbury* to St. *Peter*'s in *Westminster*, there to meet and reform Abuses in the Church; and con-

Collect. *Numb.* 3*d.*

Collect. *Numb.* 4*th.*

Regist. *Tonst.* Fol. 33, 34.

conſider of other important Matters that ſhould be propoſed to them. What they did towards Reformation, I know not, the Records being loſt: But as to the Kings Supply, it was propoſed, That they ſhould give the King the half of the full value of their Livings for one year, to be paid in Five years. The Cardinal laid out to them how much the King had merited from the Church, both by ſuppreſſing the Schiſm that was like to have been in the Papacy in Pope *Julius* his time, and by protecting the See of *Rome* from the *French* Tyranny; but moſt of all, for that excellent Book written by him in defence of the Faith againſt the Hereticks: and that therefore, ſince the *French* King was making War upon him, and had ſent over the Duke of *Albany* to *Scotland* to make War alſo on that ſide, it was fit that on ſo great an occaſion, it ſhould appear that his Clergy were ſenſible of their happineſs in having ſuch a King; which they ought to expreſs in granting ſomewhat, that was as much beyond all former Precedents, as the King had merited more from them than all former Kings had ever done.

But the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Rocheſter* oppoſed this: For they both hated the Cardinal. The one thought him ungrateful to him who had raiſed him: The other being a man of a ſtrict Life hated him for his Vices. Both theſe ſpake againſt it as an unheard-of Tax, which would ſo oppreſs the Clergy, that it would not be poſſible for them to live and pay it; and that this would become a Precedent for after-times, which would make the condition of the Clergy moſt miſerable. But the Cardinal, who intended that the Convocation by a great Subſidy ſhould lead the way to the Parliament, took much pains for carrying it through; and got ſome to be abſent, and others were prevailed on to conſent to it: And for the fear of its being made a Precedent, a Clauſe was put in the Act, *That it ſhould be no Precedent for after-times*. Others laughed at this, and ſaid, It would be a Precedent for all that, if it once paſſed. But in the end it was granted, with a moſt glorious Preamble; and by it all the Natives of *England* that had any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice were to pay the full half of the true value of their Livings in Five years; and all Foreigners who were Beneficed in *England* were to pay a whole years Rent in the ſame time: out of which number were excepted the Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Landaffe*, *Polidore Virgil*, *Peter* the *Carmelite*, *Eraſmus* of *Roterdam*, *Silveſter Darius*, and *Peter Vannes*, who were to pay only as Natives did. This encreaſed the hatred that the Clergy bore the Cardinal. But he deſpiſed them, and in particular was a great Enemy to the Monks, and looked on them as idle mouths that did neither the Church nor State any Service, but were through their ſcandalous Lives a reproach to the Church, and a burden to the State. Therefore he reſolved to ſuppreſs a great number of them, and to change them to another Inſtitution. Collect. *Numb.* 5th.

From the days of King *Edgar* the State of Monkery had been ſtill growing in *England*. For moſt of the Secular Clergy being then Married, and refuſing to put away their Wives, were by *Dunſtan* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelwald* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who were all Monks, turned out of their Livings. There is in the Rolls an *Inſpeximus* of King *Edgar*'s, Erecting the Priory and Convent of *Worceſter*, which bears date *Anno* 964. *Edgari* 6to on St. *Innocents* day, Signed by the King, the Queen, Two Arch-Biſhops, Five Of the State of the Monaſteries. *Rot. Pat.* 11. *Hen.* 8. *Part.* 1.

Biſhops, Six Abbots, (but neither Biſhoprick nor Abby are named) Six Dukes, and Five Knights, but there is no Seal to it. It bears, that the King, with the Council and Conſent of his Princes and Gentry, did Confirm and Eſtabliſh that Priory; and that he had Erected 47 Monaſteries, which he intended to encreaſe to 50. the number of Jubilee; and that the former Incumbents ſhould be for ever excluded from all pretenſions to their Benefices, becauſe they had rather choſen with the danger of their Order, and the prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, to adhere to their Wives, than to ſerve God chaſtly and Canonically.

The Monks being thus ſetled in moſt Cathedrals of *England*, gave themſelves up to Idleneſs and Pleaſure, which had been long complained of; but now that Learning began to be reſtored, they being everywhere poſſeſſed of the beſt Church-Benefices, were looked upon by all Learned-men with an evil eye, as having in their hands the chief encouragements of Learning, and yet doing nothing towards it; they on the contrary decrying and diſparaging it all they could, ſaying, It would bring in Hereſie, and a great deal of miſchief. And the Reſtorers of Learning, ſuch as *Eraſmus*, *Vives*, and others, did not ſpare them, but did expoſe their Ignorance and ill Manners to the world.

Now the King naturally loved Learning, and therefore the Cardinal, either to do a thing which he knew would be acceptable to the King, or that it was alſo agreeable to his own Inclinations, reſolved to ſet up ſome Colledges, in which there ſhould be both great Encouragements for eminent Scholars to proſecute their Studies, and good Schools for teaching and training up of Youth. This he knew would be a great honour to him, to be lookt upon as a Patron of Learning; and therefore he ſet his heart much on it, to have Two Colledges (the one at *Oxford*, the other at *Ipſwich*, the place of his Birth) well conſtituted, and nobly Endowed. But towards this, it was neceſſary to ſuppreſs ſome Monaſteries, which was thought every-whit as juſtifiable and lawful, as it had been many Ages before, to change Secular Prebends into Canons Regular; the endowed Goods being ſtill applied to a Religious uſe. And it was thought hard to ſay, That if the Pope had the abſolute Power of diſpenſing the Spiritual Treaſure of the Church, and to tranſlate the Merits of one man, and apply them to another; that he had not a much more abſolute Power over the Temporal Treaſure of the Church, to tranſlate Church-Lands from one uſe and apply them to another. And indeed the Cardinal was then ſo much conſidered at *Rome*, as a Pope of another world, that whatever he deſired he eaſily obtained. Therefore on the 3*d*. of *April* 1524. Pope *Clement* by a Bull gave him Authority to ſuppreſs the Monaſtery of St. *Frideſwide* in *Oxford*, and in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, and to carry the Monks elſewhere, with a very full *non obſtante*. To this the King gave his aſſent the 19*th*. of *April* following. After this there followed many other Bulls for other Religious Houſes and Rectories that were Impropriated. Theſe Houſes being thus ſuppreſſed by the Law, they belonged to the King; who thereupon made them over to the Cardinal by new and ſpecial Grants, which are all Enrolled. And ſo he went on with theſe great Foundations, and brought them to Perfection: That at *Oxford* in the 18*th* year, and that at *Ipſwich* in the 20*th* year of the Kings Reign, as appears by the Dates of the Kings Patents for Founding them.

The Cardinal's Colledges

The Bull and Royal Aſſent. 14. *Reg.* 2. *Part. Rot. Pat.*

In

In the laſt Place I come to ſhew the new opinions in Religion, or thoſe that were accounted new then in *England*; and the State and Progreſs of them till the 19*th* year of the Kings Reign.

From the days of *WWickliffe*, there were many that diſliked moſt of the received Doctrines, in ſeveral parts of the Nation. The Clergy were at that time very hateful to the people; for as the Pope did exact heavily on them, ſo they being oppreſſed took all means poſſible to make the people repay what the Popes wreſted from them. *Wickliffe* being much encouraged and ſupported by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Lord *Piercy*, the Biſhops could not proceed againſt him till the Duke of *Lancaſter* was put from the King, and then he was condemned at *Oxford*. Many opinions are charged upon him, but whether he held them or not, we know not, but by the Teſtimonies of his Enemies, who writ of him with ſo much paſſion, that it diſcredits all they ſay; yet he dyed in Peace, though his body was afterwards burn't. He tranſlated the Bible out of Latin into *Engliſh*, with a long Preface before it, in which he reflected ſeverely on the corruptions of the Clergy, and condemned the Worſhiping of Saints and Images, and denyed the corporal Preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, and exhorted all people to the Study of the Scriptures. His Bible with this Preface was well received by a great many, who were led into theſe Opinions, rather by the Impreſſions which common ſenſe and plain Reaſon made on them, than by any deep Speculation or Study. For the followers of this Doctrine were illiterate and ignorant men: ſome few Clerks joyned to them, but they formed not themſelves into any body or aſſociation; and were ſcattered over the Kingdom, holding theſe Opinons in private without making any publick Profeſſion of them: Generally they were known by their diſparaging the ſuperſtitious Clergy, whoſe Corruptions were then ſo notorious, and their Cruelty ſo enraged, that no wonder the people were deeply prejudiced againſt them. Nor were the methods they uſed likely to prevail much upon them, being ſevere and cruel.

The Firſt beginning of Reformation in *England*.

In the Primitive Church, though in their Councils they were not backward to paſs Anathematiſms on every thing that they judged Hereſie; yet all Capital proceedings againſt Hereticks were condemned; and when two Biſhops did proſecute *Priſcillian*, and his followers before the Emperour *Maximus*, upon which they were put to death, they were generally ſo blamed for it that many refuſed to hold Communion with them. The *Roman* Emperors made many Laws againſt Hereticks, for the fining and baniſhing of them, and ſecluded them from the Priviledges of other Subjects; ſuch as *making WWills*, or *receiving Legacies*; only the *Manichees* (who were a ſtrange mixture between Heathenism and Chriſtianity) were to ſuffer death for their errors. Yet the Biſhops in thoſe days, particularly in *Africk*, doubted much, whether upon the Inſolencies of Hereticks, or Schiſmaticks, they might deſire the Emperor to execute thoſe Laws for Fining, Baniſhing, and other reſtraints. And St. *Auſtin* was not eaſily prevailed on to conſent to it. But at length the *Donatiſts* were ſo intolerable, that after ſeveral Conſultations about it, they were forced to conſent to thoſe inferior penalties, but ſtill condemned the taking away of their lives. And even in the Execution of the Imperial Laws in thoſe inferiour puniſhments, they

The Cruelties of the Church of *Rome*.

they were always interposing, to moderate the severity of the Prefects and Governours. The first Instance of severity on mens bodies that was not censured by the Church, was in the Fifth Century under *Justin* the first, who Ordered the tongue of *Severus* (who had been Patriarch of *Antioch*, but did daily Anathematise the Council of *Chalcedon*) to be cut out. In the Eighth Century *Justinian* the 2d. (called *Rhinotmetus* from his cropt nose) burnt all the *Manichees* in *Armenia*: And in the end of the Eleventh Century the *Bogomili* were condemned to be burnt by the Patriarch and Council of *Constantinople*. But in the end of the 12th, and in the beginning of the 13th Century, a Company of Simple and Innocent persons in the Southern parts of *France*, being disgusted with the Corruptions both of the Popish Clergy and of the publick Worship, separated from their Assemblies; and then *Dominick* and his *brethren Preachers*, who came among them to convince them, finding their Preaching did not prevail, betook themselves to that way, that was sure to silence them. They perswaded the Civil Magistrates to burn all such as were judged Obstinate Hereticks. That they might do this by a Law, the Fourth Council of *Lateran* did Decree, that all Hereticks should be delivered to the *Secular Power* to be *extirpated*; (they thought not fit to speak out, but by the Practise it was known that *Burning* was that which they meant;) and if they did it not, they were to be Excommunicated; and after that, if they still refuse to do their duty, (which was upon the matter to be the Inquisitors Hangmen) they were to deny it at their utmost Perils. For not only the Ecclesiastical Censures, but Anathema's were thought too feeble a punishment for this Omission. Therefore a Censure was found out, as severe upon the Prince, as Burning was to the poor Heretick. *He was to be deposed by the Pope, his Subjects to be absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, and his Dominions to be given away to any other faithful Son of the Church, such as pleased the Pope best*; and all this by the Authority of a Synod, that passed for a *Holy General Council*. This as it was fatal to the Counts of *Tholouse*, who were great Princes in the South of *France*, and first fell under the Censures; so it was terrible to all other Princes, who thereupon, to save themselves delivered up their Subjects to the Mercy of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

Fitz-Herbert de Nat. Brevium.

Burning was the death they made choice of, because Witches, Wizards, and Sodomites had been so executed. Therefore to make Heresie appear a terrible thing, this was thought the most proper punishment of it. It had also a resemblance of everlasting Burning, to which they adjudged their Souls, as well as their bodies were condemned to the fire; but with this signal difference, that they could find no such effectual way to oblige God to execute their sentence, as they contrived against the Civil Magistrate. But however they confidently gave it out, that by vertue of that Promise of our Saviours, *Whose sins ye bind on Earth, they are bound in Heaven*, their Decrees were ratified in Heaven. And it not being easie to disprove what they said, people believed the one, as they saw the other sentence executed. So that whatever they condemned as Heresie, was looked on as the worst thing in the world.

There was no occasion for the execution of this Law in *England*, till

till the days of *Wickliffe*. And the favour he had from ſome great men ſtopt the Proceedings againſt him. But in the *5th.* year of King *Richard* the Second, a Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, and was aſſented to by the King, and publiſhed for an Act of Parliament, though the Bill was never ſent to the Houſe of Commons. By this pretended Law it appears, *Wickliff's* followers were then very numerous; that they had a certain habit, and did Preach in many places, both in Churches, Church-yards and Markets, without licence from the Ordinary; and did preach ſeveral Doctrines both againſt the Faith, and the Laws of the Land, as had been proved before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the other Biſhops, Prelates, Doctors of Divinity, and of the Civil and Canon-Law, and others of the Clergy: That they would not ſubmit to the Admonitions, nor Cenſures of the Church; but by their ſubtile ingenious words, did draw the people to follow them and defend them by ſtrong hand, and in great routs. Therefore it was Ordained, that upon the Biſhops certifying into the *Chancery* the names of ſuch Preachers and their Abettors, the Chancellour ſhould iſſue forth Commiſſions to the Sheriffs and other the Kings Miniſters, to hold them in Arreſt and ſtrong Priſon till they ſhould *juſtify them* according to the Law and reaſon of Holy Church. From the gentleneſs of which Law it may appear, that *England* was not then ſo tame as to bear the ſeverity of thoſe cruel Laws which were ſetled and put in execution in other Kingdoms.

The Laws of *England* againſt Hereticks.

Under *Rich.* the 2*d.*

The Cuſtom at that time was to engroſs Copies of all the Acts of Parliament, and to ſend them with a Writ under the great Seal to the Sheriffs, to make them be proclaimed within their juriſdictions. And *John Braibrook* Biſhop of *London*, then Lord Chancellour, ſent this with the other Acts of that Parliament to be proclaimed. The Writ bears date the *26th.* of *May*, 5^to^ *Reg.* But in the next Parliament that was held in the *6th.* year of that Kings Reign, the Commons preferred a Bill reciting the former Act, and conſtantly affirmed that they had never aſſented to it, and therefore deſired it might be declared to be void: for they proteſted it was never their intent to be *juſtified, and to bind themſelves and their Succeſſors to the Prelates, more than their Anceſtors had done in times paſt.* To which the King gave the Royal Aſſent, as it is in the Records of Parliament. But in the Proclamation of the Acts of that Parliament this Act was ſuppreſſed; ſo that the former Act was ſtill looked on as a good Law, and is Printed in the Book of Statutes. Such pious frauds were always practiſed by the Popiſh Clergy, and were indeed neceſſary for the ſupporting the Credit of that Church. When *Richard* the 2*d.* was depoſed and the Crown uſurped by *Henry* the *4th*, then he in gratitude to the Clergy that aſſiſted him in his coming to the Crown, granted them a Law to their hearts content in the 2*d* year of his Reign. The Preamble bears, *That ſome had a new Faith about the Sacraments of the Church, and the Authority of the ſame; and did preach without Authority, gathered Conventicles, taught Schools, wrote Books againſt the Catholick Faith; with many other heinous aggravations. Upon which the Prelates and Clergy, and the Commons of the Realm prayed the King to provide a ſufficient remedy to ſo great an evil. Therefore the King by the aſſent of the States and other diſcreet men of the Realm being in the ſaid Parliament, did ordain, That none ſhould Preach*

Cook's Inſtitutes 3. part. chap. 5. of Hereſie.

6^to^ *Rich.* 2. 1 *Part. Numb.* 52. *Rot Parl.*

Another Law under King *Henry* the 4*th.*

Preach without Licence, except persons Priviledged; That none should Preach any Doctrine contrary to the Catholick Faith, or the Determination of the Holy Church, and that none should favour and abett them, nor keep their Books, but deliver them to the Diocesan of the place within 40 days after the Proclamation of that Statute. And that if any Persons were defamed or suspected of doing against that Ordinance, then the Ordinary might arrest them, and keep them in his Prison, till they were Canonically purged of the Articles laid against them, or did abjure them according to the Laws of the Church. Provided always, that the proceedings against them were publickly and judicially done and ended, within three Months after they had been so Arrested; and if they were Convict, the Diocesan, or his Commissaries, might keep them in Prison as long as to his discretion shall seem expedient, and might Fine them as should seem competent to him, certifying the Fine into the Kings Exchequer: and if any being Convict did refuse to abjure, or after Abjuration did fall into Relapse, then he was to be left to the Secular Court according to the Holy Canons. And the Majors, Sheriffs, or Bayliffs were to be personally present at the passing the Sentence, when they should be required by the Diocesan, or his Commissaries, and after the Sentence they were to receive them, and them before the People in a high place do to be Brent. By this Statute the Sheriffs, or other Officers, were immediately to proceed to the Burning of Hereticks without any Writ, or Warrant from the King. But it seems the Kings Learned Council advised him to issue out a Writ, *De Hæretico comburendo*, upon what grounds of Law I cannot tell. For in the same year when *William Sautre* (who was the first that was put to death upon the account of Heresie) was judged Relapse by *Thomas Arundel*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, in a Convocation of his Province; and thereupon was degraded from Priesthood, and left to Secular Power; a Writ was issued out to Burn him, which in the Writ is called *The Customary Punishment* (relating it is like to the Customs that were beyond Sea.) But this Writ was not necessary by the Law, and therefore it seems these Writs were not Enrolled: For in the whole Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*. I have not been able to find any of these Writs in the Rolls. But by *Warham*'s Rigister I see the Common course of the Law, was to certifie into the Chancery the Conviction of an Heretick, upon which the Writ was issued out, if the King did not send a Pardon. Thus it went on all the Reign of *Henry* the 4*th*. But in the beginning of his Sons Reign, there was a Conspiracy (as was pretended) by Sir *John Oldcastle*, and some others against the King and the Clergy; upon which many were put in Prison, and 29 were both attainted of *Treason*, and condemned of *Heresie*, so they were both Hanged and Burnt. But as a Writer that lived in the following Age, says, *Certain affirmed that these were but feigned causes, surmised of the Spiritualty more of displeasure than truth.* That Conspiracy, whether real or pretended, produced a severe Act against those Hereticks, who were then best known by the name of *Lollards*. By which Act all Officers of State, Judges, Justices of the Peace, Majors, Sheriffs and Bayliffs, were to be Sworn when they took their Imployments, to use their whole Power and Diligence to destroy all Heresies and Errors, called *Lollardies*, and to assist the Ordinaries and their Commissaries in their proceedings against them; and that the *Lollards* should forfeit all the Lands they held in *Fee-Simple*, and their Goods and Chattels to the King.

Fitz Herbert's Natura Brevium.

Hall.

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The Clergy according to the Genius of that Religion, having their Authority fortified with ſuch ſevere Laws, were now more cruel and inſolent than ever. And if any Man denied them any part of that reſpect, or of thoſe advantages to which they pretended, he was preſently brought under the ſuſpicion of Hereſie, and vexed with impriſonments, and Articles were brought againſt him.

Upon which great complaints followed. And the Judges to correct this, granted *Habeas Corpus* upon their Impriſonments, and examined the Warrants and either Bailed, or Diſcharged the Priſoners as they ſaw cauſe: For though the Decrees of the Church had made many things Hereſie, ſo that the Clergy had much matter to work upon; yet when Offenders againſt them in other things could not be charged with any formal Hereſie, then by conſequences they ſtudied to faſten it on them, but were ſometimes over-ruled by the Judges. Thus, when one *Keyſer* (who was Excommunicated by *Thomas Bourchier*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, at the Suit of another) ſaid openly, that *That Sentence was not to be feared*; for though the Arch-biſhop, or his Commiſſary had Excommunicated him, *yet he was not Excommunicated before God*; he was upon this Committed by the Arch-biſhops Warrant, as one juſtly ſuſpected of Hereſie: but the Judges upon his moving for an *Habeas Corpus*, granted it; and the Priſoner being brought to the Bar, with the Warrant for his Impriſonment, they found the matter contained in it was not within the Statute, and firſt Bailed him, and after that they Diſcharged him. One *Warner* of *London*, having ſaid, *That he was not bound to pay Tithes to his Curate* was alſo impriſoned by *Edward Vaughan*, at the command of the Biſhop of *London*; but he eſcaped out of Priſon, and brought his Action of falſe impriſonment againſt *Vaughan*. Whereupon *Vaughan* pleading the Statute of *Henry* the 4*th*, and that his Opinion was an Hereſie againſt the Determination of the Catholick Faith; the Court of the *Common-Pleas* judged, That the words were not within the Statute, and *that his Opinion was an Error*, *but no Hereſie*. So that the Judges looking on themſelves as the Interpreters of the Law, thought, That even in the Caſe of Hereſie, they had Authority to declare, what was Hereſie by the Law, and what not: But what oppoſition the Clergy made to this, I do not know. 5*th* year of Edw. 4*th*.

I hope the Reader will eaſily excuſe this Digreſſion, it being ſo material to the Hiſtory that is to follow. I ſhall next ſet down what I find in the Records about the proceedings againſt Hereticks in the beginning of this Reign.

On the 2*d* of *May* in the year 1511. Six Men and Four Women, moſt of them being of *Tenterden*, appeared before Arch-biſhop *Warham*, in his Mannor of *Knoll*, and abjured the following Errors. 1*ſt*. That in the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Chriſt, but Material Bread. 2*dly*, That the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and Confirmation, are not neceſſary, nor profitable for Mens Souls. 3*dly*, That Confeſſion of Sins ought not to be made to a Prieſt. 4*thly*, That there is no more Power given by God to a Prieſt than to a Lay-man, 5*thly*, That the Solemnization of Matrimony is not profitable, nor neceſſary for the well of Mans Soul. 6*thly*, That the Sacrament of Extreme Unction is not profitable, nor neceſſary for Mans Soul. 7*thly*, That Pilgrimages to holy and devout Places be not profitable, neither Meritorious for Mans Soul. *Warham*'s Proceedings againſt Hereticks. Regiſt. *Warham*, Fol. 164

8*thly*, That Images of Saints be not to be worſhipped. 9*thly*, That a Man ſhould pray to no Saint, but only to God. 10*thly*, That holy Water and holy Bread be not the better after the Benediction made by the Prieſt, than before. And as they abjured theſe Opinions, ſo they were made to ſwear, That they ſhould diſcover all whom they knew to hold theſe Errors, or who were ſuſpected of them, or that did keep any private Conventicles, or were Fautors, or Comforters of them that publiſhed ſuch Doctrines. Two other Men of *Tenterden* did that day in the afternoon abjure moſt of theſe Opinions. The Court ſate again the 5*th* of *May*, and the Arch-biſhop enjoyned them Penance, to wear the Badge of a Faggot in Flames on their Cloaths during their lives, or till they were diſpenſed with for it; and that in the Proceſſion both at the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, and at their own Pariſh Churches they ſhould carry a Faggot on their ſhoulders: which was looked on as a publick Confeſſion that they deſerved Burning.

That ſame day another of *Tenterden* abjured the ſame Doctrines. On the 15*th* of *May* the Court ſate at *Lambeth*, where four Men and one Woman abjured. On the 19*th* four Men more abjured. On the 3*d* of *June* a Man and a Woman abjured. Another Woman the 26*th* of *July*: Another Man the 29*th* of *July*: Two Women on the 2*d* of *Auguſt*: A Man on the 3*d* and a Woman on the 8*th* of *Auguſt*: Three Men on the 16*th* of *Auguſt*: And three Men and a Woman on the 3*d* of *Sept.* In theſe Abjurations ſome were put to abjure more, ſome fewer of the former Doctrines; and in ſome of their Abjurations Two Articles more were added: 1*ſt*, That the Images of the Crucifix, of our Lady and other Saints, ought not to be worſhipped becauſe they were made with Mens Hands, and were but Stocks and Stones. 2*dly*, That Money and Labours ſpent in Pilgrimages were all in vain. All theſe Perſons (whether they were unjuſtly accuſed, or were overcome with fear, or had but crude conceptions of thoſe Opinions, and ſo were eaſily frighted out of them) abjured and performed the Penance that was enjoyned them. Others met with harder meaſure; for on the 29*th* of *April*, in the ſame year, 1511. one *William Carder* of *Tenterden*, being Endited on the former Article, he denied them all but one, *That he had ſaid it was enough to pray to Almighty God alone, and therefore we needed not to pray to Saints for any Mediation.* Upon which Witneſſes were brought againſt him, who were all ſuch as were then Priſoners, but intended to abjure and were now made uſe of to Convict others. They ſwore that he had taught them theſe Opinions. When their Depoſitions were publiſhed, he ſaid he did repent if he had ſaid any thing againſt the Faith and the Sacraments; but he did not remember that he had ever ſaid any ſuch thing. Sentence was given upon him as an obſtinate Heretick, and he was delivered up to the Secular Power. On the ſame day a Woman, *Agnes Grevill*, was Endited upon the ſame Articles: She pleaded *Not Guilty*, but by a ſtrange kind of proceeding, her Husband and her Two Sons were brought in Witneſſes againſt her. Her Husband depoſed, that in the end of the Reign of King *Edward* the 4*th*, one *John Ive*, had perſwaded her into theſe Opinions, in which ſhe had perſiſted ever ſince: Her Sons alſo depoſed, that ſhe had been ſtill infuſing theſe Doctrines into them. One *Robert Harriſon*, was alſo Endited, and pleading *Not Guilty*, Witneſſes did prove the Articles againſt him. And on the 2*d* of *May*,

May Sentence was given againſt theſe Two as obſtinate Hereticks. And the ſame day the Arch-biſhop Signed the Writs for certifying theſe Sentences into the Chancery, which conclude in theſe words: *Our holy Mother the Church having nothing further that ſhe can do in this matter, we leave the fore-mentioned Hereticks, and every one of them to your Royal Highneſs, and to your Secular Council.* And on the 8*th* of *May*, *John Brown* and *Edward Walker*, being alſo Endited of Hereſie on the former Points, they both pleaded *Not Guilty*. But the Witneſſes depoſing againſt them, they were judged obſtinate Hereticks; and the former a Relapſe, for he had abjured before Cardinal *Morton*. And on the 19*th* of *May* Sentence was given. When, or how the Sentences were Executed, I cannot find. Sure I am, there are no Pardons upon Record for any of them, and it was the courſe of the Law, either to ſend a Pardon, or to iſſue out the Writ for Burning them.

Fox mentions none of theſe proceedings, only he tells that *John Brown* was taken for ſome words ſaid in Diſcourſe with a Prieſt, about the ſaying of Maſſes for redeeming Souls out of Purgatory. Upon which he was committed for ſuſpicion of Hereſie: But *Fox* ſeems to have been miſinformed about the time of his Burning, which he ſays was, *Anno* 1517. for they would not have kept a condemned Heretick Six years out of the Fire. I never find them guilty of any ſuch clemency. Theſe ſevere Sentences made the reſt ſo apprehenſive of their danger, that all the others who were Endited, abjured. And in the year 1512. on the 5*th*. of *June*, Two Men and Two Women abjured that Article, That in the Sacrament of the Altar, there was only Material Bread, and not the Body of Chriſt. And on the 4*th* and 13*th* of *September*, Two other Women abjured the former Articles: and this is all that is in *Warham*'s Regiſter about Hereticks.

Fitz-James Biſhop of *London*, his proceedings againſt Hereticks, *Fol.* 4.

In what remains of *Fitz-James*, Biſhop of *London*'s Regiſter, There are but Three Abjurations. In the year 1509. one *Elizabeth Sampſon*, of *Aldermanbury*, was Endited for having ſpoken reproachfully of the Images of our Lady, of *Willſden*, *Crom*, and *Walſingham*, condemning Pilgrimages to them, and ſaying, It was better to give Alms at home to poor People, than to go on Pilgrimages; and that Images were but Stocks and Stones, and denying the vertue of the Sacrament of the Altar, when the Prieſt was not in clean life, and ſaying, It was but Bread and that Chriſt could not be both in Heaven and in Earth; and for denying Chriſts Aſcenſion to Heaven, and ſaying, That more ſhould not go to Heaven than were already in it. But ſhe to be free of further trouble, confeſſed her ſelf Guilty, and abjured all thoſe Opinions. It is generally obſerved, That in the proceedings againſt *Lollards*, the Clergy always mixed ſome Capital Errors, which all Chriſtians rejected, with thoſe for which they accuſed them; and ſome particulars being proved, they gave it out that they were Guilty of them all, to repreſent them the more odious. And in this caſe the thing is plain, for this Woman is charged for denying Chriſts Aſcenſion; and yet another of the Articles was, That ſhe ſaid Chriſts Body could not be in the Sacrament, becauſe it could not be both in Heaven and on Earth. Which two Opinions are inconſiſtent. In the year 1511. *William Potier* was Endited for ſaying, There were Three Gods, and that he knew not for what Chriſts Paſſion, or Baptiſm availed; and did abjure. Whe-

ther he only ſpoke theſe things Impiouſly, or whether he held them in Opinion, is not clear. But certainly he was no *Lollard*. One *Joan Baker* was alſo made to abjure ſome words ſhe had ſaid, That Images were but Idols, and not to be worſhipped; and that they were ſet up by the Prieſt out of Covetouſneſs, that they might grow Rich by them; and that Pilgrimages were not to be made. More is not in that Regiſter. But *Fox* gives an account of Six others, who were burnt in *Fitz-James* his time. On this I have been the longer, that it may appear, what were the Opinions of the *Lollards* at that time, before *Luther* had publiſhed any thing againſt the Indulgences. For theſe Opinions did very much diſpoſe People to receive the Writings which came afterwards out of *Germany*.

The Progreſs of *Luther's* Doctrine.

The firſt beginnings and Progreſs of *Luther's* Doctrine are ſo well known, that I need not tell how upon the publiſhing of Indulgences in *Germany*, in ſo groſs a manner, that for a little Money any Man might both preſerve himſelf, and deliver his Friends out of Purgatory, many were offended at this Merchandiſe, againſt which *Luther* wrote. But it concerning the See of *Rome* in ſo main a Point of their Prerogative, which would alſo have cut off a great Branch of their Revenue, he was proceeded againſt with extream ſeverity: So ſmall a ſpark as that Colliſion made, could never have raiſed ſo great a fire, if the World had not been ſtrongly diſpoſed to it, by the juſt prejudices they had conceived againſt the Popiſh Clergy, whoſe Ignorance and lewd Lives had laid them ſo open to contempt and hatred, that any one that would ſet himſelf againſt them, could not but be kindly looked on by the People. They had engroſſed the greateſt part both of the Riches and Power of Chriſtendom, and lived at their eaſe and in much Wealth. And the corruptions of their Worſhip and Doctrine were ſuch, that a very ſmall proportion of common ſenſe, with but an overly looking on the New Teſtament, diſcovered them. Nor had they any other varniſh to colour them by, but the Authority and Traditions of the Church. But when ſome ſtudious Men began to read the Ancient Fathers, and Councils, (though there was then a great mixture of Sophiſticated ſtuff that went under the Ancient Names, and was joyned to their true Works, which Criticks have ſince diſcovered to be ſpurious) they found a vaſt difference between the firſt Five Ages of the Chriſtian Church, in which Piety and Learning prevailed, and the laſt Ten Ages in which Ignorance had buried all their former Learning, only a little miſguided Devotion was retained for Six of theſe Ages; and in the laſt Four, the reſtleſs Ambition and Uſurpation of the Popes was ſupported by the ſeeming holineſs of the begging Friers, and the falſe Counterfeits of Learning, which were among the Canoniſts, Schoolmen and Caſuiſts. So that it was incredible to ſee, how Men, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition the Princes every where made to the progreſs of theſe reputed new Opinions, and the great advantages by which the Church of *Rome* both held and drew many into their Intereſts, were generally inclined to theſe Doctrines. Thoſe of the Clergy, who at firſt Preached them, were of the begging Orders of Friers, who having fewer engagements on them from their Intereſts, were freer to diſcover and follow the truth. And the Auſtere Diſcipline they had been trained under, did prepare them to encounter thoſe difficulties that lay in their way. And the Laity that had long lookt

lookt on their Paſtors with an evil Eye, did receive theſe Opinions very eaſily; which did both diſcover the Impoſtures with which the World had been abuſed, and ſhewed a plain and ſimple way to the Kingdom of Heaven, by putting the Scriptures into their hands, and ſuch other Inſtructions about Religion, as were ſincere and genuine. The Clergy who at firſt deſpiſed theſe new Preachers, were at length much Allarmed when they ſaw all People running after them, and receiving their Doctrines.

As theſe things did ſpread much in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and the *Netherlands*, ſo their Books came over into *England*, where there was much matter already prepared to be wrought on, not only by the prejudices they had conceived againſt the corrupt Clergy, but by the Opinions of the *Lollards*, which had been now in *England* ſince the days of *Wickliff*, for about 150 years. Between which Opinions, and the Doctrines of the Reformers, there was great affinity; and therefore to give the better vent to the Books that came out of *Germany*, many of them were tranſlated into the *Engliſh* Tongue, and were very much read and applauded. This quickned the Proceedings againſt the *Lollards*, and the enquiry became ſo ſevere, that great numbers were brought into the Toils of the Biſhops and their Commiſſaries. If a Man had ſpoken but a light word againſt any of the Conſtitutions of the Church, he was ſeized on by the Biſhops Officers; and if any taught their Children the Lords Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apoſtles Creed in the Vulgar Tongue, that was Crime enough to bring them to the Stake: As it did Six Men and a Woman at *Coventry*, in the *Paſſion-week*, 1519. being the 4*th* of *April*. *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, was very cruel to all that were ſuſpected of Hereſie in his Dioceſs; ſeveral of them abjured, and ſome were burnt. *Fox.*

But all that did not produce what they deſigned by it. The Clergy did not correct their own Faults, and their cruelty was looked on as an evidence of Guilt, and of a weak Cauſe; ſo that the method they took, wrought only on Peoples fears, and made them more cautious and reſerved, but did not at all remove the Cauſe, nor work either on their reaſons or affections.

Upon all this, the King to get himſelf a Name, and to have a laſting Intereſt with the Clergy, thought it not enough to aſſiſt them with his Authority, but would needs turn their Champion, and write againſt *Luther* in defence of the Seven Sacraments. This Book was magnified by the Clergy as the moſt Learned Work that ever the Sun ſaw; and he was compared to King *Solomon*, and to all the Chriſtian Emperours that had ever been: And it was the chief Subject of Flattery for many years, beſides the glorious Title of *Defender of the Faith*, which the Pope beſtowed on him for it. And it muſt be acknowledged, that conſidering the Age, and that it was the work of a King, it did deſerve ſome Commendation. But *Luther* was not at all daunted at it, but rather valued himſelf upon it, that ſo great a King had entred the liſts with him, and anſwered his Book. And he replied, not without a large mixture of Acrimony, for which he was generally blamed, as forgetting that great reſpect, that is due to the Perſons of Sovereign Princes. The King writes againſt *Luther*. 1522.

But all would not do. Theſe Opinions ſtill gained more footing, and *William Tindal* made a Tranſlation of the New Teſtament in *Engliſh*,

to

October 23. *Reg. Tonſtall.* Fol. 45. with which that in *Fox* agrees exactly.

to which he added ſome ſhort Gloſſes. This was printed in *Antwerp* and ſent over into *England* in the year 1526. Againſt which there was a Prohibition publiſhed by every Biſhop in his Dioceſs, bearing that ſome of *Luthers* followers had erroneouſly Tranſlated the New Teſtament, and had corrupted the Word of God, both by a falſe Tranſlation, and by heretical Gloſſes: Therefore they required all Incumbents to charge all within their Pariſhes, that had any of theſe, to bring them in to the Vicar-General within thirty days after that premonition, under the pains of Excommunication and incurring the ſuſpicion of Hereſie. There were alſo many other Books Prohibited at that time, moſt of them written by *Tindal*. And Sir *Thomas More*, who was a Man celebrated for Vertue and Learning, undertook the anſwering of ſome of thoſe; but before he went about it, he would needs have the Biſhops Licence for keeping and reading them. He wrote according to the way of the Age with much bitterneſs: and though he had been no Friend to the Monks, and a great declamer againſt the Ignorance of the Clergy, and had been ill uſed by the Cardinal; yet he was one of the bittereſt Enemies of the New Preachers; not without great cruelty when he came into Power, though he was otherwiſe a very good-natur'd Man. So violently did the *Roman* Clergy hurry all their Friends into thoſe exceſſes of Fire and Sword.

Collection Number 6.

When the Party became ſo conſiderable, that it was known there were Societies of them, not only in *London*, but in both the Univerſities, then the Cardinal was conſtrained to act. His contempt of the Clergy was looked on as that which gave encouragement to the Hereticks. When reports were brought to Court of a company that were in *Cambridge*, *Bilney*, *Latimer*, and others that read and propagated *Luther*'s Book and Opinions: ſome Biſhops moved, in the year 1523. that there might be a Viſitation appointed to go to *Cambridge*, for trying who were the Fautors of Hereſie there. But he, as *Legate*, did inhibit it (upon what grounds I cannot imagine.) Which was brought againſt him afterwards in Parliament (*Art.* 43. of his Impeachment,) Yet when theſe Doctrines were ſpread every where, he called a meeting of all the Biſhops and Divines, and Canoniſts about *London*; where *Thomas Bilney* and *Thomas Arthur* were brought before them, and Articles were brought in againſt them. The whole Proceſs is ſet down at length by *Fox* in all Points according to *Tonſtall*'s Regiſter, except one fault in the Tranſlation. When the Cardinal asked *Bilney* whether he had not taken an Oath before, not to preach, or defend any of *Luthers* Doctrines; he confeſſed he had done it, but not *judicially*, (*judicialiter* in the Regiſter.) This *Fox* Tranſlates, *not lawfully*. In all the other particulars there is an exact agreement between the Regiſter and his Acts. The ſum of the proceedings of the Court, was, That after examination of Witneſſes, and ſeveral other ſteps in the Proceſs, which the Cardinal left to the Biſhop of *London*, and the other Biſhops to manage, *Bilney* ſtood out long, and ſeemed reſolved to ſuffer for a good Conſcience. In the end, what through humane infirmity, what through the great importunity of the Biſhop of *London*, who ſet all his Friends on him, he did abjure on the 7*th* of *December*, as *Arthur* had done on the 2*d* of that Month. And though *Bilney* was relapſt, and ſo was to expect no mercy by the Law, yet the Biſhop of *London* enjoyned him Penance, and let him go. For *Tonſtall* being

being a Man both of good Learning and an unblemiſht Life, theſe Vertues produced one of their ordinary effects in him, *great moderation*, that was ſo eminent in him, that at no time did he dip his hands in Blood. *Geoffry*, *Loni*, and *Thomas Gerrard*, alſo abjured for having had *Luther*'s Books, and defending his Opinions.

Theſe were the proceedings againſt Hereticks, in the firſt half of this Reign. And thus far I have opened the State of Affairs, both as to Religious and Civil Concerns for the firſt 18 years of this Kings time, with what Obſervations I could gather of the Diſpoſitions and Tempers of the Nation at that time, which prepared them for the Changes that followed afterwards.

The End of the Firſt Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK II.

Of the Proceſs of Divorce between King Henry *and Queen* Katharine, *and of what paſſed from the Nineteenth to the Twenty fifth year of his Reign, in which he was declared Supreme Head of the Church of* England.

The beginning of the Sute of Divorce.

KING *Henry* hitherto lived at eaſe, and enjoyed his pleaſures; he made War with much Honour, and that always produced a juſt and advantageous Peace. He had no trouble upon him in all his Affairs, except about the getting of Money, and even in that, the Cardinal eaſed him. But now a Domeſtick trouble aroſe, which perplexed all the reſt of his Government, and drew after it Conſequences of a high nature.

The Marriage of Prince *Arthur* to the *Infanta* of *Spain*.

Henry the *7th* upon wiſe and good conſiderations, reſolved to link himſelf in a cloſe Confedracy with *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, Kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, and with the Houſe of *Burgundy* againſt *France*, which was looked on as the laſting and dangerous Enemy of *England*. And therefore a Match was agreed on between his Son, Prince *Arthur*, and *Katharine* the *Infanta* of *Spain*, whoſe eldeſt Siſter *Joan* was Married to *Philip*, that was then Duke of *Burgundy*, and Earl of *Flanders*; out of which aroſe a triple Alliance between *England*, *Spain*, and *Burgundy*, againſt the King of *France*, who was then become formidable to all about him. There was given with her 200000 Duckats, the greateſt Portion that had been given for many Ages with any Princeſs, which made it not the leſs acceptable to King *Henry* the Seventh.

The

The *Infanta* was brought into *England*, and on the 14th of *Nov.* was Married at St. *Pauls* to the Prince of *Wales*. They lived together as Man and Wife, till the 2*d* of *April* following; and not only had their Bed ſolemnly bleſt when they were put in it, on the night of their Marriage, but alſo were ſeen publickly in Bed for ſeveral days after, and went down to live at *Ludlow-Caſtle* in *Wales*, where they ſtill Bedded together. But Prince *Arthur*, though a ſtrong and healthful youth when he Married her, yet died ſoon after, which ſome thought was haſtned by his too early Marriage. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador had by his Maſters order taken proofs of the Conſummation of the Marriage, and ſent them into *Spain*; the young Prince alſo himſelf had by many expreſſions given his Servants cauſe to believe that his Marriage was conſummated the firſt night, which in a youth of Sixteen years of Age, that was vigorous and healthful, was not at all judged ſtrange. It was ſo conſtantly believed that when he died, his younger Brother *Henry* Duke of *York* was not called Prince of *Wales*, for ſome conſiderable time. Some ſay for one Month, ſome for 6 Months. And he was not created Prince of *Wales* till 10 Months were elapſed, *viz.* in the *February* following, when it was apparent that his Brothers Wife was not with Child by him. Theſe things were afterwards looked on as a full Demonſtration (being as much as the thing was capable of) that the Princeſs was not a Virgin after Prince *Arthur*'s Death. 1501.

See the Depoſitions of Witneſſes i L. *Herbert*.

Prince *Arth.* his Death *Apr.* 2. 1502.

Bacons Henry the 7th.

But the reaſon of State ſtill ſtanding for keeping up the Alliance againſt *France*, and King *Henry* the 7th having no mind to let ſo great a Revenue as ſhe had in Jointure be carried out of the Kingdom, it was propoſed, That ſhe ſhould be married to the younger Brother *Henry* now Prince of *Wales*. The two Prelates that were then in greateſt eſteem with King *Henry* the 7th, were *Warham* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The former delivered his opinion againſt it, and told the King that he thought it was neither honourable nor well pleaſing to God. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* perſwaded it, and for the Objections that were againſt it, and the Murmuring of the people who did not like a Marriage that was diſputable, leſt out of it new Wars ſhould afterward ariſe about the Right of the Crown, the Popes Diſpenſation was thought ſufficient to anſwer all; and his Authority was then ſo undiſputed that it did it effectually. So a Bull was obtained on the 26 of *Decemb.* 1503 to this effect, *That the Pope according to the greatneſs of his Authority, having received a Petition from Prince* Henry *and the Princeſs* Katharine, *Bearing, That whereas the Princeſs was Lawfully Married to Prince* Arthur (*which was perhaps conſummated by the* Carnalis Copula) *who was dead without any iſſue, but they being deſirous to Marry for preſerving the Peace between the Crowns of* England *and* Spain, *did Petition his Holineſs for his Diſpenſation; therefore the Pope, out of his care to maintain peace among all Catholick Kings, did abſolve them from all Cenſures under which they might be, and Diſpenſed with the Impediment of their Affinity, notwithſtanding any Apoſtolical Conſtitutions or Ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to Marry, or if they were already Married, he Confirming it, required their Confeſſor to enjoyn them ſome healthful penance for their having Married before the Diſpenſation was obtained.*

Conſultations about a ſecond Marriage of the *Infanta* to his Brother.

Warham's Depoſition in L. *Herbert*.

It is allowed by the Pope, Collections *Numb.* firſt.

1501. Upon political reasons. L. *Herbert.*

It was not much to be wondred at, that the Pope did readily grant this; for though very many both Cardinals and Divines did then oppose it, yet the Interest of the Papacy, which was preferred to all other Considerations, required it. For as that Pope being a great Enemy to *Lewis* the 12th the *French* King, would have done any thing to make an Alliance against him firmer; so he was a War-like Pope who considered Religion very little, and therefore might be easily perswaded to Confirm a thing that must needs oblige the succeeding Kings of *England* to maintain the Papal Authority, since from it they derived their Title to the Crown; little thinking that by a secret Direction of an over-ruling Providence, that Deed of his would occasion the extirpation of the Papal Power in *England*. So strangely doth God make the Devices of Men become of no effect, and turn them to a contrary end to that which is intended.

Henry Protests against it. *Jun.* 27. 1505.

Upon this Bull they were Married, the Prince of *Wales* being yet under Age. But *Warham* had so possessed the King with an aversion to this Marriage, that on the same day that the Prince was of Age, he by his Fathers command, laid on him in the presence of many of the Nobility and others, made a Protestation in the hands of *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* before a publick Notary, and read it himself, by which he Declared, That whereas he being under Age was Married to the "Princess *Katharine*; yet now coming to be of Age, he did not con- "firm that Marriage, but retracted and Annulled it, and would not pro- "ceed in it, but intended in full form of Law to void it and break it "off; which he declared he did freely and of his own accord.

Collect. *Num.* 2d. *Morison.*

His Father also dissuaded it.

Thus it stood during his Fathers life, who continued to the last to be against it; and when he was just dying, he charged his Son to break it off, though it is possible that no consideration of Religion might work so much on him, as the apprehension he had of the troubles that might follow on a controverted Title to the Crown; of which the Wars between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* had given a fresh and sad Demonstration. The King being dead, one of the first things that came under Consultation, was, that the young King must either break his Marriage totally, or conclude it. Arguments were brought on both hands: But those for it prevailed most with the King: So six weeks after he came to the Crown, he was Married again publickly, and soon after they were both Crowned. On the first day of the year she made him a very acceptable new-years gift of a Son, but he dyed in the *February* thereafter: She miscarried often, and an other Son dyed soon after he was born; only the Lady *Mary* lived to a perfect Age.

Apr. 22. 1509. K. *Henry* VII. dies.

Henry being come to the Crown Marries her. *Jun.* 3 They are Crowned *June* 24. Son born *Jan.* 1. 1511. Dies *Feb.* 22. another born and dies *Nov.* 1514. Lady *Mary* born *Feb.* 19. 1516.

In this state was the Kings Family when the Queen left bearing more Children, and contracted some diseases, that made her person unacceptable to him; but was, as to her other Qualities, a vertuous and grave Princess, much esteemed and beloved both of the King and the whole Nation. The King being out of hopes of more Children declared his Daughter Princess of *Wales*, and sent her to *Ludlow* to hold her Court there, and projected divers Matches for her. The first was with the *Dolphin*, which was agreed to between the King of *France* and him the 9th of *Novemb.* 1518. as appears by the Treaty yet extant. But this was broken afterwards upon the Kings Confederating with

1518. *Treaty Roll's* 10. Reg. His Daughter *Mary* Contracted to the *Dolphin*, *October* 11.

1486. Nata.

1501. Nov. 14. Arthuro nupsit.

1509. Iun. 3. Henrico Regi nupsit.

1526. toro exclusa.

1533. May 23 incesti damnata

1536. Ian. 8. obyt.

Printed for Rich: Chiswell at the Rose & Crown in St Pauls Church yard

with the Emperor againſt *France*, and a new Match agreed and ſworn to between the Emperor and the King at *Windſor* the 22. of *June* 1522. the Emperor being preſent in Perſon. This being afterwards neglected and broken by the Emperor, by the advice of his *Cortes* and States, as was formerly related, there followed ſome Overtures of a Marriage with *Scotland*. But thoſe alſo vaniſhed, and there was a ſecond Treaty begun with *France*, the King offering his Daughter to *Francis* himſelf, which he gladly accepting, a Match was Treated: and on the laſt of *April*, it was agreed, that the Lady *Mary* ſhould be given in Marriage either to *Francis* himſelf, or to his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleance*; and that Alternative was to be determined by the two Kings, at an Interview that was to be between them, ſoon after at *Calais* with forfeitures on both ſides if the Match went not on.

1527.

Afterwards to the Emperor. *Jun.* 22. 1522.

Offer'd to *Scotland Sept.* 1524.

again to *France April* 30. 1527.

For K. *Francis* himſelf, or for his Son the Duke of *Orleance*.

The Kings Marriage queſtioned by Forreigners.

But while this was in agitation the Biſhop of *Tarbe* the *French* Ambaſſador, made a great demur about the Princeſs *Mary*'s being illegitimate, as begotten in a Marriage that was contracted againſt a Divine Precept, with which no humane Authority could diſpenſe. How far this was ſecretly concerted between the *French* Court and ours, or between the Cardinal and the Ambaſſador, is not known. It is ſurmiſed that the King or the Cardinal ſet on the *French* to make this exception publickly, that ſo the King might have a better Colour to juſtifie his ſuit of Divorce, ſince other Princes were already queſtioning it. For if upon a Marriage propoſed of ſuch infinite advantage to *France*, as that would be with the Heir of the Crown of *England*, they nevertheleſs made Exceptions and proceeded but coldly in it, it was very reaſonable to expect that after the Kings Death, other Pretenders would have diſputed her Title in another manner.

To ſome it ſeemed ſtrange that the King did offer his Daughter to ſuch great Princes as the Emperor and the King of *France*, to whom if *England* had fallen in her right, it muſt have been a Province: for though in the laſt Treaty with *France*, ſhe was offered either to the King, or his Second Son; by which either the Children which the King might have by her, or the Children of the Duke of *Orleance*, ſhould have been Heirs to the Crown of *England*, and thereby it would ſtill have continued divided from *France*; yet this was full of hazard, for if the Duke of *Orleance* by his Brothers Death ſhould become King of *France*, as it afterwards fell out, or if the King of *France* had been once poſſeſſed of *England*, then according to the maxime of the *French* Government, that whatever their King acquires he holds it in the Right of his Crown, *England* was ſtill to be a Province to *France*, unleſs they freed themſelves by Arms. Others judged that the King intended to Marry her to *France*, the more effectually to ſeclude her from the Succeſſion, conſidering the averſion his Subjects had to a *French* Government, that ſo he might more eaſily ſettle his Baſtard Son the Duke of *Richmond* in the Succeſſion of the Crown.

While this Treaty went on, the Kings ſcruples about his Marriage began to take vent. It is ſaid that the Cardinal did firſt infuſe them into him, and made *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, that was the Kings Confeſſor, poſſeſs the Kings mind with them in confeſſion. If it was ſo, the King had, according to the Religion of that time, very juſt

The King himſelf Scruples it. *Sanderus de Schiſm. Angl.*

1527. cause of Scruple, when his Confessor judged his Marriage sinful, and the Popes Legate was of the same mind. It is also said that the Cardinal being alienated from the Emperor, that he might irreparably embroil the King and him, and unite the King to the *French* Interests, designed this out of Spite; and that he was also dissatisfied toward the Queen, who hated him for his lewd and dissolute Life, and had oft admonished and checkt him for it: And that he therefore, designing to engage the King to Marry the *French* Kings Sister, the Dutchess of *Alenoon*, did (to make way for that) set this Matter on foot: but as I see no good Authority for all this, except the Queens suspitions, who did afterwards charge the Cardinal as the cause of all her trouble; so I am inclined to think the Kings Scruples were much ancienter: for the King declared to *Simon Grineus* four years after this, that for seven years he had abstained from the Queen upon these Scruples, so that by that it seems they had been received into the Kings mind three years before this time.

In his Letter to *Lucer*, *Sept.* 10. 1531 in MSS. R. *Smith.*

The Grounds of his Scruples.

What were the Kings secret motives and the true grounds of his Aversion to the Queen, is only known to God, and till the discovery of all secrets at the day of Judgment, must lye hid. But the reasons which he always owned, of which all Humane Judicatories must only take notice, shall be now fully opened. He found by the Law of *Moses*, *if a Man took his Brothers Wife they should die Childless:* This made him reflect on the death of his Children, which he now looked on as a curse from God for that unlawful Marriage. Upon this he set himself to study the Case, and called for the judgments of the best Divines and Canonists. For his own Enquiry, *Thomas Aquinas* being the Writer in whose Works he took most pleasure, and to whose judgment he submitted most, did decide it clearly against him. For he both Concluded, that the Laws in *Leviticus* about the forbidden degrees of Marriage were Moral and Eternal, such as obliged all Christians; and that the Pope could only Dispence with the Laws of the Church, but could not Dispence with the Laws of God. Upon this reason, that no Law can be Dispenced with, by any Authority, but that which is equal to the Authority that enacted it. Therefore he infers that the Pope can indeed Dispence with all the Laws of the Church, but not with the Laws of God, to whose Authority he could not pretend to be equal. But as the King found this from his own private Study; so having commanded the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* to require the Opinions of the Bishops of *England*, they all in a Writing under their Hands and Seals, declared they judged it an unlawful Marriage. Only the Bishop of *Rochester* refused to set his Hand to it; and though the Arch-Bishop pressed him most earnestly to it, yet he persisted in his refusal, saying, that it was against his Conscience. Upon which the Arch-bishop made another write down his Name, and set his Seal to the Resolution of the rest of the Bishops. But this being afterwards questioned, the Bishop of *Rochester* denied it was his hand, and the Arch-Bishop pretended that he had leave given him by the Bishop to put his hand to it, which the other denied. Nor was it likely that *Fisher* who scrupled in Conscience to Subscribe it himself, would have consented to such a weak Artifice. But all the other Bishops did declare against the Marriage, and as the

All his Bishops except *Fisher*, declare it unlawful.

Cavendish his life of *Wolsey.*

King

King himſelf ſaid afterwards in the *Legantine* Court, neither the Cardinal nor the Biſhop of *Lincoln* did firſt ſuggeſt theſe ſcruples, but the King being poſſeſſed with them, did in Confeſſion propoſe them to that Biſhop: and added that the Cardinal was ſo far from cheriſhing them, that he did all he could to ſtifle them. 1527.

The dangers that were like to follow from it.

The King was now convinced that his Marriage was unlawful, both by his own ſtudy, and the reſolution of his Divines. And as the point of Conſcience wrought on him, ſo the Intereſt of the Kingdom required, that there ſhould be no doubting about the Succeſſion to the Crown: leſt as the long Civil-War between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* had been buried with his Father, ſo a new one ſhould riſe up at his Death. The King of *Scotland* was the next Heir to the Crown after his Daughter. And if he married his Daughter to any out of *France*, then he had reaſon to judge, that the *French* upon their Ancient Alliance with *Scotland*, and that they might divide and diſtract *England*, would be ready to aſſiſt the King of *Scotland* in his pretenſions: Or if he Married her in *France*, then all thoſe in *England* to whom the *French* Government was hateful, and the Emperor and other Princes to whom the *French* Power grew formidable, would have been as ready to ſupport the pretenſions of *Scotland*. Or if he ſhould either ſet up his Baſtard Son, or the Children which his Siſter bore to *Charles Brandon*, there was ſtill cauſe to fear a bloody deciſion of a Title that was ſo doubtful. And though this may ſeem a conſideration too Politick and Foreign to a matter of that nature, yet the obligation that lies on a Prince to provide for the happineſs and quiet of his Subjects, was ſo weighty a thing, that it might well come in among other Motives, to incline the King much to have this matter determined. At this time the Cardinal went over into *France* under colour to conclude a League between the two Crowns, and to Treat about the means of ſetting the Pope at Liberty, who was then the Emperors Priſoner at *Rome*; and alſo for a project of Peace between *Francis* and the Emperor. But his chief buſineſs was to require *Francis* to declare his Reſolutions concerning that Alternative about the Lady *Mary*. To which it was anſwered, that the Duke of *Orleance* as a fitter Match in years, was the *French* Kings Choice; but this matter fell to ground upon the Proceſs that followed ſoon after.

Wolſey went into *France* 1527. *July* 11.

The Kings fears & hopes about it.

The King did much apprehend the oppoſition the Emperor was like to make to his deſigns; either out of a principle of Nature and Honour to protect his Aunt, or out of a Maxime of State, to raiſe his Enemy all the trouble he could at home. But on the other hand he had ſome cauſe to hope well even in that particular. For the Queſtion of the unlawfulneſs of the Match had been firſt debated in the *Cortes*, or Aſſembly of the States at *Madrid*; and the Emperor had then ſhewed himſelf ſo favourable to it, that he broke the Match, (to which he had bound himſelf) with the Princeſs. Therefore the King had reaſon to think that this at leaſt would mitigate his oppoſition. The Emperor had alſo uſed the Pope ſo hardly, that it could not be doubted that the Pope hated him. And it was believed that he would find the protection of the King of *England* moſt neceſſary to ſecure him, either from the greatneſs of *France* or *Spain*, who were fighting for the beſt part of *Italy*, which muſt needs fall into one of their Hands. Therefore the King did not doubt but the Pope would be compliant to his deſires. And in this he

1527. he was much confirmed by the hopes, or rather assurance, which the Cardinal gave him of the Popes favour; who either calculating what was to be expected from that Court on the account of their own Interest, or upon some promises made him, had undertaken to the King to bring that matter about to his hearts content. It is certain that the L. *Herbert.* Cardinal had carried over with him out of the Kings Treasure 240000 *l.* to be employed about the Popes Liberty. But whether he had made a bargain for the Divorce, or had fancied that nothing could be denied him at *Rome*, it does not appear. It is clear by many of his Letters that he had undertaken to the King, that the business should be done; and it is not like that a man of his wisdom would have adventured to do that without some good warrant.

The Arguments against the Bull. But now that the Suit was to be moved in the Court of *Rome*, they were to devise such Arguments as were like to be well heard there. It would have been unacceptable to have insisted on the nullity of the Bull on this account, because the matter of it was unlawful, and fell not within the Popes Power. For Popes, like other Princes, do not love to hear the extent of their Prerogative disputed or defined. And to condemn the Bull of a former Pope as unlawful, was a dangerous Precedent at a time when the Popes Authority was rejected by so many in *Germany*. Therefore the Canonists as well as Divines, were consulted to find such Nullities in the Bull of Dispensation, as according to the Canon-Law, and the proceedings of the *Rota*, might serve to invalidate it without any diminution of the Papal Power. Which being once done the Marriage that followed upon it, must needs be annulled. When the Canonists examined the Bull, they found much matter to proceed upon. It is a Maxime in Law, that if the Pope be surprized in any thing, and Bulls be procured upon false suggestions and untrue premises, they may be annulled afterwards. Upon which foundation most of all the Processes against Popes Bulls were grounded. Now they found by the Preamble of this Bull that it was said, The King had desired that he might be dispensed with to Marry the Princess. This was false; for the King had made no such desire, being of an Age that was below such considerations, but Twelve years old. Then it appeared by the Preamble that this Bull was desired by the King to preserve the Peace between the King of *England*, and *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella* (called *Elizabetha* in the Bull) the Kings of *Spain*. To which they excepted, That it was plain this was false, since the King being then but Twelve years old, could not be supposed to have such deep speculations, and so large a prospect as to desire a Match upon a politick account. Then it being also in the Bull, that the Popes Dispensation was granted to keep Peace between the Crowns, if there was no hazard of any Breach or War between them; this was a false suggestion, by which the Pope had been made believe, That this Match was necessary for averting some great mischief. And it was known that there was no danger at all of that, and so this Bull was obtained by a surprize. Besides, both King *Henry* of *England*, and *Isabella* of *Spain* were dead before the King Married his Queen; so the Marriage could not be valid by vertue of a Bull that was granted to maintain Amity between Princes that were dead before the Marriage was consummated: And they also judged that the Protestation which the King made, when he came of Age, did retract any such pretended desire, that might have been preferred to the Pope

in

in his name; and that from that time forward, the Bull could have no further operation, ſince the ground upon which it was granted, which was the King's deſire, did then ceaſe, any pretended deſire before he was of Age being clearly annulled and determined by that Proteſtation after he was of Age, ſo that a ſubſequent Marriage founded upon the Bull muſt needs be void. 1527.

Wolſey's advice to the King, 1527. *Aug.* 1.

Theſe were the grounds upon which the Canoniſts adviſed the Proceſs at *Rome* to be carried on. But firſt to amuſe or over-reach the *Spaniard*, the King ſent word to his Ambaſſador in *Spain* to ſilence the noiſe that was made about it in that Court. Whether the King had then reſolved on the Perſon that ſhould Succeed the Queen, when he had obtained what he deſired, or not, is much queſtioned. Some ſuggeſt that from the beginning he was taken with the charmes of *Anne Boleyn*, and that all this Proceſs was moved by the unſeen ſpring of that ſecret affection. Others will have this Amour to have been later in the King's thoughts. How early it came there, at this diſtance it is not eaſie to determine. But before I ſay more of it, ſhe being ſo conſiderable a Perſon in the following Relation, I ſhall give ſome account of her. "*Sanders* has aſſured "the World, That the King had a liking to her Mother, who was Daugh- "ter to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and to the end that he might enjoy her "with the leſs diſturbance, he ſent her Husband Sir *Thomas Boleyn* to "be Ambaſſador in *France*: And that after Two years abſence his Wife "being with Child, he came over, and ſued a Divorce againſt her in the "Arch-biſhop of *Canterburies* Court; but the King ſent the Marqueſs of "*Dorſet* to let him know, that ſhe was with Child by him, and that "therefore the King deſired he would paſs the matter over, and be re- "conciled to his Wife: To which he conſented. And ſo *Anne Boleyn*, "though ſhe went under the name of his Daughter, yet was of the King's "begetting. As he deſcribes her, ſhe was ill-ſhaped and ugly, had Six "Fingers, a Gag-tooth, and a Tumor under her Chin, with many other "unſeemly things in her Perſon. At the 15. year of her Age, he ſays, "both her Father's Butler and Chaplain lay with her: Afterwards ſhe "was ſent to *France*, where ſhe was at firſt kept privately in the houſe of "a Perſon of Quality, then ſhe went to the *French* Court, where ſhe "led ſuch a Diſſolute life, that ſhe was called the *Engliſh Hackney*. That "the *French* King liked her, and from the freedoms he took with her, "ſhe was called, *the King's Mule*. But returning to *England*, ſhe was "admitted to the Court, where ſhe quickly perceived how weary the "King was of the Queen, and what the Cardinal was deſigning; and "having gained the King's affection, ſhe governed it ſo, that by all inno- "cent freedoms ſhe drew him into her Toiles, and by the appearances "of a ſevere virtue, with which ſhe diſguiſed her ſelf, ſo encreaſed "his affection and eſteem, that he reſolved to put her in his Queens "*place as ſoon as the Divorce was granted.* The ſame Author adds, *That* "*the King had likewiſe injoyed her Siſter*, with a great deal more, to the "diſgrace of this Lady and her Family.

Sanders his ſtory about *Anne Boleyn* examined.

For this he cites *Raſtal's* life of Sir *Tho. Moor*, a Book that was never ſeen by any body elſe.

I know it is not the work of an Hiſtorian to refute the Lies of others, but rather to deliver ſuch a plain account as will be a more effectual confutation, than any thing can be that is ſaid by way of Argument, which belongs to other Writers. And at the end of this King's Reign, I intend to ſet down a Collection of the moſt Notorious Falſe-hoods of that Writer,

1527. ter, together with the evidences of their being ſo. But all this of *Anne Boleyn* is ſo palpable a lie, or rather a complicated heap of lies, and ſo much depends on it, that I preſume it will not offend the Reader to be detained a few minutes in the refutation of it. For if it were true, very much might be drawn from it, both to diſparage King *Henry*, who pretended Conſcience to annul his Marriage for the nearneſs of Affinity, and yet would after that Marry his own Daughter. It leaves alſo a foul and laſting ſtain both on the Memory of *Anne Boleyn*, and of her incomparable Daughter Queen *Elizabeth*. It alſo derogates ſo much from the firſt Reformers, who had ſome kind of dependance on Queen *Anne Boleyn*, that it ſeems to be of great importance for directing the Reader in the judgment he is to make of perſons and things, to lay open the falſhood of this account. It were ſufficient for blaſting it, that there is no proof pretended to be brought for any part of it, but a Book of one *Raſtal* a Judg, that was never ſeen by any other perſon than that Writer. The Title of the Book is the Life of Sir *Thomas More*: there is great reaſon to think that *Raſtal* never writ any ſuch Book, for it is moſt common for the Lives of great Authors to be prefixed to their Works. Now this *Raſtal* publiſhed all *More*'s Works in Queen *Maries* Reign, to which if he had written his Life, it is likely he would have prefixt it. No evidence therefore being given for his Relation, either from Record, Letters, or the Teſtimony of any perſon who was privy to the matter, the whole is to be looked upon as a black Forgery, deviſed on purpoſe to defame Queen *Elizabeth*. For upon her Mothers death, who can doubt but that ſome, either to flatter the King, or to defame her, would have publiſhed theſe things, which if they had been true, could be no ſecrets? For a Lady of her Mothers condition to bear a Child, two years after her Husband was ſent out of *England* on ſuch a publick Employment, and a Proceſs thereupon to be entred in the Arch-biſhops Courts, are things that are not ſo ſoon to be forgotten. And that ſhe her ſelf was under ſo ill a Reputation, both in her Father's Family, and in *France*, for common lewdneſs, and for being the Kings Concubine, are things that could not lye hid. And yet when the Books of the Arch-biſhops Courts (which are now burnt) were extant, it was publiſhed to the World, and ſatisfaction offered to every one that would take the pains to inform themſelves that there was no ſuch thing on Record. Nor did any of the Writers of that time, either of the Imperial or Papal ſide, once mention theſe things, notwithſtanding their great occaſion to do it. But 80 years after, this Fable was invented, or at leaſt it was then firſt publiſhed, when it was ſafer to lie, becauſe none who had lived in the time could diſprove it.

Anti-Sanderus.

But it has not only no foundation, but *Sanders* through the vulgar errors of Liars, has ſtrained his wit to make ſo ill a ſtory of the Lady, that ſome things in his own relation, make it plainly appear to be impoſſible. For to paſs by thoſe many improbable things that he relates, as namely, That both the King of *England* and the *French* King, could be ſo taken, with ſo ugly and monſtrous a Woman, of ſo notorious and lewd manners; and that this King for the ſpace of ſeven years, that is, during the Suit of the Divorce, ſhould continue enamoured of her, and never dicover this, or having diſcovered it, ſhould yet reſolve at all hazards to make her his Wife; which are things that would require no common teſtimony to make them ſeem credible: There is beſide in that ſtory, an heap

head of things ſo inconſiſtent with one another, that none but ſuch an one as *Sanders* could have had either blindneſs or brow enough to have made or publiſht it. For firſt, if the King, that he might the more freely enjoy Sir *Thomas Boleyn*'s Lady, ſent him over into *France*, as *Sanders* ſays, I ſhall allow it as ſoon as may be, that it was in the very beginning of his Reign 1509. Then the time when *Anne Boleyn* was born, being according to *Sanders* his account two years after, that muſt be *Anno* 1511. and being, as he ſays, deflowred when ſhe was 15. that muſt be *Anno* 1526. Then ſome time muſt be allowed for her going to *France*, for her living privately there for ſome time, and afterwards for her coming to Court, and meriting thoſe Characters that he ſays went upon her; and after all that, for her return into *England*, and inſinuating her ſelf into the Kings favour: yet by *Sanders* his own Relation theſe things muſt have happened in the ſame year 1526. for in that year he makes the King think of putting away his Wife in order to Marry *Anne Boleyn*, when according to his account ſhe could be but 15. years old, though this King had ſent Sir *Thomas Boleyn* into *France* the firſt day of his coming to the Crown. But that he was not ſent ſo early, appears by ſeveral Grants, that I have ſeen in the Rolls, which were made to him in the firſt 4 years of the Kings Reign: They ſufficiently ſhew that he was all that while about the Kings Perſon, and mention no ſervices beyond Sea, but about the Kings Perſon, as the ground upon which they were made. Beſides, I find in the *Treaty-Rolls* no mention of his being Ambaſſador the firſt 8 years of the Kings Reign. In the firſt year the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Dureſme*, and the Earl of *Surrey*, are named in the Treaty between the two Crowns, as the Kings Ambaſſadors in *France*. After this, none could be Ambaſſadors there for two years together, for before two years elapſed there was a War proclaimed againſt *France*, and when overtures were made for a Peace, it appears by the *Treaty-Rolls*, that the Earl of *Worceſter* was ſent over Ambaſſador. And when the Kings Siſter was ſent over to *Lewis* the *French* King, though Sir *Thomas Boleyn* went over with her he was not then ſo much conſidered as to be made an Ambaſſador. For in the Commiſſion that was given to many Perſons of Quality, to deliver her to her Husband King *Lewis* the 12. Sir *Thomas Boleyn* is not named. The Perſons in the Commiſſion are the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, the Earls of *Surrey*, and *Worceſter*, the Prior of St. *Johns*, and Doctor *Weſt* Dean of *Windſor*. A year after that, Sir *Thomas Boleyn* was made Ambaſſador; but then it was too late for *Anne Boleyn* to be yet unborn, much leſs could it be, as *Sanders* ſays, that ſhe was born two years after it.

1501.

March. 10. 1509.

Feb. 12. 1511. 1514.

Septemb. 23. 6 *Regn.*

1515.

But the Learned *Cambden*, whoſe Study and Profeſſion led him to a more particular knowledge of theſe things, gives us another account of her birth. He ſays that ſhe was born in the year 1507. which was two years before the King came to the Crown. And if it be ſuggeſted, that then the Prince, to enjoy her Mother, prevailed with his Father to ſend her Husband beyond Sea, that muſt be done when the Prince himſelf was not 14 years of Age: ſo they muſt make him to have corrupted other Mens Wives at that Age, when yet they will not allow his Brother (no not when he was 2 years older) to have known his own Wife.

Camden. in apparatu ad Hiſt. Eliz. Reg.

1528. But now I leave this foul Fiction, and go to deliver certain Truths. *Anne Boleyn*'s Mother was Daughter to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Siſter to the Duke that was at the time of the Divorce Lord Treaſurer. Her Fathers Mother was one of the Daughters and Heirs to the Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*, and her great Grand-Father Sir *Geoffry Boleyn*, who had been Lord Major of *London*, Married one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Lord *Haſtings*; and their Family as they had mixed with ſo much great Blood, ſo had Married their Daughters to very Noble Families. She being but ſeven years old was carried over to *France* with the Kings Siſter, which ſhews ſhe could have none of thoſe deformities in her Perſon, ſince ſuch are not brought into the Courts and Families of Queens. And though upon the *French* Kings Death the Queen Dowager came ſoon back to *England*, yet ſhe was ſo liked in the *French* Court, that the next King *Francis* his Queen kept her about her ſelf for ſome years: and after her death the Kings Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Alenſon*, kept her in her Court all the while ſhe was in *France*; which as it ſhews there was ſomewhat extraordinary in her Perſon, ſo thoſe Princeſſes being much celebrated for their Vertues, it is not to be imagined that any Perſon ſo notoriouſly defamed as *Sanders* would repreſent her, was entertained in their Courts.

Her Birth,

1514.

and Breeding.

When ſhe came into *England* is not ſo clear: it is ſaid that in the year 1522. when War was made on *France*, her Father who was then Ambaſſador was recalled, and brought her over with him, which is not improbable; but if ſhe came then, ſhe did not ſtay long in *England*, for *Cambden* ſays, that ſhe ſerved Queen *Claudia* of *France* till her death (which was in *July* 1524) and after that ſhe was taken into ſervice by K. *Francis* his Siſter. How long ſhe continued in that Service I do not find, but it is probable that ſhe returned out of *France* with her Father from his Embaſſy in the year 1527. when, as *Stow* ſays, he brought with him the Picture of her Miſtreſs, who was offered in Marriage to this King. If ſhe came out of *France* before, as thoſe Authors before-mentioned ſay, it appears that the King had no deſign upon her then, becauſe he ſuffered her to return, and when one Miſtreſs died to take another in *France*; but if ſhe ſtayed there all this while, then it is probable he had not ſeen her till now at laſt, when ſhe came out of the Princeſs of *Alenſon*'s ſervice: but whenſoever it was that ſhe came to the Court of *England*, it is certain that ſhe was much conſidered in it. And though the Queen, who had taken her to be one of her Maids of Honour, had afterwards juſt cauſe to be diſpleaſed with her as her Rival; yet ſhe carried her ſelf ſo, that in the whole Progreſs of the Sute, I never find the Queen her ſelf, or any of her Agents, fix the leaſt ill Character on her, which would moſt certainly have been done had there been any juſt cauſe or good colour for it.

Her coming to *England*. L. *Herbert*. Title and Duplex. *Cavendiſh* ſays ſhe was very young. *Cambden*.

And ſo far was this Lady at leaſt for ſome time from any thoughts of Marrying the King, that ſhe had conſented to Marry the Lord *Piercy* the Earl of *Northumberland*'s eldeſt Son, whom his Father, by a ſtrange compliance with the Cardinals vanity, had placed in his Court and made him one of his Servants. The thing is conſiderable, and clears many things that belong to this Hiſtory; and the Relator of it was an Ear-witneſs of the Diſcourſe upon it as himſelf informs us. The Cardinal hearing that the Lord *Piercy* was making addreſſes

She is contracted to the Lord *Piercy*.

Cavendiſh Life of *Wolſey*.

to

to *Anne Boleyn*, one day as he came from the Court called for him before his Servants, (*before us all* ſays the Relator *including himſelf*) and "chid him for it, pretending at firſt that it was unworthy of him to "match ſo meanly; but he juſtified his choice, and reckoned up her "Birth and Quality, which he ſaid was not inferiour to his own. And "the Cardinal inſiſting fiercely, to make him lay down his pretenſions, "he told him, he would willingly ſubmit to the King and him; but "that he had gone ſo far before many Witneſſes, that he could not "forſake it, and knew not how to diſcharge his Conſcience: and there- "fore he entreated the Cardinal would procure him the Kings Favour "in it. Upon that the Cardinal in great rage ſaid, why? thinkeſt "thou that the King and I know not what we have to do in ſo weigh- "ty a matter? yes I warrant you, but I can ſee in thee no ſubmiſſi- "on at all to the purpoſe: and ſaid, you have matched your ſelf with ſuch "an one, as neither the King, nor yet your Father will agree to it; and "therefore I will ſend for thy Father, who at his coming ſhall either "make the break this unadviſed bargain, or diſinherit thee for ever. To "which the Lord *Piercy* replyed, That he would ſubmit himſelf to him, "if his Conſcience were diſcharged of the weighty burden that lay upon "it, and ſoon after, his Father coming to Court he was diverted another "way. 1527.

Had that Writer told us in what year this was done, it had given a great light to direct us, but by this relation we ſee that ſhe was ſo far from thinking of the King at that time, that ſhe had engaged her ſelf another way; but how far this went on her ſide, or whether it was afterwards made uſe of, when ſhe was divorced from the King, ſhall be conſidered in its proper place. It alſo appears that there was a Deſign about her, then formed between the King and the Cardinal, yet how far that went, whether to make her Queen, or only to corrupt her, is not evident. It is ſaid, that upon this ſhe ever after hated the Cardinal, and that he never deſigned the Divorce after he ſaw on whom the King had fixed his thoughts: but all that is a miſtake, as will afterwards appear. L. *Herbert*

And now having made way through theſe things that were previous to the firſt motion of the Divorce, my Narration leads me next to the Motion it ſelf. The King reſolving to put the matter home to the Pope, ſent Doctor *Knight* Secretary of State to *Rome*, with ſome Inſtructions to prepare the Pope for it, and to obſerve what might be the beſt Method, and who the fitteſt Tools to work by. At that time the Family of the *Caſſali* being three Brothers were entertained by the King as his Agents in *Italy*, both in *Rome*, *Venice*, and other places. Sir *Gregory Caſſali* was then his ordinary Ambaſſador at *Rome*: To him was the firſt full diſpatch about this buſineſs directed by the Cardinal, the Original whereof is yet extant dated the 5*th* of *Decemb.* 1527. which the Reader will find in the Collection: but here I ſhall give the Heads of it. 1527. The King moved for his Divorce at *Rome*.

"After great and high Complements, and Aſſurances of Rewards "to engage him to follow the Buſineſs very vigorouſly, and with great "Diligence, he writes that he had before opened the Kings caſe to "him, and that partly by his own ſtudy, partly by the opinion of "many Divines, and other Learned men of all ſorts, he found that The firſt diſpatch about it. Collect. *Numb.* 3*d*.

1572 "he could no longer with a good Conſcience continue in that Mar-
"riage with the Queen: having God and the Quiet and Salvation of
"his Soul chiefly before his Eyes. And that he had conſulted both
"the moſt learned Divines and Canoniſts, as well in his own Domi-
"nions as elſewhere, to know whether the Popes Diſpenſation could
"make it good, and that many of them thought the Pope could not
"Diſpence in this caſe of the firſt degree of Affinity, which they
"eſteemed forbidden by a Divine, Moral, and Natural Law; and all
"the reſt concluded, that the Pope could not do it, but upon very
"weighty reaſons: and they found not any ſuch in the Bull. Then
"he lays out the reaſons for Annulling the Bull, which were touched
"before, upon which they all concluded the Diſpenſation to be of
"no force; that the King looked on the death of his Sons as a
"Curſe from God: and to avoid further Judgments, he now deſired
"help of the Apoſtolick See, to conſider his caſe, to reflect on what
"he had merited by theſe Services he had done the Papacy, and to
"find a way that he being divorced from his Queen may marry ano-
"ther Wife, of whom by the bleſſing of God he might hope for
"iſſue Male. Therefore the Ambaſſador was to uſe all means poſſi-
"ble to be admitted to ſpeak to the Pope in private, and then to
"deliver him theſe Letters of Credence, in which there was a moſt
"earneſt clauſe added with the Kings own hand. He was alſo to
"make a Condolance of the Miſeries the Pope and Cardinals were
"in, both in the Kings name and the Cardinals, and to aſſure the
"Pope they would uſe all the moſt effectual means that were poſſi-
"ſible for ſetting him at liberty, in which the Cardinal would em-
"ploy as much induſtry, as if their were no other way to come to
"the Kingdom of Heaven but by doing it. Then he was to open
"the Kings buſineſs to the Pope, the Scruples of his Conſcience, the
"great danger of cruel Wars upon ſo diſputable a Succeſſion, the En-
"treaties of all the Nobility and the whole Kingdom, with many
"other urgent reaſons, to obtain what was deſired. He was alſo to
"lay before the Pope the preſent Condition of Chriſtendom and of
"*Italy*, that he might conſider of what Importance it was to his own
"affairs, and to the Apoſtolick See, to engage the King ſo firmly to
"his Intereſts as this would certainly do. And to move that the Pope
"without communicating the matter to any Perſon, would freely
"grant it, and ſign the Commiſſion which was therewith ſent en-
"groſſed in due form, and ready to be ſigned, by which the Car-
"dinal was authorized with the Aſſiſtance of ſuch as he ſhould chooſe,
"to proceed in the matter, according to ſome Inſtructions which
"were alſo ſent fairly written out for the Pope to ſign. A Diſpen-
"ſation was alſo ſent in due form: and if theſe were expeded, he
"might aſſure the Pope that as the King had ſent over a vaſt ſum
"to the *French* King, for paying his Army in *Italy*, ſo he would
"ſpare no Travel nor Treaſure, but make War upon the Emperor in
"*Flanders*, with his whole ſtrength till he forced him to ſet the
"Pope at liberty, and reſtore the State of the Church to its former
"Power and Dignity. And if the Pope were already at liberty, and
"had made an Agreement with the Emperour, he was to repreſent to
"him how little cauſe he had to truſt much to the Emperor; who

"had

"had ſo oft broke his Faith, and deſigned to do all he could towards 1527.
"the depreſſing the Eccleſiaſtical State. And the Pope was to be re-
"membred that he had diſpenced with the Emperors Oath, for Mar-
"rying the Kings Daughter without communicating the Matter to
"King. And if he had done ſo much for one that had been his
"Enemy, how much more might the King expect the like favour,
"who had always payed him a moſt filial Duty? Or if the Pope would
"not grant the Commiſſion to the Cardinal to try the Matter, as a
"Perſon that being the Kings chief Miniſter, was not indifferent e-
"nough to judge in any of the Kings Concerns; he was by all means
"to overcome that, and aſſure the Pope that he would proceed in it
"as a Judge ought to do. But if the Pope ſtood upon it, and would
"by no means be perſwaded to ſign the Commiſſion for the Cardi-
"nal, then he was to propoſe *Staphileus*, Dean of the *Rota*, who was
"then in *England*; and was to except againſt all other Foreigners,
"if the Pope chanced to propoſe any other. He was alſo to repre-
"ſent to the Pope, that the King would look upon a delay as a De-
"nial, and if the Pope inclined to conſult with any of the Cardinals,
"about it, he was to divert him from it all that was poſſible: but if
"the Pope would needs do it, then he was to Addreſs himſelf to them,
"and partly by informing them of the reaſons of the Kings Cauſe,
"partly by rewarding the good Offices they ſhould do, he was to engage
"them for the King. And with this Diſpatch Letters were ſent to Car-
"dinal *Pucci*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and the other Cardinals, to be made
"uſe of as there ſhould be occaſion for it. And becauſe Money was
"like to be the moſt powerful Argument, eſpecially to men impoveriſh-
"ed by a Captivity, 10000 Ducats were remitted to *Venice*, to be diſtri-
"buted as the Kings Affairs required; and he was empowred to make
"farther promiſes, as he ſaw cauſe for it, which the King would
"faithfully make good; and in particular they were to be wanting in
"nothing, that might abſolutely engage the Cardinal *Datary* to favour
"the Kings Buſineſs.

The Pope grants it when he was in Priſon. Collect. Numb. 4th.

The ſame things had been committed to the Secretary's care, and they were both to proceed by conſert, each of them doing all that was poſſible to promote the Buſineſs. But before this reached *Rome*, Secretary *Knight* was come thither, and finding it impoſſible to be admitted to the Popes Preſence, he had by corrupting ſome of his Guards ſent him the Sum of the Kings Demands. Upon which the Pope ſent him word, that the Diſpenſation ſhould be ſent fully exped-ed. So gracious was a Pope in Captivity. But at that time the General of the *Obſervants in* Spain being at *Rome* required a Promiſe of the Pope not to grant any thing that might prejudice the Queens Cauſe till it were firſt communicated to the *Imperialiſts* there. But when the Pope made his eſcape, the Secretary and the Ambaſſador went to him to *Orvieto* about the end of *December*, and firſt did in the Kings and Cardinals name congratulate his freedom. Then the Secretary diſcourſed the Buſineſs. The Pope owned that he had recieved the Meſſage which he had ſent to him at *Rome*, but in reſpect of his Promiſe, and that yet in a manner he was in Captivity, he begged the King would have a little Patience, and he ſhould before long have not only that Diſpenſation, but any thing elſe that lay in his

Pope eſcaped *Decemb.* 9.

Power

1527. Power. But the Secretary not being satisfied with that excuse, the Pope in the end said, he should have it; but with this condition, That he would beseech the King not to proceed upon it, till the Pope were fully at Liberty, and the *Germans* and *Spaniards* were driven out of *Italy*. And upon the Kings promising this, the Dispensation was to be put in his hands. So the Secretary, who had a great mind once to have the Bull in his possession, made no scruple to engage his promise for that. The Pope also told them he was not expert in those things, but he easily apprehended the danger that might arise from any dispute about the Succession to the Crown, and that therefore he would communicate the business to the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*; upon which they resolved to prevent that Cardinals being with the Pope, and went and delivered the Letters they had for him, and promised him a good reward if he were favourable to their Requests in the Kings behalf. Then they shewed him the Commissions that were sent from *England*; but he upon the perusal of them, said, They could not pass without a perpetual dishonour on the Pope and the King too, and excepted to several Clauses that were in them. So they desired him to draw one that might both be sufficient for the Kings purpose, and such as the Pope might with honour grant. Which being done, the Pope told them, That though he apprehended great danger to himself, if the Emperour should know what he had done; yet he would rather expose himself to utter ruin, than give the King, or the Cardinal cause to think him Ingrate; but with many sighs and tears, he begged that the King would not precipitate things, or expose him to be undone, by beginning any Process upon the Bull. And so he delivered the Commission and Dispensation Signed to *Knight*. But the means that the Pope proposed for his publishing and owning what he now granted, was, that *Lautrech* with the *French* Army should march, and coming where the Pope was, should require him to grant the Commission: So that the Pope should excuse himself to the Emperor, that he had refused to grant it upon the desire of the *English* Ambassador, but that he could not deny the General of the *French* Army, to do an Act of publick justice: and by this means he would save his honour, and not seem guilty of breach of promise; and then he would dispatch the Commission about the time of *Lautrech*'s being near him, and therefore he entreated the King to accept of what was then granted for the present. The Commission and Dispensation was given to the Secretary: and they promised to send the Bull after him, of the same form that was desired from *England*, and the Pope engaged to reform it as should be found needful. And it seems by these Letters that a Dispensation and Commission had been Signed by the Pope when he was a Prisoner; but they thought not fit to make any use of them, lest they should be thought null, as being granted when the Pope was in Captivity.

And being at liberty gives a Bull for it.

The Pope's craft and policy.

Thus the Pope expressed all the readiness that could be expected from him, in the circumstances he was then in; being overaw'd by the *Imperialists*, who were harassing the Country, and taking Castles very near the place where he was. *Lautrech* which the *French* Army lay still fast about *Bononia*, and as the season of the year was not favourable, so he did not express any inclinations to enter into action. The Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* got 4000 Crowns as the reward of his pains, and in earnest

And the measures that governed them.

earneſt of what he was to expect when the matter ſhould be brought to a final concluſion. In this whole matter the Pope carried himſelf as a Wiſe and Politick Prince, that conſidered his Intereſt, and provided againſt dangers with great fore-ſight. But as for Apoſtolical Wiſdom and the Simplicity of the Goſpel, that was not to be expected from him, For now, though the high-ſounding Names of *Chriſts Vicar*, and St. *Peters Succeſſor*, were ſtill retained to keep up the Popes Dignity and Authority, yet they had for many Ages governed themſelves as Secular Princes; ſo that the Maxims of that Court were no more to keep a good Conſcience, and to proceed according to the Rules of the Goſpel, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, committing the event to God, and ſubmitting to his Will in all things: but the keeping a ballance, the maintaining their Intereſt in the Courts of Princes, the ſecuring their Dominions, and the raiſing their Families, being that which they chiefly looked at, it is not to be wondred at, that the Pope governed himſelf by theſe meaſures, though Religion was to be made uſe of to help him out of ſtraits. All this I ſet down the more particularly, both becauſe I take my information from Original Letters, and that it may clearly appear how matters went at that time in the Court of *Rome*. 1528.

Secretary *Knight* being Infirm, could not travel with that haſt that was required in this buſineſs, and therefore he ſent the Proto-Notary *Gambara* with the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation to *England*, and followed in eaſie journies. The Cardinals that had been conſulted with, did all expreſs great readineſs in granting the Kings deſire. The Cardinal *Datary* had forſaken the Court, and betaken himſelf to ſerve God and his Cure; and other Cardinals were Hoſtages, ſo that now there were but Five about the Pope, *Monte*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, *Ridolphi*, *Ravennate* and *Peruſino*. But a motion being made of ſending over a Legate, the Pope would by no means hearken to it, for that would draw new troubles on him from the Emperor. That had been deſired from *England* by a diſpatch of the 27*th* of *December*, which preſſed a ſpeedy concluſion of the buſineſs; upon which the Pope on the 12*th* of *January*, did communicate the matter under the Seal of Confeſſion to the Cardinals *Sanctorum Quatuor* and *Simoneta*, (who was then come to the Court) and upon conference with them, he propoſed to Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, that he thought the ſafer way was, "That either by Vertue of the Commiſſion "that the Secretary had obtained, or by the Legantine Power that was "lodged with the Cardinal of *York*, he ſhould proceed in the buſineſs. "And if the King found the matter clear in his own Conſcience, (in "which the Pope ſaid, No Doctor in the whole World could reſolve the "matter better than the King himſelf) he ſhould without more noiſe, "make judgment be given; and preſently Marry another Wife, and "then ſend for a Legate to Confirm the matter. And it would be eaſier "to ratifie all when it was once done, than to go on in a Proceſs from "*Rome*. For the Queen would proteſt, that both the Place and the "Judges were ſuſpected and not free, upon which, in the courſe of Law, "the Pope muſt grant an Inhibition for the Kings not Marrying another "while the Suit depended, and muſt avocate the buſineſs to be heard in "the Court of *Rome*; which, with other prejudices, were unavoidable "in a publick Proceſs by Bulls from *Rome*. But if the thing went on in

Collect. *Numb.* 5*th*.

The method propoſed by the Pope. Collect. *Numb.* 6*th*.

"*England*

1528. "*England*, had the King had once married another Wife, the Pope then "would find very good reasons to justifie the confirming a thing that was "gone so far, and promised to send any Cardinal whom they should name. This the Pope desired the Ambassador would signifie to the King, as the advice of the two Cardinals, and take no notice of him in it. But the dispatch shews he was a more faithful Minister than to do so.

The Ambassador found all the earnestness in the Pope that was possible, to comply with the King; and that he was jealous both of the Emperor and *Francis*, and depended wholly on the King; so that he found if the terror of the *Imperial* Forces were over, the Court of *England* would dispose of the Apostolical See as they pleased. And indeed this advice, how little soever it had of the Simplicity of the Gospel, was certainly prudent and subtil, and that which of all things the *Spaniards* apprehended most. And therefore the *General of the Observants* moved Cardinal *Campegius*, then at *Rome*, for an Inhibition, lest the Process should be carried on and determined in *England*. But that being signified to the Pope, he said, It could not be granted, since there was no Suit depending, in which case only an Inhibition can be granted.

Staphileus sent from *England*.

But now I must look over again to *England*, to open the Counsels there. At that time *Staphileus* Dean of the *Rota* was there; and he either to make his Court the better, or that he was so perswaded in opinion seemed fully satisfied about the Justice of the Kings Cause. So they sent him to *Rome* with Instructions both publick and secret. The publick Instructions related to the Popes Affairs, in which all possible Assistance was promised by the King. But one Proposition in them flowed from the Cardinals Ambition, "That the Kings of *England* and *France*

His Instructions.

"thought it would advance the Popes Interests, if he should command the "Cardinals that were under no restraint, to meet in some secure place, "to consider of the Affairs of the Church, that they might suffer no "prejudice by the Popes Captivity: And for that end, and to conserve "the Dignity of the Apostolick See, that they should choose such a Vi-

Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. 10. Jan.

"car or President, as partly by his Prudence and Courage, partly by the "assistance of the two Kings, upon whom depended all their Hopes, "might do such Services to the Apostolick See, as were most necessary "in that distracted time, by which the Popes Liberty would be hast-

Duplicates corrected by the Cardinal's Hand.

"ned.

It cannot be imagined but the Pope would be offended with this Proposition, and apprehend that the Cardinal of *York* was not satisfied to be intriguing for the Popedom after his death, but was aspiring to it while he was alive. For as it was plain, he was the Person that must be chosen for that trust; so if the Pope were used hardly by the Emperor, and forced to ill conditions, the Vicar so chosen and his Cardinals would disown those Conditions, which might end in a Schism or his Deposition. But *Staphileus* his secret Instructions, related wholly to the Kings business, which were these: "That the King had opened to him the error of his "Marriage; and that the said Bishop out of his great Learning, did now "clearly perceive how invalid and insufficient it was: Therefore the "King recommended it to his care, that he would convince the Pope and "the Cardinals, with the Arguments that had been laid before him, and "of which a Breviate was given him. He was also to represent the great "mischiefs that might follow, if Princes got not justice and ease from

"the

"the Apoſtolick See. Therefore if the Pope were yet in Captivity 1528.
"he was to propoſe a meeting of the Cardinals, for chooſing the Car-
"dinal of *York* to be their Head, during the Popes Impriſonment, or
"that a full Commiſſion might be ſent to him for the Kings matter. And
"in particular he was to take care that the Buſineſs might be tryed in
"*England*. And for his pains in promoting the Kings Concerns, the
"King promiſed to procure a Biſhoprick for him in *France*; and to
"help him to a Cardinals Hat. By him the King wrote to the Pope.
The rude draught of it remains under the Cardinals hand, earneſtly
deſiring a ſpeedy and favourable diſpatch of his buſineſs with a Cre-
dence to the Bearer.

The Cardinal alſo wrote to the Pope by him; and after a long Congratulating his Liberty with many ſharp reflections on the Emperor, he preſſed a Diſpatch of the Kings buſineſs, in which he would not uſe many words: this only I will add, *ſays he*, That that which is "deſired is holy and juſt, and very much for the ſafety and quiet of "this Kingdom, which is moſt devoted to the Apoſtolical See. He "alſo wrote by the ſame hand to the Ambaſſador, that the King would "have things ſo carried, that all occaſion of diſcontent or cavilling, "whether at home or abroad, might be removed; and therefore deſired "that another Cardinal might be ſent Legate to *England*, and joyned "in Commiſſion with himſelf for judging the Matter. He named ei-"ther *Campegius*, *Tranus*, or *Farneſe*: Or if that could not be obtain-"ed, that a fuller Commiſſion might be ſent to himſelf, with all poſſible "haſte, ſince delays might produce great inconveniences. If a Legate "were named, then care muſt be taken that he ſhould be one who were "Learned, Indifferent, and *Tractable*; and if *Campegius* could be the "Man, he was the fitteſt perſon. And when one was named he ſhould "make him a decent Preſent, and aſſure him that the King would moſt "liberally recompence all his labour and expence. He alſo required him "to preſs his ſpeedy Diſpatch, and that the Commiſſion ſhould be full "to try and determine, without any reſervation of the Sentence to be "given by the Pope. This Diſpatch is interlined, and amended with the Cardinals own hand. The Cardinals Letters by him.

But upon the Arrival of the Meſſenger whom the Secretary had ſent, with the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation, and the other Packets before-mentioned; It was debated in the Kings Council, whether he ſhould go on in his Proceſs, or continue to ſolicite new Bulls from *Rome*. On the one hand, they ſaw how tedious, dangerous, and expenſive a Proceſs at *Rome* was like to prove: and therefore it ſeemed the eaſieſt and moſt expedite way to proceed before the Cardinal in his Legantine Court, who ſhould *ex officio*, and in the Summary way of the Court, bring it to a ſpeedy Concluſion. But on the other hand, if the Cardinal gave Sentence, and the King ſhould Marry, then they were not ſure, but before that time the Pope might either change his mind, or his Intereſt might turn him another way. And the Popes Power was ſo abſolute by the Canon Law, that no general Clauſes in Commiſſions to Legates, could bind him to confirm their Sentences: and if upon the Kings Marrying another Wife, the Pope ſhould refuſe to confirm it, then the King would be in a worſe caſe than he was now in, and his Marriage and Iſſue by it ſhould be ſtill diſputable: A Larger Bull deſired by the King.

1528. disputable: Therefore they thought this was by no means to be adventured on, but they should make new Addresses to the Court of *Rome*. In the debate, some sharp words fell either from the King, or some of his Secular Counsellors; Intimating that if the Pope continued under such fears the King must find some other way to set him at ease. So it was resolved that *Stephen Gardiner*, commoly called Doctor *Stevens*, the Cardinals chief Secretary, and *Edward Fox* the Kings Almoner, should be sent to *Rome*; the one being esteemed the ablest Canonist in *England*, the other one of the best Divines, they were dispatched the 10*th* of *February*. "By them the King wrote to the Pope thanking him, that he had expressed such forward and earnest willingness "to give him ease: and had so kindly promised to gratifie his desires, "of which he expected now to see the effects. He wrote also to the "Cardinals, his thanks for the chearfulness with which they had in "Consistory promised to promote his Sute; for which he assured them "they should never have cause to repent. But the Cardinal wrote in "a strain, that shews he was in some fear that if he could not bring about the Kings desires, he was like to lose his favour. "He besought "the Pope as lying at his feet, that if he thought him a Christian, "a good Cardinal, and not unworthy of that Dignity, and useful Member of the Apostolick See, a Promoter of Justice and Equity, or "thought him his faithful Creature, or that he desired his own eternal Salvation, that he would now so far consider his Intercession, as "to grant kindly and speedily that which the King earnestly desired; "which if he did not know to be Holy, Right, and Just, he would "undergo any hazard or punishment whatsoever, rather than promote it; but he did apprehend if the King found that the Pope was "so over-awed by the Emperor, as not to grant that which all Christendom judged was grounded both on the Divine and Humane Laws, "both he and other Christian Princes would from thence take occasion to provide themselves of other Remedies, and lessen and despise "the Authority of the Apostolick See. In his Letters to *Cassali* he expressed a great sense of the Services which the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* had done the King; and bid him enquire what were the things in which he delighted most, whether Furniture, Gold, Plate, or Horses, that they might make him acceptable Presents; and assure him that the King would contribute largely towards the carrying on the building of St. *Peters* in the *Vatican*.

Gardiner and *Fox* sent to *Rome*.

With Letters from the King.

Collection Number 7.

And the Cardinal. Collection Number 8.

Collection Number 9.

The most Important thing about which they were employed, was to procure the expediting of a Bull which was formed in *England*, with all the strongest Clauses that could be imagined. In the Preamble of which all the Reasons against the validity of the Bull of P. *Julius* the second, were recited: and it was also hinted *that it was against "the Law of God*; but to lessen that, it was added, *at least where there "was not a sufficient Dispensation obtained*: therefore the Pope, to reward the great Services by which the King had obliged the Apostolick See, and having regard to the Distractions that might follow "on a Disputable Title; upon a full Consultation with the Cardinals, having also heard the Opinions of Divines and Canonists, "Deputed —— for his Legate, to concur with the Cardinal of *York*, either together, or (the one being hindred, or unwilling) severally.

The substance of the Bull desired by them. Collection Number 10.

And

"And if they found thoſe things that were ſuggeſted againſt the Bull "of P. *Julius*, or any of them, well or ſufficiently proved, then to "declare it void and null, as ſurreptitiouſly procured, upon falſe "grounds; and thereupon to Annul the Marriage that had followed "upon it: And to give both Parties full leave to Marry again, not-"withſtanding any Appellation or Proteſtation, the Pope making "them his Vicars, with full and abſolute Power and Authority: "empowering them alſo to declare the Iſſue begotten in the former "Marriage good and legitimate, if they ſaw cauſe for it. The Pope "binding himſelf to confirm whatever they ſhould do in that Proceſs, "and never to revoke or repeal what they ſhould pronounce. De-"claring alſo that this Bull ſhould remain in force till the Proceſs "were ended, and that by no Revocation or Inhibition it ſhould be "recalled; and if any ſuch were obtained, theſe are all declared void "and null, and the Legates were to proceed notwithſtanding: and all "ended with a full *Non obſtante*. 1527.

This was judged the uttermoſt force that could be in a Bull: Though the Civilians would ſcarce allow any validity at all in theſe extravagant Clauſes: but the moſt material thing in this Bull, is, that it ſeems the King was not fully reſolved to declare his Daughter illegitimate. Whether he pretended this, to mitigate the Queens, or the Emperors oppoſition, or did really intend it, is not clear. But what he did afterwards in Parliament, ſhews, he had this deep in his thoughts, though the Queens Carriage did ſoon after provoke him to purſue his reſentments againſt her Daughter. The *French* King did alſo joyn a moſt earneſt Letter of his to the Pope, which they were alſo to deliver. They had likewiſe a ſecret Inſtruction by all means to endeavour that Cardinal *Campegio* ſhould be the Legate: he had the reputation of a Learned Canoniſt, and they knew he was a *tractable man*: and beſides that, he was Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the King had obliged him by the grant of a Palace, which the King was building in *Burgo* at *Rome* for his Ambaſſadors, which before it was finiſhed he had by a Patent given to him and his Heirs: ſo they had better hopes of him than of any other. *Rot. Pat.* 2^d *Pars. R.* 1^o

By theſe Ambaſſadors the Cardinal wrote a long and moſt earneſt Letter to *John Caſſali* the Proto-Notarie, that was the Ambaſſadors Brother. In which all the Arguments that a moſt anxious mind could invent or dictate, are laid together to perſwade the Pope to grant the Kings deſires. Among other things he tells him, "How he had "engaged to the King, that the Pope would not deny it; That the King "both out of ſcruple of Conſcience, and becauſe of ſome Diſeaſes in "the Queen, that were incurable, had reſolved never to come near "her more; and that if the Pope continued, out of his partial reſpects "to the Emperor, to be inexorable, the King would proceed another "way. He offers to take all the blame of it upon his own Soul, if it were amiſs; with many other Particulars in which he is ſo preſſing, that I cannot imagine what moved the Lord *Herbert*, who ſaw thoſe Letters, to think that the Cardinal did not really intend the Divorce. He (it ſeems) ſaw another Paper of their Inſtructions, by which they were ordered to ſay to the Pope, that the Cardinal was not the Author of the Counſel. But all that was intended by that, was only The Cardinals Earneſtneſs in this matter. Collection Number 11

1527. to excuse him so far, that he might not be thought too partial, and an incompetent Judge. For as he was far from disowning the justice of the Kings Sute, so he would not have trusted a Secret of that Importance to Paper, which when it should be known to the King, would have lost him his favour. But undoubtedly it was concerted between the King and him to remove an Exception, which otherwise the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction would have made, to his being the Judge in that matter.

Collection Number 12. With those Letters and Instructions were *Gardiner* and *Fox* sent to *Rome*, where both the *Cassalies* and *Staphileus* were promoting the Kings business all they could. And being strengthned with the Accession of those other two they made a greater progress; so that in *April* the Pope did in Consistory, declare Cardinal *Campegio* Legate to go to *England*, that he with the Cardinal of *York* might try the validity of the Kings Marriage: But that Cardinal made great excuses: he was then Legate at *Rome*, in which he had such advantages, that he had no mind to enter in a business which must for ever engage either the Emperor or the King against him. He also pretended an Inability to travel so great a Journey, being much subject to the Gout. But when this was known in *England*, the Cardinal wrote him a most earnest Letter, to hasten over, and bring with him all such things as were necessary for making their Sentence firm and irreversible, so that it might never again be questioned.

Campegio declared Legate. Collection Number 13.

Wolsey writes to him to haste over. *May* 7.

But here I shall add a Remark, which though it is of no great importance, yet will be diverting to the Reader. The draught of the Letter is in *Wolsey*'s Secretaries hand, amended in some places by his own; and concluded thus, *I hope all things shall be done according to the Will of God, the Desire of the King, the Quiet of the Kingdom, and to our honour with a good Conscience.* But the Cardinal dasht out this last word *with a good conscience*; perhaps judging that was a thing fit for meaner persons, but that it was below the Dignity of two Cardinals to consider it much. He wrote also to *Cassali* high Complements for his diligence in the Step that was made, but desired him with all possible means to get the Bull granted and trusted to his keeping, with the deepest Protestations, that no use should be made of it, but that the King only should see it; by which his mind would be at ease, and he being put in good hopes would employ his Power in the Service of the Pope and Apostolick See: but the Pope was not a Man to be cozen'd so easily.

May 23. When the Cardinal heard by the next Dispatch what excuses and delays *Campegio* made, he wrote to him again, and pressed his coming over in haste. "For his being Legate of *Rome* he desired him to name "a Vice-Legate. For his want of Money and Horses, *Gardiner* would "furnish him as he desired, and he should find an equipage ready for "him in *France*; and he might certainly expect great Rewards from "the King. But if he did not make more haste, the King would in- "cline to believe an Advertisement that was sent him, of his turning "over to the Emperors Party. Therefore if he either valued the "Kings kindness, or were grateful for the favours he had received "from him; if he valued the Cardinals Friendship or Safety, or if he "would hinder the diminution of the Authority of the *Roman* Church, "all excuses set aside, he must make what haste in his Journey was pos- sible.

sible. Yet the Legate made no great haſte, for till *October* following he came not into *England*. The Bull that was deſired could not be obtained, but another was granted, which perhaps was of more force becauſe it had not thoſe extraordinary Clauſes in it. There is the Copy of a Bull to this purpoſe in the *Cottonian* Library, which has been printed more than once by ſome that have taken it for a Copy of the ſame Bull that was ſent by *Campegio*: but I take it to be rather a Copy of that Bull which the Pope Signed at *Rome* while he was there a Priſoner, and probably afterward at *Orvieto* he might give it the date that it bears 1527. *Decemb.* 17. But that there was a Decretal Bull ſent by *Campegio* will appear evidently in the Sequel of this Relation. About this time I meet with the firſt evidence of the progreſs of the Kings love to *Anne Boleyn*, in two Original Letters of hers to the Cardinal, from which it appears, not only that the King had then reſolved to Marry her, but that the Cardinal was privy to it. They bear no date, but the matter of them ſhews they were written after the end of *May*, when the Sweating-ſickneſs began, and about the time that the Legate was expected. They give ſuch a light to the Hiſtory, that I ſhall not caſt them over to the Collection at the end, but ſet them down here.

1527.

The Pope grants a Decretal Bull. *Atti-Saxdarus. L. Herbert.*

Two Letters of *Anne Boleyn's* to *Wolſey*

MY Lord, in my moſt humbleſt wiſe that my heart can think, I deſire you to pardon me that I am ſo bold to trouble you with my ſimple and rude writing, eſteeming it to proceed from her, that is much deſirous to know that your Grace does well, as I perceive by this Bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am moſt bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me both day and night, is never like to be recompenced on my part, but alonely in loving you next unto the Kings Grace, above all Creatures living. And I do not doubt but the daily proofs of my deeds, ſhall manifeſtly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do truſt you do think the ſame. My Lord, I do aſſure you I do long to hear from you news of the Legate: for I do hope and they come from you they ſhall be very good, and I am ſure you deſire it as much as I, and more, and it were poſſible, as I know it is not: and thus remaining in a ſteadfaſt hope, I make an end of my Letter written with the Hand of her that is moſt bound to be.

A Poſtſcript of the Kings to him.

THE writer of this Letter would not ceaſe till ſhe had cauſed me likewiſe to ſet to my Hand; deſiring you, though it be ſhort to take it in good part. I enſure you there is neither of us, but that greatly deſireth to ſee you, and much more joyous to hear that you have ſcaped this Plague ſo well, truſting the fury thereof to be paſſed, ſpecially with them that keepeth good diet as I truſt you do. The not hearing of the Legates Arrival in France, *cauſeth us ſomewhat to muſe; notwithſtanding we truſt by your diligence and vigilancy (with the aſſiſtance of Almighty God) ſhortly to be eaſed out of that trouble. No more to you at this time; but that I pray God ſend you as good health and proſperity as the Writer would.*

By Your
Loving Sovereign and Friend
Henry K.
Your Humble Servant
Anne Boleyn.

My

1528. *MY Lord, In my moſt humble wiſe that my poor heart can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind Letter, and for your rich and goodly Preſent, the which I ſhall never be able to deſerve without your help: of the which I have hitherto had ſo great plenty, that all the days of my life I am moſt bound of all Creatures, next the Kings Grace, to love and ſerve your Grace: of the which I beſeech you never to doubt, that ever I ſhall vary from this thought as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your Graces trouble with the ſweat, I thank our Lord, that them that I deſired and prayed for, are ſcaped, and that is the King and you; not doubting but that God has preſerved you both for great cauſes known alonely of his high wiſdom. And as for the coming of the Legate, I deſire that much, and if it be Gods pleaſure, I pray him to ſend this matter ſhortly to a good end, and then I truſt, my Lord, to recompence part of your great pains. In the which I muſt require you in the mean time to accept my good-will in the ſtead of the power, the which muſt proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth; to whom I beſeech to ſend you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the Hand of her that is moſt bound to be*

Your Humble and

Obedient Servant,

Anne Boleyn.

Collection Number 14.

The Cardinal hearing that *Campegius* had the Decretal Bull committed to his Truſt, to be ſhewed only to the King and himſelf, wrote to the Ambaſſador that it was neceſſary it ſhould be alſo ſhewed to ſome of the Kings Council; not to make any uſe of it, but that thereby they might underſtand how to manage the Proceſs better by it. This he begged might be truſted to his care and fidelity, and he undertook to manage it ſo, that no kind of danger could ariſe out of it.

The Cardinals Colledges finiſhed.

At this time the Cardinal having finiſhed his Foundations at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, and finding they were very acceptable, both to the King and to the Clergy, reſolved to go on, and ſuppreſs more Monaſteries, and erect new Biſhopricks, turning ſome Abbies to Cathedrals. This was propoſed in the Conſiſtory, and granted, as appears by a Diſpatch of *Caſſali's*. He alſo ſpoke to the Pope about a general Viſitation of all Monaſteries. And on the 4*th* of *November*, the Bull for ſuppreſſing ſome was expected, a Copy whereof is yet extant, but written in ſuch a Hand, that I could not read three words together in any place of it; and though I tried others that were good at reading all Hands, yet they could not do it. But I find by the diſpatch that the Pope did it with ſome averſion; and when *Gardiner* told him plainly, *it was neceſſary and it muſt be done*, he paused a little, and ſeemed unwilling to give any further offence to Religious Orders: But ſince he found it ſo uneaſie to gratifie the King in ſo great a Point, as the matter of his Divorce, he judged it the more neceſſary to mollifie him by a compliance in all other things. So there was a power given to the Two Legates to examine the ſtate of the Monaſteries, and to ſuppreſs ſuch as they thought fit, and convert them into Biſhopricks and Cathedrals.

Oſiob. 30.

More Monaſteries were to be ſuppreſſed.

While

While matters went thus between *Rome* and *England*, the Queen was as active as ſhe could be, to engage her Two Nephews, the Emperor, and his Brother, to appear for her. She complained to them much of the King, but more of the Cardinal: She alſo gave them notice of all the Exceptions that were made to the Bull, and deſired both their advice and aſſiſtance: They having a mind to perplex the Kings Affairs, adviſed her by no means to yield, nor to be induced to enter into a Religious Life; and gave her aſſurance, that by their Intereſt at *Rome*, they would ſupport her, and maintain her Daughters Title, if it went to extremities. And as they employed all their Agents at *Rome* to ſerve her Concerns, ſo they conſulted with the Canoniſts about the force of the Exceptions to the Bull. The Iſſue of which was, that a *Breve* was found out, or forged, that ſupplied ſome of the moſt material defects in the Bull. For whereas in the Bull, the Preamble bore, that the King and Queen had deſired the Popes Diſpenſation to Marry, that the Peace might continue between the Two Crowns without any other cauſe given: In the Preamble of this *Breve*, mention is made of their deſire to Marry, "becauſe otherwiſe it was not likely that the Peace would be "continued between the Two Crowns. And for that, and divers other "reaſons they asked the Diſpenſation. Which in the body of the *Breve* is granted, bearing date the 26*th* of *December*, 1503. Upon this they pretended that the Diſpenſation was granted upon good Reaſons; ſince by this Petition it appeared, that there were fears of a Breach between the Crowns: And that there were alſo other reaſons made uſe of, though they were not named. But there was one Fatal thing in it. In the Bull it is only ſaid, That the Queens Petition bore, *That perhaps ſhe had Conſummated her Marriage with Prince* Arthur, *by the Carnalis Copula.* But in this *perhaps* is left out, and 'tis plainly ſaid, *That they had Conſummated their Marriage.* This the Kings Council, who ſuſpected that the *Breve* was forged, made great uſe of when the Queſtion was argued, whether Prince *Arthur* knew her or not? Though at this time 'twas ſaid, the *Spaniards* did put it in on deſign, knowing it was like to be proved, that the former Marriage was Conſummated: which they intended to throw out of the debate, ſince by this it appeared that the Pope did certainly know that, and yet granted the *Breve*; and that therefore there was to be no more enquiry to be made into that, which was already confeſſed: ſo that all that was now to be debated, was the Popes power of granting ſuch a Diſpenſation, in which they had good reaſon to expect a favourable Deciſion at *Rome.*

1528. The Emperor oppoſes the Kings Suit.

A *Breve* found out in *Spain* Collection Number 15.

But there appeared great grounds to reject this *Breve* as a forged Writing. It was neither in the Records of *England*, nor *Spain*, but ſaid to be found amongſt the Papers of *D. de Puebla*, that had been the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *England* at the time of concluding the Match. So that if he only had it, it muſt have been caſſated, otherwiſe the Parties concerned would have got it into their hands: Or elſe it was forged ſince. Many of the Names were written falſe, which was a preſumption that it was lately made by ſome *Spaniards*, who knew not how to write the Names true. For *Sigiſmund*, who was Secretary, when it was pretended to have been Signed, was an exact Man, and no ſuch errors were found in *Breves* at that time. But that which ſhewed it a manifeſt Forgery, was, that it bore date the 26*th* of *December Anno* 1503. on the ſame day that the Bull

Preſumptions of its being forged.

1528. Bull was granted. It was not to be imagined that in the ſame day a *Bull*, and a *Breve*, ſhould have been expedited in the ſame buſineſs, with ſuch material differences in them. And the ſtile of the Court of *Rome* had this ſingularity in it; That in all their *Breves*, they reckon the beginning of the year from *Chriſtmas*-day, which being the Nativity of our Lord, they count the year to begin then. But in their Bulls they reckon the year to begin at the Feaſt of the *Annunciation*. So that a *Breve* dated the *26th* of *December*, 1503. was in the vulgar account in the year 1502. therefore it muſt be falſe; for neither was *Julius* the ſecond, who granted it, then Pope, nor was the Treaty of the Marriage ſo far advanced at that time, as to admit of a *Breve* ſo ſoon. But allowing the *Breve* to be true, they had many of the ſame Exceptions to it, that they had to the *Bull*, ſince it bore that the King deſired the Marriage, to avoid a Breach between the Crowns, which was falſe. It likewiſe bore that the Marriage had been Conſummated between the Queen and Prince *Arthur*, which the Queen denied was ever done; ſo that the ſuggeſtion in her Name being as ſhe ſaid, falſe, it could have no force, though it were granted to be a true *Breve*: And they ſaid, it was plain, the *Imperialiſts* were convinced the *Bull* was of no force, ſince they betook themſelves to ſuch Arts to fortifie their Cauſe.

Campegio comes into England.

When Cardinal *Campegio* came to *England*, he was received with the publick Solemnities ordinary in ſuch a Caſe, and in his Speech at his firſt Audience, he called the King *the Deliverer of the Pope, and of the City of Rome*, with the higheſt complements that the occaſion did require. But when he was admitted to a private Conference with the King and the Cardinal, he uſed many Arguments to diſſwade the King from proſecuting the matter any further. This the King took very ill, as if his errand had been rather to confirm than annul his Marriage; and complained that the Pope had broken his word to him. But the Legate ſtudied to qualifie him, and ſhewed the Decretal Bull, by which he might ſee, that though the Pope wiſhed rather that the buſineſs might come to a more friendly concluſion; yet if the King could not be brought to that, he was empowered to grant him all that he deſired. But he could not be brought to part with the Decretal Bull out of his hands, or to leave it for a minute, either with the King or the Cardinal: ſaying, That it was demanded on theſe terms, that no other perſon ſhould ſee it; and that *Gardiner* and the Ambaſſador had only moved to have it expedited, and ſent by the Legate, to let the King ſee how well the Pope was affected to him. With all this the King was much diſſatisfied; but to encourage him again, the Legate told him, he was to ſpeak to the Queen in the Popes Name, to induce her to enter into a Religious Life, and to make the Vows. But when he propoſed that to her, ſhe anſwered him modeſtly, that ſhe could not diſpoſe of her ſelf, but by the advice of her Nephews.

And ſhews the King the Bull.

But refuſes to let it be ſeen to the Council.

Wolſey's endeavour at Rome that it might be ſhowed.

Of all this the Cardinal of *York* advertiſed the *Caſſalies*, and * ordered them to uſe all poſſible endeavours, that the Bull might be ſhewn to ſome of the Kings Council. Upon that (Sir *Gregory* being then out of *Rome*) the Proto-Notary went to the Pope, and complained that *Campegio* had diſſwaded the Divorce. The Pope juſtified him in it, and ſaid, He did as he had ordered him. He next complained that the Legate would not proceed to execute the Legantine Commiſſion. The Pope denied that he

* Collection Number 16. Collection Number 17.

he had any order from him to delay his proceedings, but that by vertue of his Commiſſion they might go on and paſs Sentence. Then the Proto-Notary preſſed him for leave to ſhew the Bull to ſome of the Kings Council, complaining of *Campegio*'s ſtiffneſs in refuſing it, and that he would not truſt it to the Cardinal of *York*, who was his equal in the Commiſſion. To this the Pope anſwered in paſſion, That he could ſhew the Cardinals Letter, in which he aſſures him, that the Bull ſhould only be ſhowed to the King and himſelf; and that if it were not granted he was ruined, therefore to preſerve him he had ſent it, but had ordered it to be burnt when it was once ſhowed. He wiſhed he had never ſent it, ſaying, he would glady loſe a Finger to recover it again, and expreſſed great grief for granting it: and ſaid, They had got him to ſend it, and now would have it ſhowed, to which he would never conſent, for then he was undone for ever. Upon this, the Proto-Notary laid before him the danger of loſing the King, and the Kingdom of *England*; of ruining the Cardinal of *York*, and of the undoing of their Family, whoſe hopes depended on the Cardinal; and that by theſe means Hereſie would prevail in *England*, which if it once had got footing there, would not be ſo eaſily rooted out: That all perſons judged the Kings Cauſe right; but though it were not ſo, ſome things that were not good, muſt be born with to avoid greater evils. And at laſt he fell down at his feet, and in moſt paſſionate expreſſions begged him to be more compliant to the Kings deſires, and at leaſt not to deny that ſmall favour of ſhowing the Decretal to ſome few Counſellors, upon the aſſurance of abſolute ſecrecy: But the Pope interrupted him, and with great ſigns of an unuſual grief, told him, theſe ſad effects could not be charged on him, he had kept his word, and done what he had promiſed, but upon no conſideration would he do any thing that might wound his Conſcience, or blemiſh his Integrity. Therefore let them proceed as they would in *England*, he ſhould be free of all blame, but ſhould confirm their Sentence. And he proteſted he had given *Campegio* no commands to make any delays, but only to give him notice of their proceedings. If the King, who had maintained the Apoſtolick See, had written for the Faith, and was the Defender of it, would over-turn it, it would end in his own diſgrace. But at laſt the ſecret came out, for the Pope confeſſed there was a League in Treaty between the Emperor and himſelf; but denied that he had bound himſelf up by it, as to the Kings buſineſs.

1528.

But all in vain.

The Pope conſulted with the Cardinals, *Sanctorum Quatuor* and *Simonetta*, (not mentioning the *Decretal* to them, which he had granted without communicating it to any body, or entring it in any Regiſter) and they were of opinion that the Proceſs ſhould be carried on in *England*, without demanding any thing further from *Rome*. But the Imperial Cardinals ſpake againſt it, and were moving preſently for an Inhibition, and an Avocation of the Cauſe, to be tryed at the Court of *Rome*. The Pope alſo took notice, that the Interceſſion of *England* and *France* had not prevailed with the *Venetians* to reſtore *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, which they had taken from him; and that he could not think that Republick durſt do ſo, if theſe Kings were in earneſt. It had been promiſed that they ſhould be reſtored as ſoon as his Legate was ſent to *England*, but it was not yet done. The Proto-Notary told him it ſhould moſt certainly be done. Thus ended that Converſation. But the more earneſt

1528. the Cardinal was to have the Bull ſeen by ſome of the Privy-Council, the Pope was the more confirmed in his reſolutions never to conſent to it. For he could not imagine the deſire of ſeeing it was a bare curioſity, or only to direct the Kings Counſellors; ſince the King and the Cardinal could inform them of all the material Clauſes that were in it. Therefore he judged the deſire of ſeeing it was only that they might have ſo many witneſſes to prove that it was once granted, whereby they had the Pope in their power; and this he judged too dangerous for him to ſubmit to.

The Pope ſends *Campana* to *England* Collect. *Numb.* 18th.

But the Pope finding the King and the Cardinal ſo ill ſatisfied with him, reſolved to ſend *Franciſco Campana*, one of his Bed-chamber, to *England*, to remove all miſtakes, and to feed the King with freſh hopes. In *England*, *Campegio* found ſtill means by new delays to put off the buſineſs, and amuſed the King with new and ſubtle motions for ending the matter more dextrouſly. Upon which, in the beginning of *December*, Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes*, the Kings Secretary for the Latine Tongue were ſent to *Rome*. They had it in Commiſſion to ſearch all the Records there, for the *Breve* that was now ſo much talked of in *Spain*. They were to propoſe ſeveral overtures. "Whether if the Queen vowed Re-
"ligion, the Pope would not diſpence with the Kings ſecond Marriage?
"or if the Queen would not vow Religion, unleſs the King alſo did it,
"whether in that caſe would the Pope diſpence with his vow? or whe-
"ther if the Queen would hear of no ſuch propoſition, would not the
"Pope diſpence with the Kings having two Wives? For which there
"were divers precedents vouched from the Old Teſtament. They were to repreſent to the Pope that the King had laid out much of his beſt Treaſure in his Service, and therefore he expected the higheſt favours out of the deepeſt Treaſure of the Church. And *Peter Vannes* was commanded to tell the Pope as of himſelf, that if he did for partial reſpects and fears, refuſe the Kings deſires, he perceived it would not only alienate the King from him, but that many other Princes his Confederates, with their Realms, would withdraw their Devotion and Obedience from the Apoſtolick See.

New Ambaſſadors ſent to *Rome*.

With other overtures.

Collect. *Numb.* 19th.

A Guard of 2000 men offered to the Pope.

By a diſpatch that followed them, the Cardinal tried a new project, which was an offer of 2000 men for a Guard to the Pope, to be maintained at the coſt of the King and his Confederates. And alſo propoſed an enterview of the Pope, the Emperor, the *French* King, and the Ambaſſadors of other Princes, to be either at *Nice*, *Avignon*, or in *Savoy*, and that himſelf would come thither from the King of *England*. But the Pope reſolved ſteadfaſtly to keep his ground, and not to engage himſelf too much to any Prince; therefore the motion of a Guard did not at all work upon him. To have Guards about him upon another Princes pay, was to be their Priſoner; and he was ſo weary of his late Impriſonment, that he would not put himſelf in hazard of it a ſecond time. Beſides, ſuch a Guard would give the Emperor juſt cauſe of jealouſie, and yet not ſecure him againſt his power. He had been alſo ſo unſucceſful in his conteſts with the Emperor, that he had no mind to give him any new provocation: And though the Kings of *England* and *France* gave him good words, yet they did nothing, nor did the King make War upon the Emperor, ſo that his Armies lying in *Italy*, he was ſtill under his power. Therefore the Pope reſolved to unite himſelf firmly to the Emperor; and

The Pope reſolved to unite himſelf to the Emperor.

and all the uſe he made of the Kings earneſtneſs in his Divorce, was only to bring the Emperor to better terms. The *Lutherans* in *Germany* were like to make great uſe of any deciſion he might make againſt any of his Predeceſſors Bulls. The Cardinal Elector of *Mentz*, had written to him to conſider well what he did in the Kings Divorce; for if it went on, nothing had ever fall'n out ſince the beginning of *Luthers* Sect, that would ſo much ſtrengthen it as that Sentence. He was alſo threatned on the other ſide from *Rome*, that the Emperor would have a General Council called, and whatſoever he did in this Proceſs ſhould be examined there, and he proceeded againſt accordingly. Nor did they forget to put him in mind of his Birth, that he was a *Baſtard*, and ſo by the Canon incapable of that Dignity, and that thereupon they would depoſe him. He having all theſe things in his proſpect, and being naturally of a fearful temper, which was at this time more prevalent in him by reaſon of his late Captivity, reſolved not to run theſe hazards, which ſeemed unavoidable, if he proceeded further in the Kings buſineſs. But his conſtant Maxim, being to promiſe and ſwear deepeſt, when he intended leaſt, he ſent *Campana* to *England*, with a Letter of Credence to the Cardinal, the effects of which meſſage will appear afterwards. And thus ended this year, in which it was believed that if the King had employed that Money, which was ſpent in a fruitleſs Negotiation at *Rome*, on a War in *Flanders*, it had ſo diſtracted the Emperors Forces, and encouraged the Pope, that he had ſooner granted that, which in a more fruitleſs way was ſought of him. 1528. Being frightned with the threats of the Imperialiſts.

In the beginning of the next year, *Caſſali* wrote to the Cardinal, that the Pope was much inclined to unite himſelf with the Emperor, and propoſed to go in Perſon to *Spain*, to ſollicite a general Peace; but intended to go privately, and deſired the Cardinal would go with him thither, as his Friend and Counſellor, and that they two ſhould go as Legates, But *Caſſali*, by *Salviati*'s means, who was in great favour with the Pope, underſtood that the Pope was never in greater fear of the Emperor than at that time; for his Ambaſſador had threatned the Pope ſeverely, if he would not recal the Commiſſion that he had ſent to *England*; ſo that the Pope ſpoke oft to *Salviati* of the *great Repentance that he had inwardly in his heart, for granting the Decretal:* and ſaid, *He was undone for ever, if it came to the Emperors knowledge.* He alſo reſolved, that though the Legates gave Sentence in *England*, it ſhould never take effect, for he would not confirm it: Of which *Gregory Caſſali* gave Advertiſement by an expreſs Meſſenger, who as he paſſed through *Paris*, met Secretary *Knight* and Doctor *Bennet*, whom the King had diſpatched to *Rome*, to aſſiſt his other Ambaſſadors there, and gave them an account of his meſſage: and that it was the Advice of the Kings Friends at *Rome*, That he and his Confederates ſhould follow the War more vigorouſly, and preſs the Emperor harder, without which all their applications to the Pope would ſignifie nothing. Of this they gave the Cardinal an account, and went on but faintly in their Journey, judging that upon theſe Advertiſements they would be recalled, and other Counſels taken. 1529. *Jan.* 3. Repents his granting the Decretal. Kings Letter to the Cardinal, *Jan.* 8.

At the ſame time the Pope was with his uſual Arts cajoling the Kings Agents in *Italy*: For when Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes* came to *Bononia*, the Proto-Notary *Caſſali* was ſurprized, to hear that the buſineſs was not already ended in *England*: ſince (he ſaid) he knew there were *Jan.* 9.

1529. sufficient Powers sent about it, and that the Pope assured him he would confirm their Sentence; but that he made a great difference between the confirming their judgment, by which he had the Legates between him and the *Envy* or *Odium* of it, and the granting a Bull, by which the Judgment should arise immediately from himself. This his best Friends dissuaded, and he seemed apprehensive, that in case he should do it, a Council would be called, and he should be deposed for it. And any such distraction in the Papacy, considering the footing which Heresie had already gotten, would ruin the Ecclesiastical State, and the Church: So dextrously did the Pope govern himself between such contrary tides. But all this Dissimulation was short of what he acted by *Campana* in *England*, whose true errand thither was to order *Campegio* to destroy the Bull; but he did so perswade the King and the Cardinal of the Popes sincerity, that by a dispatch to Sir *Francis Brian*, and *Peter Vannes*, and Sir *Gregory Cassali*, he chid the two former for not making more haste to *Rome*; for he believed it might have been a great advantage to the Kings Affairs, if they had got thither before the *General of the Observants* (then Cardinal *Angel.*) He ordered them to settle the business of the Guard about the Pope presently, and tells them that the Secretary was recalled, and Dr. *Stephens* again sent to *Rome*: And in a Letter to Secretary *Knight*, who went no further than *Lions*, he writt to him; "That *Campana* "had assured the King and him, in the Popes name, that the Pope was "ready to do, not only all that of Law, Equity, or Justice, could be de- "sired of him, but whatever of the *fulness of his Power* he could do or "devise, for giving the King content: And that although there were "three things, which the Pope had great reason to take care of; The "calling a General Council, The Emperors descent into *Italy*, and the "Restitution of his Towns, which were offered to be put in his hands "by the Emperors means; yet neither these, nor any other considerati- "on, should divert him from doing all that lay within his Authority, or "Power, for the King: And that he had so deep a sense of the Kings "merits, and the obligations that he had laid on him, that if his resig- "nation of the Popedom might do him any Service, he would readily "consent to it: And therefore in the Popes name he encouraged the Le- "gates to proceed and end the business.

Jan. 15.

But feeds the King with high promises

Upon these assurances the Cardinal ordered the Secretary to haste forward to *Rome*, and to thank the Pope for that kind message, to settle the Guard about him, and to tell him, that for a Council, none could be called but by himself with the consent of the Kings of *England* and *France*. And for any pretended Council or meeting of Bishops, which the Emperor by the Cardinals of his Party might call, he needed not fear that: For his Towns, they should be most certainly restored. Nor was the Emperors offering to put them in his hand to be much regarded; for though he restored them, if the Pope had not a better Guaranty for them, it would be easie for him, to take them from him when he pleased. He was also to propose a firmer League between the Pope, *England*, and *France*, in order to which, he was to move the Pope most earnestly to go to *Nice*; and if the Pope proposed the Kings taking a second Wife, with a Legitimation of the Issue, which she might have, so the Queen might be induced to enter into a state of Religion, to which the Pope inclined most, he was not to accept of that; both because the thing would take

take up much time, and they found the Queen reſolved to do nothing, but as ſhe was adviſed by her Nephews. Yet if the Pope offered a *Decretal* about it, he might take it, to be made uſe of as the Occaſion might require. But by a Poſtſcript he is recalled, and it is ſignified to him, that *Gardiner* was ſent to *Rome*, to negotiate theſe affairs, who had returned to *England* with the Legate, and his being ſo ſucceſsful in his former Meſſage, made them think him the fitteſt Miniſter they could imploy in that Court; and to ſend him with the greater Advantage, he was made a Privy Councellor. 1529.

But an unlooked for Accident put a ſtop to all Proceedings in the Court of *Rome*: For on *Epiphany*-day the Pope was taken extreme ill at Maſs, and a great ſickneſs followed, of which it was generally believed he could not recover; and though his diſtemper did ſoon abate ſo much, that it was thought to be over, yet it returned again upon him, inſomuch that the Phyſicians did ſuſpect he was poiſoned. Then followed all the ſecret Caballings, and Intrigues, which are ordinary in that Court upon ſuch an occaſion. The *Collonna's* and the other Imperialiſts were very buſie, but the Cardinal of *Mantua* oppoſed them; and *Farneſe* who was then at his houſe in the Countrey, came to *Rome* and joyned with *Mantua*; and theſe of that Faction reſolved that if the *Spaniſh* Army marched from *Naples* toward them, they would diſpence with that Bull, which provides that the Succeeding Pope ſhould be choſen in the ſame place where the former died, and would retire to ſome ſafe place. Some of the Cardinals ſpoke highly in favour of Cardinal *Wolſey*, whom (if the Ambaſſadors did not flatter and lie groſly in their Letters, from which I draw theſe Informations) they reverenced *as a Diety*. And the Cardinal of *Mantua*, it ſeems, propoſing him as a Pattern, would needs have a Particular account of his whole Courſe of Life, and expreſſed great eſteem for him. When *Gardiner* was come as far as *Lions* he wrote the Cardinal word, that there went a Prophecy that an Angel ſhould be the next Pope, but ſhould die ſoon after. He alſo gave Advice that if the Pope died, the Commiſſion for the Legates muſt needs expire with him, unleſs they made ſome Step in their Buſineſs, by a Citation of Parties, which would keep it alive; but whether this was done or not I cannot find. The Cardinals Ambition was now fermenting ſtrongly, and he reſolved to lay his Project for the Popedom better than he had done before. His Letter about it to *Gardiner*, and the Kings Inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors, are Printed by *Fox*, and the Originals from which they are taken are yet extant. He wrote alſo another Letter to the Ambaſſadors, which the Reader will find in the Collection. But becauſe the Inſtructions ſhow what were the methods in chooſing Popes in theſe days, by which it may be eaſily gathered, how ſuch an Election muſt needs recommend a man to Infallibility, Supremacy, and all the other Appendages of *Chriſts Vicar on Earth*, I ſhall give a ſhort Summary of them.

The Pope ſickens.

Jan. 27.

Cardinal *Wolſey's* intrigues for the Papacy *Feb.* 6.

Collect. *Numb.* 20.

"By his Letter to his confident *Gardiner*, he commits the thing "chiefly to his care, and orders him to employ all his parts, to bring "it to the deſired iſſue; ſparing neither Preſents, nor Promiſes; and that "as he ſaw mens inclinations or affections led them, whether to pub"lick or private Concerns, ſo he ſhould govern himſelf towards them "accordingly.

1529. The Kings Instructions for the Election.

"accordingly. *The Instructions bear*, that the King thought the Cardinal the fittest person to succeed to the Papacy; (they being advertized that the Pope was dead; that the *French* King did also of his own Motion offer his Assistance to him in it, and that both for publick and private ends, the Cardinal was the fittest. Therefore the Ambassadors are required with all possible earnestness and vigour, to promote his Election. A Schedule of the Cardinals names is sent them with marks to every one, whether he was like to be present or absent, favourable, indifferent, or opposite to them. It *Numb.* was reckoned there could be but 39 present, of which 26 were necessary to choose the Pope. Of these the two Kings thought themselves sure of 20. So 6 was all the number that the Ambassadors were to gain, and to that number, they were first to offer them good reasons, to convince them of the Cardinals fitness for the Papacy. But because humane frailty was such, that reason did not always take place, they were to promise Promotions, and Sums of Money, with other good Rewards, which the King gave them Commission to offer, and would certainly make them good: besides all the great Preferments which the Cardinal had, that should be shared among those who did procure his Election. The Cardinals of their party were first to enter into a firm bond, to exclude all others. They were also to have some Creatures of theirs to go into the conclave, to manage the Business. Sir *Gregory Cassali*, was thought fittest for that Service. And if they saw the adverse party too strong in the Conclave, so that they could carry nothing, then *Gardiner* was to draw a Protestation, which should be made in name of the two Crowns; and that being made, all the Cardinals of their Faction were to leave the Conclave. And if the fear of the Emperors Forces over-awed them, the Ambassadors were to offer a Guard of 2 or 3000 men to secure the Cardinals: and the *French* King Ordered his Armies to move, if the *Spanish* Troops did move either from *Naples*, or *Millan*. They were also to assure them, that the Cardinal would presently upon his Election come and live at *Rome*, and were to use all endeavours to gain the Cardinal *de Medici* to their Faction; but at the same time to assure the *Florentines*, that *Wolsey* would assist them to exclude the *Medici* out of the Government of their Town and State. They were also to have a strict eye upon the motions of the *French* Faction, lest if the Cardinal were excluded, they should consent to any other, and refuse to make the Protestation as it was desired. But to oblige *Campegio* the more it was added, that if they found all hopes of raising the Cardinal of *York* to vanish, then they should try if *Campegio* could be Elected; and in that case the Cardinals of their Faction were to make no Protestation.

These were the Apostolical Methods, then used for choosing a Successor to St. *Peter*; for though a Successor had been chosen to *Judas* by lot, yet more Caution was to be used in choosing one for the Prince of the Apostles. But when the Cardinal heard that the Pope was not dead, and that there was hope of his recovery, he wrote another long Letter to the Ambassadors (the Original of which is yet extant) "to keep all their Instructions about a new Pope very secret, to be gaining as many Cardinals as they could, and to take care that the Car-

"dinals

"dinals ſhould not go into the Conclave, unleſs they were free, and "ſafe from any fears of the Imperial Forces. But if the Pope reco- "vered, they were to preſs him to give ſuch orders about the Kings "Buſineſs, that it might be ſpeedily ended: and then the Cardinal "would come and wait on the Pope over to *Spain*, as he had propo- "ſed. And for the Apprehenſions the Pope had of the Emperors be- "ing highly offended with him, if he granted the Kings deſire, or of "his coming into *Italy*, he needed not fear him. They knew what- "ever the Emperor pretended about his obligation to protect his Aunt, "it was only for reaſon of State: but if he were ſatisfied in other "things, that would be ſoon paſſed over. They knew alſo that his "deſign of going into *Italy* was laid aſide for that year, becauſe he "apprehended that *France* and *England* would make War on him in "other places. There were alſo many Precedents found, of Diſpen- "ſations granted by Popes in like caſes: And lately there had been "one granted by Pope *Alexander* the 6th, to the King of *Hungary*, a- "gainſt the Opinion of his Cardinals, which had never been queſti- "oned: and yet he could not pretend to ſuch Merits as the King had. And all that had ever been ſaid in the Kings Cauſe, was ſum'd up in a ſhort Breviate by *Caſſali*, and offered to the Pope; a Copy whereof taken from an Original under his own hand, the Reader will find in the Collection.

1529. *Feb.* 20. New propoſitions about the Divorce.

Collect. *Numb.* 21.

The King ordered his Ambaſſadors to make as many Cardinals ſure for his cauſe, as they could, who might bring the Pope to conſent to it, if he were ſtill averſe. But the Pope was at this time poſſeſſed with a new jealouſie, of which the *French* King was not free, as if the King had been tampering with the Emperor, and had made him great offers, ſo he would conſent to the Divorce; about which *Francis* wrote an anxious Letter to *Rome*, the Original of which I have ſeen. The Pope was alſo ſurprized at it, and queſtioned the Ambaſſadors about it; but they denied it, and ſaid the union between *England* and *France* was inſeparable, and that theſe were only the Practices of the Emperors Agents to create diſtruſt. The Pope ſeemed ſatisfied with what they ſaid, "and added that in the preſent conjuncture a firm union "between them was neceſſary. Of all this Sir *Francis Brian* wrote a long account in cipher.

But the Popes relapſe put a new ſtop to buſineſs, of which the Cardinal being informed, as he ordered the Kings Agents to continue their care about his Promotion, ſo he charged them to ſee if it were "poſſible to get Acceſs to the Pope, and though he were in the very "Agony of Death, to propoſe two things to him: the one, that he "would preſently command all the Princes of Chriſtendom to agree "to a Ceſſation of Arms, under pain of the Cenſures of the Church, "as Pope *Leo* and other Popes had done; and if he ſhould die, he "could not do a thing that would be more meritorious, and for the "good of his Soul, than to make that the laſt Act of his Life. The "other thing was concerning the Kings buſineſs, which he preſſeth as "a thing neceſſary to be done, for the clearing and eaſe of the Popes "Conſcience, towards God: And withal he orders them to gain as "many about the Pope, and as many Cardinals and Officers in the "*Rota* as they could, to promote the Kings deſires, whether in the

The Popes relapſe. *April.* 6.

Another Diſpatch to *Rome* Collect. *Numb.* 2. 2.

"Popes

1528. " Popes ſickneſs or health. The Biſhop of *Verona* had a great Intereſt " with the Pope, ſo by that, and another Diſpatch of the ſame Date, " (ſent another way) they were ordered to gain him, promiſing him " great Rewards, preſſing him to remain ſtill about the Popes Perſon: " to ballance the ill Offices which Cardinal *Angell*, and the Arch-bi- " ſhop of *Capua* did, who never ſtirred from the Pope: And to aſſure " that Biſhop, that the King laid this Matter more to heart, than any " thing that ever befel him; and that it would trouble him as much " to be overcome in this Matter by theſe two Friers, as to loſe both " his Crowns: and for my part (*writes the Cardinal*) I would expoſe " any thing to my life, yea life it ſelf, rather than ſee the Inconveni- " encies that may enſue upon diſappointing of the Kings deſire. For promoting the Buſineſs, the *French* King ſent the Biſhop of *Bayon*, to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in his name, who was firſt ſent over to *England*, to be well inſtructed there. They were either to procure a Decretal for the Kings Divorce, or a new Commiſſion to the two Legates, with ampler Clauſes in it, than the former had; to judge as " if the Pope were in perſon, and to emit compulſorie Letters againſt " any, whether Emperor, King, or of what degree ſoever, to produce " all manner of Evidences or Records, which might tend towards the " clearing the matter, and to bring them before them. This was ſought becauſe the Emperor would not ſend over the pretended Original *Breve*, to *England*, and gave only an Atteſted Copy of it to the Kings Ambaſſadors: leſt therefore from that *Breve*, a new Suit might be afterwards raiſed, for Annulling any Sentence which the Legates ſhould give, they thought it needful to have the Original brought before them. In the penning of that new Commiſſion, Dr. *Gardiner* was ordered to have ſpecial care that it ſhould be done, by the beſt advice he could get in *Rome*. It appears alſo from this diſpatch, that the Popes *Pollicitation* to Confirm the Sentence which the Legates ſhould give, was then in *Gardiner*'s hands; for he was ordered to take care that there might be no diſagreement between the date of it, and of the new Commiſſion. And when that was obtained, Sir *Francis Brian* was commanded to bring them with him to *England*. Or if neither a Decretal, nor a new Commiſſion could be obtained, then if any other expedient were propoſed, that upon good advice ſhould be found ſufficient and effectual, they were to accept of it, and ſend it away with all poſſible diligence. And the Cardinal conjured them " by " the Reverence of Almighty God, to bring them out of their Perplexity, " that this Virtuous Prince may have this thing ſped, which would be " the moſt joyous thing that could befal his heart upon Earth. But " if all things ſhould be denyed, then they were to make their Prote- " ſtations, not only to the Pope, but to the Cardinals, of the Injuſtice " that was done the King, and in the Cardinals name to let them know " that not only the King and his Realm would be loſt, but alſo the " *French* King and his Realm, with their other Confederates, would al- " ſo withdraw their Obedience from the See of *Rome*, which was more " to be regarded, than either the Emperors Diſpleaſure, or the Recove- " ry of two Cities. They were alſo to try what might be done in Law by the Cardinals in a Vacancy, and they were to take good Counſel upon ſome Chapters of the Canon-Law, which related to that: and

Govern

Govern themſelves accordingly, either to hinder an Avocation, or Inhibition; or if it could be done, to obtain ſuch things, as they could grant, towards the Concluſion of the Kings Buſineſs. At this time alſo the Cardinals Bulls for the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* were expedited: they were rated high at 15000 Ducats; for though the Cardinal pleaded his great Merits, to bring the compoſition lower, yet the Cardinals at *Rome*, ſaid the Apoſtolick Chamber was very poor, and other Bulls were then coming from *France*, to which the favour they ſhould ſhew the Cardinal would be a Precedent. But the Cardinal ſent word that he would not give paſt 5, or 6000 Ducats, becauſe he was exchanging *Wincheſter* for *Dureſme*, and by the other they were to get a great Compoſition. And if they held his Bulls ſo high, he would not have them; for he needed them not, ſince he enjoyed already by the Kings Grant the Temporalities of *Wincheſter*; which it is very likely was all that he conſidered in a Biſhoprick. They were at laſt expedited, at what Rates I cannot tell; but this I ſet down to ſhew, how ſevere the Exactions of the Court of *Rome* were. 1529.

The Cardinals Bulls for the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*.

As the Pope recovered his health, ſo he inclined more to joyn himſelf to the Emperor than ever, and was more alienated than formerly from the King and the Cardinal; which perhaps were encreaſed by the diſtaſte he took at the Cardinals aſpiring to the Popedom. The firſt thing that the Emperor did in the Kings Cauſe, was to proteſt in the Queen of *Englands* name, that ſhe refuſed to ſubmit to the Legates. The one was the Kings chief Miniſter and her mortal Enemy: The other was alſo juſtly ſuſpected, ſince he had a Biſhoprick in *England*. The Kings Ambaſſador preſſed the Pope much, not to admit the Proteſtation; but it was pretended that it could not be denyed, either in Law or Juſtice. But that this might not offend the King, *Salviati* that was the Popes Favourite, wrote to *Campegio*, that the Proteſtation could not be hindred, but that the Pope did ſtill moſt earneſtly deſire to ſatisfie the King, and that the Ambaſſadors were much miſtaken, who were ſo diſtruſtful of the Popes good mind to the Kings Cauſe. But now good words could deceive the King no longer, who clearly diſcovered the Popes mind, and being out of all hopes of any thing more from *Rome*, reſolved to proceed in *England*, before the Legates: and therefore *Gardiner* was recalled, who was thought the fitteſt Perſon, to manage the Proceſs in *England*, being eſteemed the greateſt Canoniſt they had; and was ſo valued by the King, that he would not begin the Proceſs till he came. Sir *Francis Brian* was alſo recalled, and when they took leave of the Pope, they were ordered to Expoſtulate in the Kings name. "Upon the Partiality he expreſſed for "the Emperor, notwithſtanding the many aſſurances, that both the "Legates had given the King, that the Pope would do all he could to- "ward his Satisfaction; which was now ſo ill performed that he ex- "pected no more juſtice from him. They were alſo to ſay, as much "as they could deviſe in the Cardinals name, to the ſame purpoſe, up- "on which they were to try, if it were poſſible to obtain any Enlarge- "ment of the Commiſſion with fuller Power to the Legates; for they ſaw it was in vain to move for any new Bulls, or Orders from the Pope about it. And though *Gardiner* had obtained a Pollicitation from the Pope, by which he both bound himſelf not to recal the cauſe from the Legates,

The Pope inclines to joyn with the Emperor.

Who proteſts againſt the Legates Commiſſion. *May* 15.

Collect. *Numb.* 23.

The Pope promiſed not to recal, but to confirm it.

1529. gates, and alſo to confirm their Sentence, and had ſent it over; they found it was ſo conceived, that the Pope could go back from it when he pleaſed. So there was a new Draught of a Pollicitation formed with more binding Clauſes in it, which *Gardiner* was to try if he could obtain by the following pretence. "He was to tell the Pope, "that the Courtier to whom he truſted it, had been ſo little careful "of it, that it was all wet and defaced, and of no more uſe; ſo "that he durſt not deliver it. And this might turn much to *Gardiners* "prejudice, that a matter of ſuch concern was through his neglect "ſpoiled: upon which he was to ſee if the Pope would renew it. "If that could be obtained, he was to uſe all his induſtry to get as "many pregnant and material words added, as might make it more "binding. He was alſo to aſſure the Pope, that though the Empe- "ror was gone to *Barcellona*, to give reputation to his affairs in *Italy*: "yet he had neither Army, nor Fleet ready, ſo that they needed not "fear him. And he was to inform the Pope of the Arts he was u- "ſing both in the *Engliſh* and *French* Court to make a ſeparated Trea- "ty: But that all was to no purpoſe, the two Kings being ſo firmly "linked together. But the Pope was ſo great a Maſter in all the Arts of Diſſimulation, and Policy, that he was not to be over-reached eaſily; and when he underſtood that his Pollicitation was defaced, he was in his heart glad at it, and could not be prevailed with to renew it. So they returned to *England*, and Dr. *Bennet* came in their place.

The Legates write to the Pope.

Collect. *Numb.* 24.

He carried with him one of the fulleſt and moſt important Diſpatches that I find in this whole matter, from the two Legates to the Pope, and the Conſiſtory, who wrote to them, "That they had in vain en- "deavoured to perſwade either party to yield to the other; That the "*Breve* being ſhewed to them by the Queen, they found great and e- "vident Preſumptions of it's being a meer forgery; and that they "thought it was too much for them to ſit and try the Validity, or "Authenticalneſs of the Popes Bulls, or Breves, or to hear his Pow- "er of Diſpenſing in ſuch caſes diſputed: therefore it was more ex- "pedient to Avocate the Cauſe, to which the King would conſent, if "the Pope obliged himſelf under his hand, to paſs Sentence ſpeedily "in his favour; but they rather adviſed the granting a Decretal Bull "which would put an end to the whole matter, in order to which "the bearer was inſtructed to ſhow very good Precedents. But in "the mean while, they adviſed the Pope to preſs the Queen moſt ef- "fectually, to enter into a Religious life, as that which would com- "poſe all theſe differencies in the ſofteſt and eaſieſt way. It pitied them "to ſee the rack and torments of Conſcience, under which the King "had ſmarted ſo many years: and that the Diſputes of Divines, and "the Decrees of Fathers, had ſo diſquieted him, that for clearing a "matter thus perplexed, there was not only need of Learning, but of "a more ſingular Piety and Illumination. To this were to be added "the deſire of Iſſue, Settlement of the Kingdom, with many other "preſſing reaſons: that as the matter did admit of no further delays, "ſo there was not any thing in the oppoſite ſcale to ballance theſe "Conſiderations. There were falſe Suggeſtions ſurmiſed abroad, as "if the hatred of the Queen, or the deſire of another wife (who was "not perhaps yet known, much leſs deſigned) were the true cauſes of "this

"this Suit. But though the Queen was of a rough Temper, and an unpleaſant Converſation, and was paſſed all hopes of Children; yet "who could imagine that the King, who had ſpent his moſt youthful "days with her, ſo kindly, would now in the decline of his Age, be "at all this trouble to be rid of her, if he had no other Motives? "But they by ſearching his ſore, found there was rooted in his heart, "both an Awe of God, and a reſpect to Law and Order; ſo that though "all his people preſſed him to drive the Matter to an Iſſue, yet he "would ſtill wait for the deciſion of the Apoſtolick See. Therefore "they moſt preſſingly deſire the Pope to grant the Cure which his di-"ſtemper required, and to conſider that it was not fit to inſiſt too "much on the Rigour of the Law; but ſince the Soul and life of all "the Laws of the Church was in the Popes Breaſt; in doubtful caſes, "where there was great hazard, he ought to molifie the ſeverity of "the Laws, which if it were not done, other Remedies would be found "out, to the vaſt prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, to which "many about the King adviſed him: There was reaſon to fear they "ſhould not only loſe a King of *England*, but a *Defender of the Faith.* "The Nobility and Gentry were already enraged at the delay of a Mat-"ter, in which all their Lives and Intereſts were ſo nearly concerned; "and ſaid many things againſt the Popes Proceedings, which they "could not relate without horror. And they plainly complained, that "whereas Popes had made no ſcruple to make and change divine Laws, "at their Pleaſure; yet one Pope ſticks ſo much at the repealing what "his Predeceſſor did, as if that were more ſacred, and not to be med-"led with. The King betook himſelf to no ill Arts, neither to the "charms of Magitians, nor the Forgeries of Impoſtors, therefore they "expected ſuch an Anſwer as ſhould put an end to the whole mat-"ter. 1529.

But all theſe things were to no purpoſe: the Pope had taken his meaſures, and was not to be moved by all the Reaſons, or Remonſtrances, the Ambaſſador could lay before him. The King had abſolutely gained *Campegio* to do all he could for him without loſing the Popes favour. He led at this time a very diſſolute life in *England*, hunting and gaming all the day long, and following Whores all the night: and brought a Baſtard of his own over to *England* with him, whom the King Knighted; ſo that if the King ſought his pleaſure, it was no ſtrange thing, ſince he had ſuch a Copy ſet him by two Legates, who repreſenting his Holineſs ſo lively in their manners, it was no unuſual thing, if a King had a ſlight ſenſe of ſuch diſorders. The King wrote to his Ambaſſadors, that he was ſatisfied of *Campegio's* love and affection to him, and if ever he was gained by the Emperors Agents, he had ſaid ſomething to him which did totally change that Inclination. *Campegio's* ill life. Pelerin Ingleſe. *April 6.*

The Imperialiſts being Alarm'd at the recalling of ſome of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, and being Informed by the Queens means, that they were forming the Proceſs in *England*, put in a Memorial for an Avocation of the Cauſe to *Rome*. The Ambaſſadors anſwered, that there was no Colour for asking it, ſince there was nothing yet done by the Legates. For they had ſtrickt orders to deny that there was any Proceſs forming in *England*, even to the Pope himſelf in private, unleſs he had a mind it ſhould go on; but were to uſe all their En- The Emperor preſſes for an Avocation.

1529. deavours to hinder an Avocation; and plainly in the Kings name, to tell the Pope, that if he granted that, the King would look on it as a Formal decision against him. And it would also be an high affront to the two Cardinals: and they were thereupon to protest, that the King would not obey, nor consider the Pope any more, if he did an Act of such high Injustice; as after he had granted a Commission, upon no Complaint of any Illegality, or Injust Proceedings of the Legates, but only upon surmises and suspicions, to take it out of their hands. But the Pope had not yet brought the Emperor to his Terms in other things, therefore to draw him on the faster, he continued to give the *English* Ambassador good words; and in discourse with *Peter Vannes*, did insinuate as if he had found a means to bring the whole matter to a good conclusion, and spoke it with an Artificial smile, adding, *In the name of the Father*, &c. But would not speak it out, and seemed to keep it up as a secret, not yet ripe. But all this did afterwards appear to be the deepest Dissimulation that ever was practised. And in the whole Process, though the Cardinal studied to make tricks pass upon him, yet he was always too hard for them all at it; and seemed as infallible in his Arts of Jugling, as he pretended to be in his Decisions. He wrote a Cajoling Letter to the Cardinal, but words went for nothing.

Which the Kings Ambassadors oppose much.

The Popes deep dissimulation.

Collect. *Numb.* 25th.

Collect. *Numb.* 26th.

The Pope complains of the *Florentines*

June 5. Soon after this, the Pope complained much to Sir *Gregory Cassali*, of the ill usage he received from the *French* Ambassador, and that their Confederates, the *Florentines*, and the Duke of *Ferrara* used him so ill, that they would force him to throw himself into the Emperors hands: and he seemed inclined to grant an Avocation of the cause, and complained that there was a Treaty of Peace going on at *Cambray*, in which he had no share. But the Ambassador undertook that nothing should be done to give him just offence; yet the *Florentines* continued to put great affronts on him, and his Family: and the Abbot of *Farfa* their General, made excursions to the gates of *Rome*; so that the Pope, with

June 13. " great signs of fear, said that the *Florentines* would some day seize on " him, and carry him with his hand, bound behind his back in Pro- " cession to *Florence*: and that all this while the Kings of *England* and " *France* did only entertain him with good words, and did not so much " as restrain the Insolencies of their Confederates. And whereas they " used to say, that if he joyned himself to the Emperor, he would treat " him as his Chaplain, he said with great Commotion, that he would not " only choose rather to be his Chaplain, but his horse-Groom, than suf- " fer such injuries from his own Rebellious Vassals and Subjects. This was perhaps set on by the Cardinals Arts, to let the Pope feel the weight of offending the King, and to oblige him to use him better: but it wrought a contrary effect, for the Treaty between the Emperor and him, was the more advanced by it. And the Pope reckoned that the Emperor being (as he was informed) ashamed and grieved for the taking and Sacking of *Rome*, would study to repair that by better usage for the future.

Great Contests about the Avocation.

June 23. Collect. *Numb.* 27. The Motion for the Avocation was still driven on, and pressed the more earnestly, because they heard the Legates were proceeding in the cause. But the Ambassadors were instructed by a Dispatch from the King, to obviate that carefully; for as it would reflect on the Legates,

and

and defeat the Commiſſion, and be a groſs violation of the Popes Promiſe, which they had in writing; ſo it was more for the Popes Intereſt, to leave it in the Legates Hands, than to bring it before himſelf: for then, whatever Sentence paſſed, the ill effects of it would lye on the Pope without any Interpoſition. And as the King had very juſt exceptions to *Rome* where the Emperors Forces lay ſo near, that no ſafety could be expected there; ſo they were to tell the Pope that by the Laws of *England*, *the Prerogative of the Crown Royal was ſuch*, that the Pope could do nothing that was prejudicial to it: To which the citing the King to *Rome*, to have his Cauſe decided there, was contrary in a high degree. And if the Pope went on, notwithſtanding all the diligence they could uſe to the contrary they were by an other Diſpatch which *Gardiner* ſent, ordered to *Proteſt* and *Appeal* from the Pope as *not the true Vicar of Chriſt, to a true Vicar*. But the King upon ſecond thoughts, judged it not fit to proceed to this Extremity ſo ſoon. They were alſo ordered to advertiſe the Pope, that all the Nobility had aſſured the King, they would adhere to him, in caſe he were ſo ill uſed by the Pope, that he were conſtrained to withdraw his obedience from the Apoſtolick See; and that the Cardinals ruine was unavoidable, if the Pope granted the Avocation. The Emperors Agents had pretended they could not ſend the original *Breve* into *England*, and ſaid their Maſter would ſend it to *Rome*, upon which the Ambaſſadors had ſolicited for Letters Compulſory, to require him to ſend it to *England*; yet leſt that might now be made an Argument by the *Imperialiſts* for an Avocation, they were ordered to ſpeak no more of it, for the Legates would proceed to Sentence, upon the atteſted Copy that was ſent from *Spain*. 1529.

The Ambaſſadors had alſo orders to take the beſt Counſel in *Rome*, about the Legal ways of hindring an Avocation. But they found it was not fit to rely much on the Lawyers in that matter. For as on the one hand, there was no ſecrecy to be expected from any of them, they having ſuch expectations of preferments from the Pope, (which were beyond all the Fees that could be given them,) that they diſcovered all ſecrets to him: So none of them would be earneſt to hinder an Avocation, it being their Intereſts to bring all Matters to *Rome*, by which they might hope for much greater Fees. And *Salviati* whom the Ambaſſadors had gained, told them that *Campana* brought word out of *England*, that the Proceſs was then in a good forwardneſs. They with many Oaths denyed there was any ſuch thing, and *Silveſter Darius* who was ſent expreſs to *Rome*, for oppoſing the Avocation, confirmed all that they ſwore. But nothing was believed, for by a ſecret conveyance, *Campana* had Letters to the contrary. And when they objected to *Salviati*, what was promiſed by *Campana*, in the Popes name, that he would do every thing for the King, *that he could do out of the fulneſs of his Power*; He anſwered, that *Campana*, ſwore he had "never ſaid any ſuch thing. So hard is the caſe of Miniſters in ſuch "tickliſh Negotiations, that they muſt ſay, and unſay, ſwear, and forſwear, "as they are inſtructed, which goes of courſe, as a part of their Buſineſs. *Jan.* 28.

But now the Legates were proceeding in *England*: Of the ſteps in which they went, though a great deal be already publiſhed, yet conſiderable The Legates ſit in *England*.

1529. siderable things are passed over. On the 31st of *May*, the King by a Warrant under the Great Seal, gave the Legates leave to execute their Commission, upon which they sate that same day. The Commission was presented by *Longland*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, which was given to the Proto-Notary of the Court, and he read it publickly; then the Legates took it in their Hands, and said, they were resolved to Execute it: And first gave the usual Oaths to the Clerks of the Court, and ordered a peremptory Citation of the King and Queen to appear on the 18th of *June*, between 9 and 10 a Clock; and so the Court adjourned. The next Session was on the 18th of *June*, where the Citation being returned duly Executed, *Richard Sampson*, Dean of the Chappel, and Mr. *John Bell*, appeared as the Kings Proxies. But the Queen appeared in Person, and did protest against the Legates as incompetent Judges, alledging that the Cause was already Avocated by the Pope, and desired a competent time in which she might prove it. The Legates assigned her the 21st, and so Adjourned the Court till then.

Orig. Journ. Cott. Libr. Vitil. B. 12.

A severe charge against the Queen.

About this time there was a severe Complaint exhibited against the Queen in Council, of which there is an Account given in a Paper, that has somewhat written at the conclusion of it, with the Cardinals own hand. "The substance of it is, That they were informed some designed "to kill the King, or the Cardinal; in which, if she had any hand, she "must not expect to be spared. That she had not shewed such Love to "the King, neither in Bed, nor out of Bed, as she ought. And now that "the King was very pensive, and in much grief, she shewed great signs "of joy, setting on all people to Dancings, and other Diversions. This "it seemed she did out of spight to the King, since it was contrary to her "temper and ordinary behaviour. And whereas she ought rather to pray "to God to bring this matter to a good conclusion, she seemed not at all "serious; and that she might corrupt the peoples affections to the King, "she shewed her self much abroad, and by civilities, and gracious bowing her head, which had not been her Custom formerly, did study "to work upon the people: and that having the pretended *Breve* in her "hands, she would not show it sooner. From all which the King concluded that she hated him. Therefore his Council did not think it advisable for him to be any more conversant with her, either in Bed or "at Board. They also in their Consciences thought his life was in such "danger that he ought to withdraw himself from her Company, and not "suffer the Princes to be with her. These things were to be told her, "to induce her to enter into a Religious Order, and to perswade her to "submit to the King. To which Paper, the Cardinal added in Latin, *That she played the fool, if she contended with the King, that her Children had not been blessed, and somewhat of the evident suspitions that were of the Forgery of the Breve.* But she had a constant mind, and was not to be threatned to any thing. On the 21st of *June* the Court sate, The King and Queen were present in Person. *Campegio* made a long Speech of the errand they were come about: * "That it was a new, unheard-of, vile, "and intolerable thing, for the King and Queen to live in Adultery, or "rather Incest; which they must now try, and proceed as they saw just cause. And both the Legates made deep protestations of the sincerity of their minds, and that they would proceed justly and fairly without any favour or partiality.

Quod stulte fecit, si contendit cum Rege, quod male illi successit in sponsalibus: de Brevi ac suspicione falsitatis.

The King and Queen appear in Court.

* *Fidelis servi infideli subdito Responso.*

As

As for the formal Speeches which the King and Queen made, *Hall*, who never failed in trifles, ſets them down, which I incline to believe they really ſpoke; for with the Journals of the Court, I find thoſe Speeches written down, though not as a part of the Journal. 1529.

But here the Lord *Herbert*'s uſual diligence fails him; for he fancies the Queen never appeared after the 18*th*. upon which, becauſe the Journal of the next Seſſions are loſt, he infers againſt all the Hiſtories of that time, That the King and the Queen were not in Court together. And he ſeems to conclude that the 25*th* of *June*, was the next Seſſion after the 18*th*, but in that he was miſtaken: For by an original Letter of the Kings to his Ambaſſadors, it is plain that both the King and Queen came in Perſon into the Court, where they both ſate, with their Council ſtanding about them: The Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, and St. *Aſaph*, and Doctor *Ridley* being the Queens Council. When the King a nd Qeen were called on, the King anſwered, *Here*; but the Queen left her ſeat and went and kneeled down before him, and made a Speech, that had all the Inſinuations in it to raiſe pity and compaſſion in the Court. She ſaid, "She "was a poor Woman, and a Stranger in his Dominions, where ſhe could "neither expect good Council, nor indifferent Judges; ſhe had been "long his Wife, and deſired to know wherein ſhe had offended him: "ſhe had been his Wife twenty years and more, and had born him ſeve-"ral Children, and had ever ſtudied to pleaſe him; and proteſted he "had found her a true Maid, about which ſhe appealed to his own Con-"ſcience. If ſhe had done any thing amiſs, ſhe was willing to be put a-"way with ſhame. Their Parents were eſteemed very wiſe Princes, "and no doubt had good Counſellors, and Learned Men about them, "when the Match was agreed: Therefore ſhe would not ſubmit to the "Court, nor durſt her Lawyers, who were his Subjects, and aſſigned "by him, ſpeak freely for her. So ſhe deſired to be excuſed till ſhe "heard from *Spain*. That ſaid, ſhe roſe up, and made the King a low Reverence, and went out of the Court. And though they called after her, ſhe made no anſwer, but went away and would never again appear in Court.

Collect. *Numb.* 28.

The Queen's Speech.

She being gone, the King did publickly Declare, what a true and obedient Wife ſhe had always beeen, and commended her much for her excellent Qualities. Then the Cardinal of *York* deſired the King would witneſs whether he had been the firſt or chief mover of that matter to him ſince he was ſuſpected to have done it. In which the King did vindicate him, and ſaid, That he had always rather oppoſed it, and proteſted it aroſe meerly out of a ſcruple in his Conſcience, which was occaſion'd by the Diſcourſe of the *French* Ambaſſador; who during the Treaty of a Match between his Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleance*, did except to her being Legitimate, as begotten in an unlawful Marriage: upon which he reſolved to try the lawfulneſs of it, both for the quiet of his Conſcience, and for clearing the Succeſſion of the Crown: And if it were found lawful, he was very well ſatisfied to live ſtill with the Queen. But upon that, he had firſt moved it in Confeſſion to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*; then he had deſired the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to gather the Opinions of the Biſhops, who did all under their Hands and Seals Declare againſt the Marriage. This the Arch-Biſhop confirmed, but the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* denied his Hand was at it. And the Arch-Biſhop pretended

The King gvies the account of his Scruples.

1529. tended he had his consent to make another write his name to the judgment of the rest, which he positively denied.

The Court adjourned to the 25*th*, ordering Letters Monitory to be issued out for Citing the Queen to appear under pain of Contumacy. But on the 25*th*, was brought in her Appeal to the Pope, the Original of which is extant, every Page being both Subscribed and Superscribed by her. She excepted both to the Place, to the Judges, and to her Council, in whom she could not confide; and therefore appealed and desired her Cause might be heard by the Pope, with many things out of the Canon-Law, on which he grounded it. This being read, and she not appearing was declared *Contumax*. Then the Legates being to proceed *ex officio*, drew up twelve Articles, upon which they were to examine Witnesses. The substance of them was, "That Prince *Arthur* and the King were Brothers; that Prince *Arthur* did Marry the Queen, and Consummated the Marriage; that upon his death the King by virtue of a Dispensation had Married her; that this Marrying his Brothers Wife was forbidden both by Humane and Divine Law; and that upon the complaints which the Pope had received, he had sent them now to try and judge in it. The Kings Council insisted most on Prince *Arthur*'s having Consummated the Marriage, and that led them to say many things that seemed incident; of which the Bishop of *Rochester* complained, and said they were things detestable to be heard: but Cardinal *Wolsey* checkt him, and there passed some sharp words between them.

The Queens Appeal.

Articles drawn by the Legates.

Upon which witnesses are examined.

The Legates proceeded to the Examination of Witnesses, of which I shall say little, the substance of their Depositions, being fully set down with all their names by the Lord *Herbert*. The sum of what was most material in them, was, that many violent presumptions appeared by their Testimonies, that Prince *Arthur* did carnally know the Queen: And it cannot be imagined how greater Proofs could be made 27 years after their Marriage. Thus the Court went on several days Examining Witnesses: but as the matter was going on to a conclusion, there came an Avocation from *Rome*. Of which I shall now give an account.

The Proceedings at *Rome* about Avocation.

All this is drawn from the original Letters, *June* 28. and 30. *July* 8, and 9.

The Queen wrote most earnestly to her Nephews to procure an Avocation; protesting she would suffer any thing, and even death it self, rather than depart from her Marriage: that she expected no justice from the Legates, and therefore lookt for their assistance, that her Appeal being admitted by the Pope, the Cause might be taken out of the Legates hands. *Campegio* did also give the Pope an account of their Progress, and by all means advised an Avocation; for by this he thought to excuse himself to the King, to oblige the Emperor much, and to have the reputation of a man of Conscience.

The Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, sent their Ambassadors at *Rome* orders, to give the Pope no rest till it were procured; and the Emperor said, He would look on a Sentence against his Aunt, as a dishonour to his Family, and would loose all his Kingdoms sooner than endure it. And they plied the Pope so warmly, that between them and the *English* Ambassadors he had for some days very little rest. To the one he was kind, and to the other he resolved to be civil. The *English* Ambassadors met oft with *Salviati*, and studied to perswade him, that the Process went not on in *England*; but he told them their Intelligence was so good, that whatever they said on that head would not be believed.

They

They next ſuggeſted, that it was viſible *Campegio*'s adviſing an Avocation was only done to preſerve himſelf from the envy of the Sentence, and to throw it wholly on the Pope: for were the matter once called to *Rome*, the Pope muſt give Sentence one way or another, and ſo bear the whole burden of it. There were alſo ſecret ſurmiſes of Depoſing the Pope, if he went ſo far; for ſeeing that the Emperor prevailed ſo much by the terrors of that, The Cardinal reſolved to try what operation ſuch threatnings in the Kings Name might have. But they had no Armies near the Pope, ſo that big words did only provoke and alienate him the more. 1529.

The matter was ſuch, that by the Canon-Law it could not be denied. For to grant an Avocation of a Cauſe upon good reaſon, from the Delegated to the Supream Court, was a thing which by the courſe of Law was very uſual: And it was no leſs apparent that the Reaſons of the Queens Appeal were juſt and good. But the ſecret and moſt convincing Motives that wrought more on the Pope than all other things, were, that the Treaty between him and the Emperor was now concerted: Therefore this being to be publiſhed very ſpeedily, the Pope thought it neceſſary to avocate the matter to *Rome*, before the publication for the Peace, leſt if he did it after, it ſhould be thought that it had been one of the ſecret Articles of the Treaty, which would have caſt a foul blot upon him. Yet on the other hand he was not a little perplexed with the fears he had of loſing the King of *England*; he knew he was a Man of an high Spirit, and would reſent what he did ſeverely. "And the Cardinal now again order- "ed Dr. *Bennet* in his name, and as with tears in his eyes, lying at the "Popes feet, to aſſure him, that the King and Kingdom of *England* were "certainly loſt, if the Cauſe were Avocated: Therefore he beſought "him to leave it ſtill in their hands, and aſſured him, that for himſelf, "he ſhould rather be torn in pieces Joynt by Joynt, than do any thing in "that matter contrary to his Conſcience or to Juſtice. Theſe things had been oft ſaid, and the Pope did apprehend that ill effects would follow: for if the King fell from his Obedience to the Apoſtolick See, no doubt all the *Lutheran* Princes, who were already bandying againſt the Emperor, would joyn themſelves with him; and the Intereſts of *France* would moſt certainly engage that King alſo into the Union, which would diſtract the Church, give encouragement to Hereſie, and end in the utter ruine of the Popedom, But in all this the crafty Pope comforted himſelf, that many times threatnings are not intended to be made good, but are uſed to terrifie; and that the King who had written for the Faith againſt *Luther*, and had been ſo ill uſed by him, would never do a thing that would ſound ſo ill, as becauſe he could not obtain what he had a mind to, therefore to turn Heretick: he alſo reſolved to careſs the *French* King much, and was in hopes of making Peace between the Emperor and him.

The Pope agrees with the Emperor.

Collection Number 29.

Yet is in great perplexities.

But that which went neareſt the Popes heart of all other things, was the ſetting up of his Family at *Florence*: and the Emperor having given him aſſurance of that, it weighed down all other conſiderations. Therefore he reſolved he would pleaſe the Emperor, but do all he could not to loſe the King: So on the 9*th* of *July* he ſent for the Kings Ambaſſadors, and told them, the Proceſs was now ſo far ſet on in *England*, and the Avocation ſo earneſtly preſſed, that he could deny it no longer; for all the Lawyers in *Rome* had told him, the thing could not be denied in the com-

1529. Therefore he was under all the disorders, which a Fear that was heightned by Ambition and Covetousness could produce.

But the King govern'd himself upon this occasion, with more temper than could have been expected from a Man of his humour: Therefore as he made no great shew of disturbance, so to divert his uneasie thoughts he went his Progress. Soon after, he received his Agents Letter from *Rome*, and made *Gardiner* (who was then Secretary of State) write to the Cardinal, to put *Campegio* to his Oath, whether he had revealed the Kings Secrets to the Pope, or not? And if he swore he had not done it, to make him swear he should never do it. A little after that, the Messenger came from *Rome* with a *Breve* to the Legates, requiring them to proceed no further, and with an Avocation of the Cause to *Rome*; together with Letters Citatory to the King and Queen to appear there in Person, or by their Proxies. Of which when the King was advertised, *Gardiner* wrote to the Cardinal by his order, That the King would not have the Letters Citatory executed, or the Commission discharged by vertue of them; but that upon the Popes *Breve* to them, they should declare their Commission void: For he would not suffer a thing so much to the prejudice of his Crown, as a Citation be made to appear in another Court, nor would he let his Subjects imagine that he was to be Cited out of his Kingdom. This was the first step that he made for the lessening of the Popes Power: Upon which the two Cardinals (for they were Legates no longer) went to the King at *Grafton*. It was generally expected that *Wolsey* should have been disgraced then; for not only the King was offended with him, but he received new Informations of his having juggled in the business, and that he secretly advised the Pope to do what was done. This was set about by some of the Queens Agents, as if there was certain knowledge had of it at *Rome*; and it was said, that some Letters of his to the Pope were by a trick found and brought over to *England*. The Emperor lookt on the Cardinal as his inveterate Enemy, and designed to ruin him if it was possible; nor was it hard to perswade the Queen to concur with him to pull him down. But all this seems an Artifice of theirs only to destroy him. For the earnestness the Cardinal expressed in this matter, was such, that either he was sincere in it, or he was the best at dissembling that ever was. But these suggestions were easily infused in the Kings angry mind: so strangely are men turned by their affections, that sometimes they will believe nothing, and at other times they believe every thing. Yet when the Cardinal with his Colleague came to Court, they were received by the King with very hearty expressions of kindness; and *Wolsey* was often in private with him, sometimes in presence of the Council, and sometimes alone: once he was many hours with the King alone, and when they took leave he sent them away very obligingly, But that which gave Cardinal *Wolsey* the most assurance, was, that all those who were admitted to the Kings Privacies, did carry themselves towards him as they were wont to do; both the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Boleyn*, then made Viscount of *Rochford*, Sir *Brian Tuke* and *Gardiner*: concluding that from the motions of such Weather-cocks the Air of the Princes affections was best gathered.

Aug. 4.

Sept. 23. in a Letter from the Cardinal, Secretary to *Cromwell*.

Anne Boleyn was now brought to the Court again, out of which she had been dismissed for some time, for silencing the noise that her being at Court, during the Process, would have occasioned. It is said,

Anne Boleyn returns to Court.

ſaid, that ſhe took her diſmiſſion ſo ill, that ſhe reſolved never again to return; and that ſhe was very hardly brought to it afterwards, not without Threatnings from her Father. But of that nothing appears to me; only this I find, that all her former kindneſs to the Cardinal, was now turned to enmity, ſo that ſhe was not wanting in her endeavours to pull him down. 1529.

But the King being reconciled to her, and as it is ordinary after ſome intermiſſion and diſorder between Lovers, his affection encreaſing, he was caſting about for Overtures, how to compaſs what he ſo earneſtly deſired. Sometimes he thought of procuring a new Commiſſion; but that was not adviſable, for after a long dependance it might end as the former had done. Then he thought of breaking off with the Pope; but there was great danger in that; for beſides that in his own perſwaſion he adhered to all the moſt Important parts of the *Roman* Religion, his Subjects were ſo addicted to it, that any ſuch a Change could not but ſeem full of hazard. Sometime he inclined to confederate himſelf with the Pope and the Emperor, for now there was no dividing of them, till he ſhould thereby bring the Emperor to yield to his deſires. But that was againſt the Intereſts of his Kingdom, and the Emperor had already proceeded ſo far in his Oppoſition, that he could not be eaſily brought about.

Cranmers Propoſition about the Kings Divorce.

While his thoughts were thus divided, a new Propoſition was made to him that ſeemed the moſt reaſonable and feaſible of them all. There was one Dr. *Cranmer*, who had been a Fellow of *Jeſus* Colledge in *Cambridge*; but having Married, forfeited his Fellowſhip; yet continued his ſtudies, and was a Reader of Divinity in *Buckingham* Colledge. His Wife dying, he was again choſen Fellow of *Jeſus* Colledge; and was much eſteemed in the Univerſity for his Learning, which appeared very eminently on all publick occaſions. But he was a man that neither courted Preferment, nor did willingly accept of it, when offered. And therefore though he was invited to be a Reader of Divinity in the Cardinals Colledge at *Oxford*, he declined it. He was at this time forced to fly out of *Cambridge*, from a Plague that was there, and having the Sons of one Mr. *Creſſy* of *Waltham*-Croſs committed to his Charge, he went with his Pupils to their Fathers Houſe at *Waltham*. There he was when the King returned from his Progreſs, who took *Waltham* in his way, and lay a night there. The Harbingers having appointed *Gardiner* and *Fox*, the Kings Secretary, and Almoner, to lie at Mr. *Creſſy*'s Houſe, it ſo happened that *Cranmer* was with them at Supper. The whole diſcourſe of *England* being then about the Divorce, theſe two Courtiers, knowing *Cranmer*'s Learning and ſolid Judgment, entertained him with it, and deſired to hear his opinion concerning it. He modeſtly declined it; but told them, that he judged it would be a ſhorter and ſafer way once to clear it well, if the Marriage was unlawful in it ſelf, by vertue of any Divine Precept: For if that were proved, then it was certain, that the Popes Diſpenſation could be of no force to make that lawful, which God had declared to be unlawful. Therefore he thought that inſtead of a long fruitleſs Negotiation at *Rome*, it were better to conſult all the Learned Men, and the Univerſities of Chriſtendom; for if they once declared it in the Kings favours, then the Pope muſt needs give judgment, or otherwiſe

1529. wiſe the Bull being of it ſelf null and void, the Marriage would be found ſinful, notwithſtanding the Popes Diſpenſation. This ſeemed a very good Motion, which they reſolved to offer to the King; ſo next night when he came to *Greenwich*, they propoſed it to him; but with this difference, that *Gardiner* had a mind to make it paſs for their own Contrivance; but *Fox*, who was of a more ingenuous Nature, told the King from whom they had it. He was much affected with it, ſo ſoon as he heard it, and ſaid, had he known it ſooner, it would have ſaved him a vaſt expence, and much trouble; and would needs have *Cranmer* ſent for to Court, ſaying in his coarſe way of ſpeaking, *That he had the Sow by the right Ear.* So he was ſent for to Court, and being brought before the King, he carried himſelf ſo, that the King conceived an high opinion of his Judgment, and Candour, which he preſerved to his death, and ſtill payed a reſpect to him, beyond all the other Church-men that were about him: and though he made more uſe of *Gardiner* in his Buſineſs, whom he found a Man of great dexterity and cunning; yet he never had any reſpect for him. But for *Cranmer*, though the King knew that in many things he differed from him, yet for all his being ſo impatient of Contradiction, he always Reverenced him.

Approved by the King.

He was ſoon looked on as a Riſing Church-man, and the rather becauſe the Cardinal was now declining; for in the following *Michaelmas-Term*, the King ſent for the great Seal, which the Cardinal at firſt was not willing to part with. But the next day the King wrote to him, and he preſently delivered it to the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. It was offered back again to *Warham*, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; but he being very old, and forſeeing great difficulties in the keeping of it, excuſed himſelf. So it was given to Sir *Thomas More*, who was not only eminent in his own Profeſſion, but in all other Learning: and was much eſteemed for the ſtrictneſs of his Life, and his Contempt of Money. He was alſo the more fit to be made uſe of, having been in ill terms with the Cardinal. Soon after, *Hales* the Attorney-General put in an Information againſt the Cardinal, in the Kings-Bench; bearing, *that notwithſtanding the Statute of* Richard *the ſecond, againſt the procuring Bulls from* Rome, *under the pains of* Premunire, *yet he had procured Bulls for his Legantine Power, which he had for many years executed; and ſome particulars, for form, were named out of a great many more.* To this he put in his anſwer, by his Attorney, and confeſſed the Indictment, but pleaded his ignorance of the Statute, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings mercy. Upon this it was declared, that he was out of the Kings protection, and that he had forfeited his Goods and Chattels to the King, and that his Perſon might be ſeized on. Then was his rich Palace of *York-houſe* (now *Whitehall*) with all that vaſt Wealth, and Royal Furniture that he had heaped together, (which was beyond any thing that had ever been ſeen in *England* before,) ſeized on for the King. But it ſeems the King had not a mind to deſtroy him out-right, but only to bring him lower, and to try if the terror of that would have any influence on the Pope: Therefore on the 21*ſt* of *November*, the King granted him firſt his Protection, and then his Pardon, and reſtord him to the Arch-biſhoprick of *York*, and the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and gave him back in Money,

And he much eſteemed by him.

The Cardinals fall.

Rol. Pat. 2d. pars vicef. prin. Regni. Feb. 12.

Natus 1472. Mart
Consecrat Episcopus
Coventr 1514 Mart 26
Translatus ad Sedem
Eboracensem Nov 6

Cardinalis tit
S Cecilie trans Ti
berim 1515 Sept 7
Obijt 1530 Nov 26

Printed for Ric: Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St Pauls Church yard.

ney, Goods, and Plate, that which amounted to 6374 *l.* 3 *s.* 7 *d.* and many kind Meſſages were ſent him, both by the King, and *Anne Boleyn* 1529.

But as he had carried his Greatneſs with moſt extravagant pride, ſo he was no leſs baſely caſt down with his misfortune; and having no ballaſt within himſelf, but being wholly guided by things without him, he was lifted up, or caſt down, as the Scales of Fortune turned: yet his Enemies had gone too far, ever to ſuffer a man of his parts or temper, to return to favour. And therefore they ſo ordered it, that an high Charge of many Articles was brought againſt him, into the Houſe of Lords, in the Parliament that ſate in *November* following; and it paſſed there, where he had but few Friends, and many and great Enemies. But when the Charge was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, it was ſo managed by the induſtry of *Cromwell*, who had been his Servant, that it came to nothing. The Heads of it have been oft printed, therefore I ſhall not repeat them; they related chiefly to his Legantine Power, contrary to Law, to his Inſolence and Ambition, his lewd life, and other things that were brought to defame, as well as deſtroy him. The meanneſs of his Temper.

All theſe things did ſo ſink his proud mind, that a deep melancholy overcame his Spirits. The King ſent him frequent aſſurances of his favour, which he received with extravagant tranſports of joy, falling down on his Knees in the dirt, before the Meſſenger that brought one of them, and holding up his hands for joy, which ſhewed how mean a Soul he had, and that as himſelf afterwards acknowledged, *he preferred the Kings favour, to God Almighties.* But the King found they took little notice of him at *Rome*; the Emperor hated him, and the Pope did not love him, looking on him as one that was almoſt equal to himſelf in Power: and though they did not love the Precedent to have a Cardinal ſo uſed, yet they were not much troubled at *Rome*, to ſee it fall on him. So in *Eaſter*-week, he was ordered to go North, though he had a great mind to have ſtayed at *Richmond*, which the King had given him in exchange for *Hampton-Court*, that he had alſo built. But that was too near the Court, and his Enemies had a mind to ſend him further from it. Accordingly he went to *Cawood* in *Yorkſhire*, in which Journey it appears, that the ruines of his ſtate were conſiderable, for he travelled thither with an 160 Horſe in his Train, and 72 Carts following him, with his houſhold-ſtuff. The King ſtill favoured him.

To conclude his Story all at once, he was in *November* the next year, ſeized on by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who attached him for high Treaſon, and committed him to the keeping of the Lieutenant of the Tower, who was ordered to bring him up to *London*. And even then he had gracious Meſſages from the King; but theſe did not work much on him, for whether it was that he knew himſelf guilty of ſome ſecret Practiſes with the Pope, or with the Emperor, which yet he denied to the laſt; or whether he could no longer ſtand under the Kings diſpleaſure, and that change of condition; he was ſo caſt down, that on his way to *London*, he ſickened at *Sheffield* Park, in the Earl of *Shrewsburies* Houſe, from whence by ſlow Journeys he went as far as *Leiceſter*, where after ſome days languiſhing he died; and at the laſt made great Proteſtations *of his having ſerved the King faithfully, and* He is afterwards attached for Treaſon.

that

1529. *that he had little regarded the Service of God, to do him pleasure; but if he had served God as he had done him, he would not have given him over so, as he did in his gray hairs. And he desired the King to reflect on all his past Services, and in particular, in his weighty matter,* (for by that Phrase, they usually spoke of the Kings Divorce) *and then he would find in his Conscience whether he had offended him or not.* He died the 28*th* of *November* 1530. and was the greatest Instance that several Ages had shown of the Variety and Inconstancy of Humane things, both in his rise and fall; and by his temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his greatness, and deserved what he suffered. But to conclude all that is to be said of him, I shall add what the Writer of his Life ends it with.

And dies.

His Character. *Here is the end and fall of Pride and Arrogancy; for I assure you, in his time he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive, having more respect to the honour of his Person, than he had to his Spiritual Profession, wherein should be shewed all meekness and charity,*

A Parliament called. But now with the change of this great Minister, there followed a change of Counsels, and therefore the King resolved to hold a Parliament, that he might meet his People, and establish such a good understanding between himself and them, that he might have all secured at home; and then he resolved to proceed more confidently abroad. There had been no Parliament for seven years but the blame of that, and of every other miscarriage, falling naturally on the disgraced Minister, he did not doubt, that he should be able to give his People full satisfaction in that, and in every thing else. So a Parliament was summoned to meet the third of *November*. And there, among several other Laws that were made for the publick good of the Kingdom, there were Bills sent up by the House of Commons, against some of the most exorbitant abuses of the Clergy: one was against the Exactions for the Probates of Wills; another was for the Regulating of Mortuaries; a third was about the Plurality of Benefices, and Non-residence, and Church-mens being Farmers of Lands. In the passing of these Bills there were severe reflections made on the vices and corruptions of the Clergy of that time, which were believed to flow from Men that favoured *Luthers* Doctrine in their hearts.

Hall. When these Bills were brought up to the House of Lords, the Bishop of *Rochester* speaking to them, did reflect on the House of Commons: saying, That they were resolved to bring down the Church, and he desired they would consider the miserable state of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, to which it was reduced by Heresie, and ended, *That all this was for lack of Faith.* But this being afterwards known to the House of Commons, they sent their Speaker, Sir *Thomas Audley*, with 30 of their Members, to complain to the King of the Bishop of *Rochester*, for saying, that their Acts flowed from the *want of Faith*, which was an high Imputation on the whole Nation, when the Representative of the Commons was so charged, as if they had been Infidels and Heathens. This was set on by the Court, to mortifie that Bishop, who was unacceptable to them, for his adhering so firmly to the Queens Cause. The King sent for the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* and six other Bishops, and before them told the complaint of the Commons. But the Bishop of *Rochester* excused himself, and said, he only meant of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, when he said, *all flowed from the want of Faith*, and did not at all intend

The House of Commons complains of the Bishop of *Rochester.*

intend the Houſe of Commons. This Explanation the King ſent by the Treaſurer of his Houſhold, Sir *Will. Fitz-Williams*. But though the matter was paſſed over, yet they were not at all ſatisfied with it, ſo that they went on, laying open the abuſes of the Clergy. 1529.

In the Houſe of Peers, great oppoſition was made to the Bills, and the Clergy both within and without doors did defame them, and ſaid, theſe were the ordinary beginnings of Hereſie, to complain of Abuſes, and pretend Reformation, on purpoſe to diſgrace the Clergy, from which Hereſie took its chief ſtrength. And the Spiritual Lords did generally oppoſe them, the Temporal Lords being no leſs earneſt to have them paſſed. The Cardinal was admitted to ſit in the Houſe, where he ſhowed himſelf as ſubmiſſive in his fauning, as he had formerly done in his ſcorn and contempt of all who durſt oppoſe him. But the King ſet the Bills forward, and in the end, they were agreed to by the Lords, and had the Royal Aſſent. Some Bills paſſ, reforming the abuſes of the Clergy.

The King intended by this, to let the Pope ſee what he could do if he went on to offend him, and how willingly his Parliament would concur with him, if he went to extremities. He did alſo endear himſelf much to the People, by relieving them from the oppreſſions of the Clergy. But the Clergy loſt much by this means; for theſe Acts did not only leſſen their preſent Profits, but did open the way for other things that were more to their detriment afterward. Their oppoſing of this, and all other motions for Reformation, did very much encreaſe the Prejudices that were conceived againſt them: whereas if ſuch motions had either riſen from themſelves, or had at leaſt been cheriſhed by them, their Adverſaries had not perhaps been ſo favourably heard; ſo fatally did they miſtake their true Intereſt, when they thought they were concerned, to link with it all Abuſes and Corruptions.

But there paſt another Bill in this Parliament, which becauſe of its ſingular nature, and that it was not printed with the other Statutes, ſhall be found in the Collection of Inſtruments at the end. The Bill bore in a Preamble the higheſt flattery that could be put in Paper, of the great things the King had done for the Church and Nation, in which he had been at vaſt Charges; and that divers of the Subjects had lent great Sums of Money, which had been all well employed in the publick Service: and whereas they had Security for their Payment, the Parliament did offer all theſe Sums ſo lent to the King; and diſcharged him of all the Obligations or Aſſignations made for their Payment, and of all Suits that might ariſe thereupon. One Act diſcharging the King of his Debts. Collection Number 31.

This was brought into the Houſe by the Kings Servants, who enlarged much on the Wealth and Peace of the Nation, notwithſtanding the Wars, the King always making his Enemies Country the Scene of them; and ſhew'd that for fourteen years the King had but one Subſidy from his People; that now he asked nothing for any other purpoſe, but only to be diſcharged of a Debt contracted for the publick, the accounts whereof were ſhewn, by which they might ſee to what uſes the Money ſo raiſed had been applied. But there were ſeveral ends in paſſing this Bill: thoſe of the Court did not only intend to deliver the King from a charge by it, but alſo to ruine all the Cardinals Friends and Creatures, whom he had cauſed every where to advance great Sums,

1529. for an Example to others. Others in the Houſe that were convinced that the Act was unjuſt in it ſelf, yet did eaſily give way to it, that they might effectually for the future diſcredit that way of raiſing Money by Loans, as judging it to be the publick Intereſt of the Kingdom, that no Sums of Money ſhould be raiſed but by Parliament. So this Act paſſed, and occaſioned great Murmuring among all them that ſuffered by it. But to qualifie the general diſcontent, the King gave a free Pardon to his Subjects for all Offences, ſome capital ones only excepted, as is uſual in ſuch caſes; and to keep the Clergy under the Laſh, all Tranſgreſſions againſt the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Premunire* were excepted, in which they were all involved, as will afterwards appear. There are two other exceptions in this Pardon, not fit to be omitted: the one is of the pulling or digging down Croſſes on the High-ways, which ſhews what a Spirit was then ſtirring among the People; the other is of the Forfeitures that accrued to the King, by the Proſecution againſt Cardinal *Wolſey*, that is, the Cardinals Colledge in *Oxford*, with the Lands belonging to it, which are excepted, upon which, the Dean and Canons reſigned their Lands to the King, the Original of which is yet extant: But the King founded the Colledge a-new ſoon after. All this was done both to keep the Clergy quiet, and to engage them to uſe what Intereſt they had in the Court of *Rome*, to diſpoſe the Pope to uſe the King better in his great Suit. After thoſe Acts were paſſed, on the 17*th.* of *December*, the Parliament was prorogued till *April* following; yet it did not ſit till *January* after that, being continued by ſeveral Prorogations.

There had been great induſtry uſed in carrying Elections for the Parliament, and they were ſo ſucceſsful, that the King was reſolved to continue it for ſome time. This great buſineſs being happily over, the Kings thoughts turned next to Affairs beyond Sea. The whole World was now at Peace. The Pope and the Emperor (as was ſaid before) had made an Alliance on terms of ſuch advantage to the Pope, that as the Emperor did fully repair all paſt Injuries, ſo he laid new and great Obligations on him: for he engaged that he would aſſiſt him in the recovery of his Towns, and that he would reſtore his Family to the Government of *Florence*, and inveſt his Nephew in it with the Title of *Duke*, to whoſe Son he would marry his own natural Daughter; and that he would hold the Kingdom of *Naples* of the Papacy. Theſe were the Motives that directed the Popes Conſcience, ſo infallibly in the Kings buſineſs. Not long after that, in *Auguſt*, another Peace was made in *Cambray*, between the Emperor and the *French* King, and Lady *Margaret* the Emperors Aunt, and the Regent of *Flanders*: where the King firſt found the hollowneſs of the *French* Friendſhip and Alliance; for he was not ſo much conſidered in it as he expected, and he clearly perceived that *Francis* would not embroyl his own Affairs to carry on his Divorce.

The Pope and the Emperor firmly united. *June* 20.

The Womens Peace. *Aug.* 5.

1530. The Emperor went over into *Italy*, and met the Pope at *Bononia*, where he was Crowned with great Magnificence. The Pope and he lodged together in the ſame Palace, and there appeared ſuch ſigns of a familiar Friendſhip between them, that the Kings Ambaſſadors did now clearly perceive that they were firmly united. The Emperor did alſo by a rare mixture of Generoſity and Prudence, reſtore the Dutchy of *Milan*

The Emperors Coronation at *Bononia*.

Milan to *Francis Sforza*. By this he ſetled the Peace of *Italy*, nothing holding out but *Florence*, which he knew would be ſoon reduced, when there was no hope of ſuccour from *France*; and accordingly after eleven months Siege it was taken, and within a year after, *Alexander de Medici* was made Duke of it. About the time that the Emperor came to *Bononia*, news was brought, that the *Turk* was forced to raiſe the Siege of *Vienna*; ſo that all things concurred to raiſe his glory very high. At *Bononia* he would needs receive the two Crowns of the *Roman* Empire, that of *Milan*, and that of *Rome*, which was done with all the Magnificence poſſible, the Pope himſelf ſaying Maſs, both in *Latin* and *Greek*. There is one Ceremony of the Coronation fit to be taken notice of in this Work; that the Emperor was firſt put in the Habit of a Canon of *Sancta Maria de la Torre* in *Rome*, and after that, in the Habit of a Deacon, to make him be look'd on as an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon. This had riſen out of an extravagant Vanity of the Court of *Rome*, who deviſed ſuch Rites to raiſe their Reputation ſo high, that on the greateſt Solemnity, the Emperor ſhould appear in the Habit of the loweſt of the Sacred Orders, by which he muſt know, that Prieſts and Biſhops are above him. When the Pope and he firſt met, the Ceremony of kiſſing the Popes Foot was much look'd for, and the Emperor very gently kneel'd to pay that ſubmiſſion; but the Pope (whether it was that he thought it was no more ſeaſonable to expect ſuch Complements, or more ſignally to oblige the Emperor) did humble himſelf ſo far as to draw in his Foot, and kiſs his Cheek.

1530. *Florence* taken. *Aug.* 9. Popes Nephew made Duke of it. *July* 17. 1531. Siege of *Vienna* rais'd. *Octob.* 13. 1529. Emperor Crown'd King of *Lombardy*. *Feb.* 22. 1530. *Rom.* Emp. *Feb.* 24.

But now the Divorce was to be managed in another method, and therefore *Cranmer*, after he had diſcourſed with the King about that Propoſition which was formerly mentioned, was commanded by him to write a Book for his Opinion, and confirm it with as much Authority as he could; and was recommended to the care of the Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond* (to which honour the King had advanced Sir *Thomas Boleyn* in the Right of his Mother) and in the beginning of the next year he publiſhed his Book about it. *Richard Crook* (who was Tutor to the Duke of *Richmond*) was ſent into *Italy*, and others were ſent to *France* and *Germany*, to conſult the Divines, Canoniſts, and other Learned Men in the Univerſities, about the Kings Buſineſs. How the reſt managed the matter, I have not yet been able to diſcover; but from a great number of Original Letters of Doctor *Crooks*, I ſhall give a full account of his Negotiation. It was thought beſt to begin at home, and therefore the King wrote to the two Univerſities in *England*, to ſend him their Concluſions about it. The matters went at *Oxford* thus. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* being ſent thither with the Kings Letters for their Reſolution, it was by the major Vote of the Convocation of all the Doctors and Maſters, as well Regents as non-Regents, committed to 33 Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity (who were named by their own Faculty) or to the greater number of them, to determine the Queſtions, that were ſent with the Kings Letters, and to ſet the common Seal of the Univerſity to their Concluſions: and by vertue of that Warrant, they did on the eighth of *April* put the common Seal of the Univerſity to an Inſtrument, declaring the Marriage of the Brothers Wife to be both contrary to the Laws of God and Nature. The Collector of the Antiquities of *Oxford*, informs us of the uneaſineſs that was in

The King conſults his Univerſities about his Divorce.

Lord *Herbert* out of the Record. *April* 4. 1530.

v. Wood. p. 8. 257.

1530. the University in this matter, and of the several Messages the King sent, before that Instrument could be procured, so that from the 12*th.* of *February* to the eighth of *April*, the matter was in agitation, the Masters of Arts generally opposing it, though the Doctors and Heads were (for the greatest part) for it. But after he has set down the Instrument, he gives some Reasons (upon what design, I cannot easily imagine) to shew that this was extorted by force; and being done without the consent of the Masters of Arts, was of it self void, and of no force: and as if it had been an ill thing, he takes pains to purge the University of it, and lays it upon the fears and corruptions of some aspiring men of the University: and without any proof, gives credit to a lying Story set down by *Sanders*, of an Assembly called in the night, in which the Seal of the University was set to the Determination. But it appears that he had never seen or considered the other Instrument, to which the University set their Seal, that was agreed on in a Convocation of all the Doctors and Masters, as well Regents as non-Regents; giving Power to these Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, to determine the Matter, and to set the Seal of the University to their Conclusion. The Original whereof the Lord *Herbert* saw, upon which the Persons so deputed, had full Authority to set the University Seal to that Conclusion without a new Convocation. Perhaps that Instrument was not so carefully preserved among their Records, or was in Queen *Maries* days taken away, which might occasion these mistakes in their Historian.

lib. 1° p. 225.

There seems to be also another mistake in the Relation he gives: for he says, those of *Paris* had determined in this matter before it was agreed to at *Oxford*. The Printed Decision of the *Sorbone* contradicts this: for it bears date the second of *July*, 1530. whereas this was done the eighth of *April*, 1530. But what passed at *Cambridge*, I shall set down more fully, from an Original Letter written by *Gardiner* and *Fox* to the King in *February* (but the day is not marked.) When they came to *Cambridge*, they spake to the Vice-Chancellor, whom they found very ready to serve the King; so was also *Bonner* (whom they call Doctor *Edmonds*) and several others, but there was a contrary Party that met together, and resolved to oppose them. A meeting of the Doctors, Batchelors of Divinity, and Masters of Arts, in all about 200, was held. There the Kings Letters were read, and the Vice-Chancellor calling upon several of them to deliver their Opinions about it, they answered as their affections led them, and were in some disorder. But it being proposed, that the answering the Kings Letter, and the Questions in it, should be referred to some indifferent men; great exceptions were made to Doctor *Salcot*, Doctor *Reps*, and *Crome*, and all others who had approved Doctor *Cranmers* Book, as having already declared themselves partial. But to that it was answered, that after a thing was so much discoursed of, as the Kings matter had been, it could not be imagined, that any number of men could be found, who had not declared their Judgment about it one way or another. Much time was spent in the debate, but when it grew late, the Vice-Chancellor commanded every man to take his place, and to give his Voice, whether they would agree to the Motion of referring it to a select Body of Men: but that night they would not agree to it.

Collect. *Numb.* 32.

And at *Cambridge. Feb.*

The

The Congregation being adjourned till next day, the Vice-Chancellor offered a Grace (or Order) to refer the matter to 29 persons (himself, 10 Doctors, and 16 Batchelors, and the 2 Proctors) That (the Questions being publickly disputed) what two parts of three agreed to, should be read in a Congregation, and without any further debate the Common Seal of the University should be set to it. Yet it was at first denied; then being put to the Vote, it was carried equally on both sides. But being a third time proposed, it was carried for the Divorce. Of which an account was presently sent to the King, with a Schedule of their Names to whom it was committed, and what was to be expected from them; so that it was at length determined, though not without opposition, *That the Kings Marriage was against the Law of God.* 1530.

It is thought strange, that the King who was otherwise so absolute in *England*, should have met with more difficulty in this matter at home than he did abroad. But the most reasonable account I can give of it, is, That at this time there were many in the Universities (particularly at *Cambridge*) who were addicted to *Luthers* Doctrine. And of those *Cranmer* was lookt on as the most Learned: So that *Crome*, *Shaxton*, *Latimer*, and others of that Society favoured the Kings Cause; besides that, *Anne Boleyn* had in the Dutchess of *Alancon's* Court (who inclined to the Reformation) received such impressions as made them fear, that her Greatness and *Cranmers* Preferment would encourage Heresie; to which the Universities were furiously averse, and therefore they did resist all Conclusions that might promote the Divorce. Though with great difficulty.

But as for *Crooke* in *Italy*, he being very Learned in the *Greek* Tongue, was first sent to *Venice*, to search the *Greek* Manuscripts that lay in the Library of St. *Mark*, and to examine the Decrees of the Ancient Councils: He went *incognito* without any Character from the King, only he had a Letter recommending him to the Care of *John Cassali*, then Ambassador at *Venice*, to procure him an admittance into the Libraries there. But in all his Letters he complained mightily of his Poverty, that he had scarce whereby to live and pay the Copiers who he imployed to Transcribe Passages out of MSS. He stayed sometime at *Venice*, from whence he went to *Padua*, *Bononia*, and other Towns, where he only talked with Divines and Canonists about these Questions: *Whether the Precepts in* Leviticus, *of the Degrees of Marriage, do still oblige Christians? And whether the Popes Dispensation could have any force against the Law of God?* These he proposed in Discourse, without mentioning the King of *England*, or giving the least intimation, that he was sent by him, till he once discovered their Opinions. But finding them generally inclining to the Kings Cause, he took more courage and went to *Rome*; where he sought to be made a *Penitentiary Priest*, that he might have the freer access into Libraries, and be lookt on as one of the Popes Servants. But at this time the Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Stokesley*, (who was made Bishop of *London*, *Tonstall* being translated to *Duresm*) were sent by the King into *Italy*, Amassadors both to the Pope and Emperor. *Cranmer* went with them to justifie his Book in both these Courts. *Stokesley* brought full Instructions to *Crooke* to search the Writings of most of the Fathers on a great many passages of the Scripture; and in particular, to try what they wrote on that Law in *Deuteronomy*, which provided, that *when one* *Crooke* employed in *Venice*. *Crooks* Negotiation, taken from many of his Original Letters. *Cott. Libr. Vitel.* B. 13.

died

1530. *died without Children, his Brother should marry his Wife to raise up Children to him.* This was most pressed against the King by all that were for the Queen, as either an Abrogation of the other Law in *Leviticus*, or at least a Dispensation with it in that particular Case. He was also to consult the *Jews* about it; and was to Copy out every thing that he found in any Manuscript of the *Greek* or *Latin* Fathers, relating to the Degrees of Marriage. Of this labour he complained heavily, and said, That though he had a great Task laid on him, yet his Allowance was so small, that he was often in great straits. This I take notice of, because it is said by others, That all the Subscriptions that he procured were bought. At this time there were great Animosities between the Ministers whom the King imployed in *Italy*; the two Families of the *Cassali*, and the *Ghinucci*, hating one another. Of the former Family were the Ambassadors at *Rome* and at *Venice*. Of the other *Hierome* was Bishop of *Worcester*, and had been in several Ambassies into *Spain*. His Brother *Peter* was also imployed in some of the little Courts of *Italy* as the Kings Agent. Whether the King out of Policy kept this hatred up to make them Spies one on another, I know not. To the *Ghinucci* was *Crook* gained, so that in all his Letters he complained of the *Cassali*, as men that betrayed the Kings Affairs; and said that *John*, then Ambassador at *Venice*, not only gave him no Assistance, but used him ill: and publickly discovered, That he was imployed by the King; which made many, who had formerly spoken their minds freely, be more reserved to him. But as he wrote this to the King, he begged of him, that it might not be known, otherwise he expected either to be Killed, or Poisoned by them: Yet they had their Correspondents about the King, by whose means they understood what *Crook* had informed against them. But they wrote to the King, that he was so morose and ill-natured, that nothing could please him: and to lessen his Credit, they did all they could to stop his Bills. All this is more fully set down, than perhaps was necessary, if it were not to shew that he was not in a condition to corrupt so many Divines, and whole Universities, as some have given out. He got into the acquaintance of a Frier at *Venice*, *Franciscus Georgius*, who had lived 49 years in a Religious Order, and was esteemed the most Learned man in the Republick, not only in the vulgar Learning, but in the *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and was so much accounted of by the Pope, that he called him *the Hammer of Hereticks*. He was also of the Senatorian Quality, and his Brother was Governour of *Padua*, and payed all the Readers there. This Frier had a great Opinion of the King: and having studied the Case, wrote for the Kings Cause, and endeavoured to satisfie all the other Divines of the Republick, among whom he had much credit. *Thomas Omnibonus* a Dominican, *Philippus de Cremis* a Doctor of the Law, *Valerius* of *Bergamo*, and some others, wrote for the Kings Cause. Many of the *Jewish* Rabbins, did give it under their hands in Hebrew, *That the Laws of* Leviticus *and* Deuteronomy, *were thus to be reconciled. That Law of Marrying the Brothers Wife when he dyed without Children, did only bind in the Land of* Judæa, *to preserve Families and maintain their Successions in the Land, as it had been divided by Lot. But that in all other places of the World, the Law of* Leviticus, *of not Marrying the Brothers Wife was obligatory.* He also searched all the *Greek* MSS. of Councils, and *Nazianzens* and *Chrysostoms* Works. After that, he

Many In *Italy* write for the Kings Cause.

he run over *Macarius*, *Acacius*, *Apollinaris*, *Origen*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Cyril*, *Severian*, and *Gennadius*; and copied out of them all that which was pertinent to his purpoſe. He procured ſeveral Hands to the Concluſions, before it was known that it was the Kings buſineſs, in which he was employed. But the Government of *Venice* was ſo ſtrict, that when it was known whoſe Agent he was, he found it not eaſie to procure Subſcriptions: Therefore he adviſed the King to order his Miniſter to procure a Licence from the Senate, for their Divines to declare their Opinions in that matter. Which being propoſed to the Senate, all the anſwer he could obtain, was, *that they would be Neutrals*; and when the Ambaſſador preſſed, as an evidence of Neutrality, that the Senate would leave it free to their Divines, to declare of either ſide as their Conſciences led them; he could procure no other anſwer, the former being again repeated. Yet the Senate making no Prohibition, many of their Divines put their Hands to the Concluſions. And *Crook* had that Succeſs, that he wrote to the King, he had never met with a Divine that did not favour his Cauſe: but the Concluſions touching the Popes Power, his Agents did every where diſcourage, and threaten thoſe who ſubſcribed them. And the Emperors Ambaſſador at *Venice*, did threaten *Omnibonus* for writing in prejudice of the Popes Authority; and aſſerting Concluſions, which would make moſt of the Princes of Europe *Baſtards*. He anſwered, he did not conſider things as a States-man, but as a Divine. Yet to take off this fear, *Crook* ſuggeſted to the King, to order his Miniſter at the Court of *Rome*, to procure a *Breve*, "That Divines or Canoniſts might without fear or hazard, "deliver their Opinions according to their Conſciences, requiring them "under the pain of Excommunication, that they ſhould write nothing "for gain or Partial affections, but ſay the pure and ſimple truth, "without any artifice, as they would anſwer to God in the great day "of Judgment. This ſeemed ſo fair, that it might have been expected the Succeſſor of St. *Peter* would not deny it; yet it was not eaſily obtained, though the King wrote a very earneſt Letter to the Biſhop of *Verona*, to aſſiſt his Miniſter in procuring it. And I find by another Diſpatch, that the *Breve* was at length gained, not without much oppoſition made to it by the Emperors Ambaſſadors: For at *Rome*, though they knew not well how to oppoſe this method becauſe it ſeem'd ſo very reaſonable; yet they had great apprehenſions of it, becauſe they thought it was deſigned to force the Pope to determine as the King pleaſed: and they abhorred the Preſident, that a company of poor Friars ſhould dictate to them in matters of this nature. *Crook* reports out of a Letter of *Cranmers* to him from *Rome*, theſe words. *As for our Succeſſes here, they be very little, nor dare we attempt to know any mans mind, becauſe of the Pope, nor is he content with what you have done; and he ſays, no Friars ſhall diſcuſs his Power: and as for any favour in this Court, I look for none, but to have the Pope with all his Cardinals declare againſt us.* But *Crook*, as he went up and down procuring Hands, told theſe he came to, *he deſired they would write their Concluſions, according to Learning and Conſcience, without any reſpect or favour, as they would anſwer it at the laſt day; and proteſted he never gave, nor promiſed any Divine any thing, till he had firſt freely written his mind, and that what he then gave, was rather an honourable Preſent than a Reward.* And in another

1530.

Feb. 18.

Though the Pope and Emperor diſcouraged them.

July 4.

Aug. 7.

Septemb. 16.

July 28.

Aug. 5.

No Money nor Bribes given for Subſcriptions.

1529. Septemb. 7. nother Leter to the King he writes: *Upon pain of my Head, if the contrary be proved, I never gave any man one half-penny, before I had his Conclusion to your Highness, without former Prayer, or Promise of Reward for the same.* From whence it appears, that he not only had no Orders from the King to corrupt Divines, but that his Orders were expres to the contrary.

As for the Money he gave, the Reader will be best able to judge by the following account, whether it was such as could work much on any man. There is an Original Bill of his accounts yet extant, audited and signed by *Peter a Ghinuccis*, out of which I have extracted these particulars: *Item, to a Servite Frier when he subscribed, one Crown. To a Jew, one Crown. To the Doctor of the Servites, two Crowns. To the Observant Friars, two Crowns. To the Prior of St.* John *and St.* Pauls, *who wrote for the Kings Cause, fifteen Crowns. To that Convent four Crowns. Item, Given to* John Maria *for his Expence of going to* Milan *from* Venice, *and for rewarding the Doctors there, thirty Crowns. Item, to* John Marino, Minister *of the Franciscans, who wrote a Book for the Kings Cause, twenty Crowns.* This shews that they must have had very prostituted Consciences, if they could be hired so cheap. It is true, *Crook* in many of his Letters says, *That if he had Money enough, he did not doubt but he should get the Hands of all the Divines in* Italy, *for he found the greatest part of them all Mercenary.* But the Bishop of *Worcester*, in his Letters to him, ordered him only to promise Rewards to those who expected them, and lived by them, that is, to the Canonists, who did not use to give their Opinion without a Fee.

Feb. 8. Only some small acknowledgments. Feb. 22. Feb. 9.

But at the same time, the Emperor did reward and fee Divines at another rate, for *Crook* informed the King, that one *Friar Felix* having written for the validity of the Marriage against the King, there was a Benefice of 500 Duckats a year given him in reward. And the Emperors Ambassador offered a thousand Duckats to the Provincial of the *Gray-Friars* in *Venice*, if he would inhibit all within his Province to write or subscribe for the Kings Cause. But the Provincial refused it, and said, he neither could nor yet would do it. And another that wrote for the Queen, had a Benefice of 600 Crowns. So that it was openly said at *Ferrara*, that they who wrote for the King had but a few Crowns a-piece, but they who wrote on the other side had good Benefices. They also tryed what could be done at *Padua*, both by Threatnings, Entreaties and Rewards, to induce them to reverse the determination they had made in the matter; but with no success. And though *Francis Georgius* the *Venetian* Friar, did greatly promote the Kings Cause, both by his Writings and Authority; yet *Crook* wrote *that he could not prevail to make either him or his Nephew accept one farthing of him.* By such fair means it was, that *Crook* procured so many Subscriptions.

Septemb. 16. But great Rewards given by the Emperor. Septemb. 29. Feb. 28.

First, of particular Divines, many *Franciscans*, *Dominicans*, and *Servites*, set their Hands to the Conclusions; though even in that, there was opposition made by the Popes Agents. *Campegio* was now engaged in the Emperors Faction, and did every where misrepresent the Kings Cause. Being at *Venice*, he so wrought on the Minister of the *Franciscans*, that though he had declared for the King, and engaged to bring the Hands of 24 Doctors and Learned men of his Order for

March 29.

for it, and had received a ſmall Preſent of ten Crowns; yet after he had kept the Money three weeks, he ſent it back, and ſaid, he would not meddle more in it: But they procured moſt of theſe hands without his help. At *Milan*, a Suffragan Biſhop, and ſixteen Divines Subſcribed. Nine Doctors Subſcribed at *Vincenza*, but the Popes Nuntio took the writing out of his hands that had it, and ſuppreſſed it. At *Padua* all the Franciſcans, both *Obſervants* and *Conventuals*, Subſcribed, and ſo did the *Dominicans*, and all the Canoniſts; and though the Popes and Emperors Emiſſaries did threaten all that Subſcribed, yet there were got eighty hands at *Padua*. Next the Univerſities determined. 1530. *May* 26. *June* 27.

At *Bononia*, though it was the Popes Town, many Subſcribed. The Governour of the Town did at firſt oppoſe the granting of any Determination; but the Popes *Breve* being brought thither, he not without great difficulty gave way to it, So on the 10 of *June*, the matter being publickly debated, and all *Cajetans* Arguments being examined, who was of Opinion, *That the Laws of Marriage in* Leviticus *did not bind the Chriſtian Church; they determined, That theſe Laws are ſtill in force, and that they bind all both Chriſtians and Infidels, being parts of the Law of Nature, as well as of the Law of God; and that therefore they judged Marriage in theſe degrees unlawful, and that the Pope had no Authority to diſpence with them.* They Determined for the King at *Bononia*. *June* 10th.

The Univerſity of *Padua* after ſome days publick Diſpute, on the 1ſt of *July*, determined to the ſame purpoſe; about which *Crooks* Letter will be found among the Inſtruments at the end of this Book. At *Padua*. *July* 1. Collect. *Numb.* 33.

At *Ferrara*, the Divines did alſo confirm the ſame concluſion, and ſet their Seal to it; but it was taken away violently by ſome of the other Faction, yet the Duke made it be reſtored. The profeſſion of the Canon-Law was then in great credit there, and in a Congregation of 72 of that profeſſion, it was determined for the King; but they asked 150 Crowns for ſetting the Seal to it, and *Crook* would not give more than an hundred; the next day he came and offered the Money, but then it was told him they would not meddle in it, and he could not afterwards obtain it. And *Ferrara*, *Sept.* 29.

In all, *Crook* ſent over by *Stokeſley* an hundred ſeveral Books, Papers and Subſcriptions, and there were many hands ſubſcribed to many of thoſe Papers. But it ſeems *Crook* died before he could receive a reward of this great Service he did the King, for I do not find him mentioned after this. I hope the Reader will forgive my inſiſting ſo much on this Negotiation; for it ſeemed neceſſary to give full and convincing Evidences of the ſincerity of the Kings proceedings in it, ſince it is ſo confidently given out that theſe were but mercenary Subſcriptions.

What difficulties or oppoſition thoſe who were employed in *France* found, does not yet appear to me; but the Seals of the chief Univerſities there were procured. The Univerſity of *Orleance* determined it on the 7th of *April*. The factulty of the Canon-Law at *Paris*, did alſo conclude that the Pope had no Power to diſpence in that Caſe, on the 25th of *May*. But the great and celebrated faculty of the *Sorbon*, (whoſe Concluſions had been lookt on for ſome Ages as little inferior to the Decrees of Councils) made their Deciſion with all poſſible Solemnity and Decency. They firſt met at the Church of St. *Mathurin*, where there was a Maſs of the H. Ghoſt, and every one took an Oath to ſtudy the Queſtion, and reſolve it according to his Conſcience, and from the 8th of *June*, to And in *Orleance*. *April* 7. At *Paris* of the Canoniſts. *May*. 25.

1530. Of the Sorbon, *July* 2. the 2d of *July*, they continued searching the matter with all possible diligence, both out of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Councils; and had many Disputes about it. After which, the greater part of the Faculty did Determine, *That the King of* Englands *Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope had no Power to dispence in it*; and they set their common Seal to it, at St. *Mathurin*'s, the 2d of *July*, 1530. To the same purpose did both the Faculties of Law, Civil and Canon at *Angiers*, Determine the 7th of *May*. On the 10th of *June*, the Faculty of Divinity, at *Bourges*, made the same Determination. And on the 1st of *October* the whole University of *Tholose*, did all with one consent give their judgment, agreeing with the former Conclusions. More of the Decisions of Universities were not Printed, though many more were obtained to the same effect. In *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*, the Emperors Authority was so great, that much could not be expected except from the *Lutherans*, with whom *Cranmer* conversed; and chiefly with *Osiander*, whose Neece he then Married. *Osiander* upon that wrote a Book about Incestuous Marriages, which was published; but was called in by a Prohibition Printed at *Ausburg*, because it Determined in the Kings cause, and on his side.

At *Angiers*. *May* 7. At *Bourges*. *June* 10. And *Tholose*, *October*. 1. Collect. *Numb*. 34.

Jan. 28. his Orig. Let. *Cott.* Libr. *Otho.* C. 10.

But now I find the King did likewise deal among those, in *Switzerland* that had set up the Reformation. The Duke of *Suffolk* did most set him on to this, so one who was imployed in that time writes, for he often asked him, *how he could so humble himself, as to submit his Cause to such a vile, vitious, stranger, Priest as* Campegio *was*? To which the King answered, *He could give no other reason, but that it seemed to him, Spiritual men should judge Spiritual things*; *yet*, he said, *he would search the matter further, but he had no great mind to seem more curious than other Princes*. But the Duke desired him to discus the matter secretly amongst Learned men, to which he consented; and wrote to some Foreign Writers that were then in great estimation. *Erasmus* was much in his favour, but he would not appear in it. He had no mind to provoke the Emperor, and live uneasily in his own Country. But *Simon Grineus* was sent for, whom the King esteemed much for his Learning. The King informed him about his Process, and sent him back to *Basil*, to try what his Friends in *Germany* and *Switzerland* thought of it. He wrote about it to *Bucer*, *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, and *Paulus Phrygion*.

Pelvine Ingles.

Grineus employed amongst the Reformed in *Switzerland*. Whose Letters are in a MSS. in R. *Smiths* Libr.

The Opinions of *Oecolompadius*.

Oecolampadius, as it appears by three Letters, one dated the 10th of *August*, 1531. another the last of the same Month, another to *Bucer* the 10th of *September*; was positively of Opinion, *That the Law in* Leviticus *did bind all mankind*, and says, *That Law of a Brothers Marrying his Sister-in-Law, was a Dispensation given by God to his own Law, which belonged only to the* Jews; *and therefore he thought that the King might without any scruple put away the Queen*. But *Bucer* was of another mind, and thought the Law in *Leviticus* did not bind, and could not be Moral, because God had dispensed with it in one Case, *of raising up seed to his Brother*: Therefore he thought these Laws belonged only to that Dispensation, and did no more bind Christians, than the other Ceremonial or Judiciary Precepts; and that to Marry in some of these Degrees, was no more a sin, than it was a sin in the Disciples to pluck Ears of Corn on the Sabbath-day. There are none of *Bucers* Letters remaining on this Head, but by the answers that *Grineus* wrote to him, one on the 29th of *August*, another

Bucer.

ther of the 10th of *September*, I gather his Opinion, and the reaſons for it. But they all agreed, That the Popes Diſpenſation was of no force to alter the nature of a thing. *Paulus Phrygion* was of Opinion, That the Laws in *Leviticus* did bind all Nations, becauſe it is ſaid in the Text, *That the* Canaanites *were puniſhed for doing contrary to them, which did not conſiſt with the Juſtice of God, if thoſe Prohibitions had not been parts of the Law of Nature.* Dated *Baſil* the 10th of *September*. In *Grineus*'s Letter to *Bucer*, he tells him, that the King had ſaid to him, *That now for ſeven years he had perpetual trouble upon him about this Marriage*, *Zuinglius*'s Letter is very full. Firſt, he largely proves that neither the Pope, nor any other Power could diſpence with the Law of God: Then, that the Apoſtles had made no new Laws about Marriage, but had left it as they found it: That the Marrying within near degrees was hated by the *Greeks*, and other Heathen Nations. But whereas *Grineus* ſeemed to be of opinion, that though the Marriage was ill made, yet it ought not to be diſſolved, and inclined rather to adviſe that the King ſhould take another Wife, keeping the Queen ſtill; *Zuinglius* confutes that, and ſays, if the Marriage be againſt the Law of God, it ought to be diſſolved: But concludes the Queen ſhould be put away honourably, and ſtill uſed as a Queen; and the Marriage ſhould only be diſſolved for the future, without Illegitimating the Iſſue begotten in it, ſince it had gone on in a publick way, upon a received error. But adviſes, that the King ſhould proceed in a Judiciary way, and not eſtabliſh ſo ill a Preſident as to put away his Queen, and take another without due form of Law. Dated *Baſil*, 17th of *Aug.* There is a ſecond Letter of his to the ſame purpoſe from *Zurick*, the firſt of *September*. There is alſo with theſe Letters a long paper of *Oſianders*, in the form of a Direction how the Proceſs ſhould be managed. 1530. *Phrygion.* *Zuinglius.*

There is alſo an Epiſtle of *Calvins*, publiſhed among the reſt of his. Neither the date nor the perſon to whom it was directed are named. Yet I fancie it was written to *Grineus*, upon this occaſion: *Calvin* was clear in his judgment that the Marriage was null, and that the King ought to put away the Queen, upon the Law of *Leviticus*. And whereas it was objected, that the Law is only meant *of Marrying the Brothers Wife while he is yet alive*; he ſhews that could not be admitted, for all the prohibited degrees being forbidden in the ſame ſtyle, they were all to be underſtood in one ſenſe: Therefore ſince it is confeſſed, that it is unlawful to Marry in the other degrees, after the death of the *Father*, *Son*, *Uncle*, or *Nephew*, ſo it muſt be alſo a ſin, to Marry the Brothers Wife after his death. And for the Law in *Deuteronomy* of *Marrying the Brothers Wife to raiſe up ſeed to him*; he thought, that by *Brother* there, is to be underſtood a *near Kinſman*, according to the uſual phraſe of the Hebrew tongue: and by that he reconciles the two Laws which otherwiſe ſeem to differ, illuſtrating his Expoſition by the Hiſtory of *Ruth* and *Boaz*. It is given out that *Melanchon* adviſed the Kings taking another Wife, juſtifying *Polygamy from the old Teſtament*; but I cannot believe it. It is true the lawfulneſs of *Polygamy* was much controverted at this time. And as in all controverſies newly ſtarted, many crude things are ſaid; ſo ſome of the *Helvetian* and *German* Divines ſeem not ſo fierce againſt it; though none of them went ſo far as the Pope did, who did plainly offer to grant the King Licence to have two Wives: and it was a motion the Imperialiſts conſented to, and pro- And *Calvin Epiſt.* 384. Lord *Herb.* from an Orig. Let. *Sept.* 18. 1530.

1530. moted, though upon what reaſon, the Ambaſſador *Caſſali* who wrote the account of it to the King, could not learn. The Pope forbad him to write about it to the King, perhaps as Whiſperers enjoyn ſilence, as the moſt effectual way to make a thing publick. But for *Melanchons* being of that mind, great evidences appear to the contrary; for there is a Letter of *Oſianders* to him, giving him many reaſons to perſwade him to approve of the Kings putting away the Queen, and Marrying another: the Letter alſo ſhews he was then of opinion, that the Law in *Leviticus* was Diſpenſable.

The opinion of the *Lutheran* Divines.

And after the thing was done, when the King deſired the *Lutheran* Divines to approve his ſecond Marriage; they begged his excuſe in a writing, which they ſent over to him; ſo that *Melanchon* not allowing the thing, when it was done, cannot be imagined to have adviſed *Polygamy* beforehand. And to open at once all that may clear the ſenſe of the Proteſtants in the Queſtion, when ſome years after this, *Fox* being made Biſhop of *Hereford*, and much inclined to their Doctrine, was ſent over to get the Divines of *Germany*, to approve of the Divorce, and the ſubſequent Marriage of *Anne Boleyn*; he found the *Melanchon* and others had no mind to enter much into the Diſpute about it, both for fear of the Emperor, and becauſe they judged the King was led in it by diſhoneſt affections: they alſo thought the Laws in *Leviticus* were not Moral, and did not oblige Chriſtians, and ſince there were no Rules made about the Degrees of Marriage in the Goſpel, they thought Princes and States might make what Laws they pleaſed about it: yet after much Diſputing they were induced to change their minds, but could not be brought to think that a Marriage once made, might be annulled, and therefore demurred upon that; as will appear by the Concluſion they paſſed upon it, to be found at the end of this volume. All this I have ſet together here, to give a right repreſentation of the judgments of the ſeveral parties of *Chriſtendom* about this matter.

Inſtructions ſent by Dr. *Barns* to *Cromwel. Cott.* Lib. *Vitel.* B. 13.

They condemn the Kings firſt Marriage, but are againſt a ſecond. Collect. *Numb.* 35.

It cannot be denyed, that the Proteſtants did expreſs great ſincerity in this matter: ſuch as became men of conſcience, who were acted by true Principles, and not by maxims of Policie. For if theſe had governed them, they had ſtruck in more compliantly with ſo great a Prince, who was then alienated from the Pope, and in very ill terms with the Emperor: ſo that to have gained him by a full Compliance to have protected them, was the wiſeſt thing they could do; and their being ſo cold in the matter of his Marriage, in which he had engaged ſo deeply, was a thing, which would very much provoke him againſt them. But ſuch meaſures as theſe, though they very well became the *Apoſtolick* See, yet they were unworthy of men, who deſigned to reſtore an Apoſtolick Religion.

Fox.

The Earl of *Wiltſhire* with the other Ambaſſadors, when they had their Audience of the Pope at *Bononia*, refuſed to pay him the ſubmiſſion of Kiſſing his foot, though he graciouſly ſtretched it out to them; but went to their Buſineſs, and expoſtulated in the Kings name, and in high words: and in Concluſion told the Pope, that the *Prerogative of the Crown of England* was ſuch, that their Maſter would not ſuffer any Citation to be made of him, to any foreign Court; and that therefore the King would not have his cauſe tryed at *Rome*. The Pope anſwered

The King refuſes to appear at *Rome*.

swered, that though the Queens Sollicitor had pressed him to proceed in the Citation; both that her Marriage being further examined, might receive a new Confirmation, for silencing the Disputes about it, and because the King had withdrawn himself from her; yet if the King did not go further, and did not innovate in Religion, the Pope was willing to let the matter rest. They went next to the Emperor, to justifie the Kings Proceedings in the Suit of the Divorce. But he told them he was bound in honour and justice to support his Aunt, and that he would not abandon her. *Cranmer* offered to maintain what he had written in his Book, but whether they went so far, as to make their Divines enter into any Discourse with him about it, I do not know. This appears that the Pope, to put a Complement on the King, declared *Cranmer* his *Pœnitentiary* in *England*. He having stayed some months at *Rome*, after the Ambassadors were gone, went into *Germany*: where he became acquainted with *Cornelius Agrippa*, a man very famous for great and curious Learning, and so satisfied him in the Kings cause, that he gave it out, that the thing was clear and indisputable, for which he was afterwards hardly used by the Emperor, and dyed in Prison. 1530.

Cranmer offers to maintain the Kings cause.

But when the King received the Determinations and Conclusions of the Universities, and other Learned men beyond Sea, he resolved to do two things. First, to make a new attempt upon the Pope, and then to publish those Conclusions to the World, with the arguments upon which they were grounded. But to make his address to the Pope carry more terror with it, he got a Letter to be signed by a great many Members of Parliament, to the Pope. The Lord *Herbert* saith, it was done by his Parliament; but in that, he had not applyed his ordinary diligence, the Letter bears date the 13 of *July*. Now by the Records of Parliament, it appears, there could be no Session at that time, for there was a Prorogation from the 21 of *June*, till the 1st of *October* that year: But the Letter was sent about to the chief Members, for their hands; and *Cavendish* tells how it was brought to the Cardinal, and with what chearfulness he set his hand to it. It was subscribed by the Cardinal, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, 4 Bishops, 2 Dukes, 2 Marquesses, 13 Earls, 2 Viscounts, 23 Barons, 22 Abbots, and 11 Commoners, most of these being the Kings Servants.

The Nobility Clergy, and Commons of *England* write to the Pope.

In the life of *Wolsey*.

The Contents of the Letter were, "that their near Relation to the "King, made them address thus to the Pope. The Kings cause was "now in the opinion of the Learned men, and Universities both in "*England*, *France*, and *Italy* found just, which ought to prevail so far "with the Pope, that though none moved in it, and notwithstanding "any Contradiction, he ought to confirm their judgment; especially "it touching a King and Kingdom, to whom he was so much obliged. "But since neither the justice of the cause, nor the Kings most earnest "desires had prevailed with him, they were all forced to complain of "that strange usage of their King; who both by his Authority, and "with his Pen, had supported the Apostolick See, and the Catholick "Faith, and yet was now denyed justice. From which they appre"hended great mischief aud Civil Wars, which could only be prevent"ed by the Kings Marrying another Wife, of whom he might have "issue. This could not be done, till his present Marriage were an"nulled,

This Letter and the answer are Printed by the Lord *Herbert*.

1530. " nulled. And if the Pope would ſtill refuſe to do this, they muſt con-
" clude that they were abandoned by him, and ſo ſeek for other Remedies.
" This they moſt earneſtly prayed him to prevent, ſince they did not
" deſire to gō to extremities, till there was no more to be hoped for
" at his hands.

The Popes anſwer. To this the Pope made anſwer, the 27 of *September*. " He took no-
" tice of the vehemency of their Letter, which he forgave them, im-
" puting it to their great affection to their King: they had charged him
" with ingratitude and injuſtice; two grievous Imputations. He ac-
" knowledged all they wrote of the obligations he owed to their King,
" which were far greater than they called them, both on the Apoſto-
" lick See, and himſelf in particular. But in the Kings Cauſe he had
" been ſo far from denying juſtice, that he was oft charged as having
" been too partial to him. He had granted a Commiſſion to two Le-
" gates to hear it, rather out of favour, than in Rigor of Law; upon
" which the Queen had appealed: he had delayed the admitting of it,
" as long as was poſſible; but when he ſaw it could not be any longer
" denyed to be heard, it was brought before the Conſiſtory, where all
" the Cardinals with one conſent, found that the Appeal, and an A-
" vocation of the cauſe muſt be granted. That ſince that time, the
" King had never deſired to put it to a Tryal, but on the contrary, by
" his Ambaſſadors at *Bononia* moved for a delay: and in that poſture
" it was ſtill, nor could he give ſentence in a thing of ſuch Conſequence,
" when it was not ſo much as ſought for. For the concluſions of U-
" niverſities and Learned men, he had ſeen none of them from any of
" the Kings Ambaſſadors. It was true ſome of them had been brought
" to him another way; but in them there were no reaſons given, but
" only bare Concluſions, and he had alſo ſeen very important things for
" the other ſide; and therefore he muſt not precipitate a Sentence, in
" a cauſe of ſuch high Importance, till all things were fully heard and
" conſidered. He wiſhed their King might have Male Iſſue, but he
" was not in Gods ſtead to give it. And for their Threatnings of ſeek-
" ing other Remedies, they were neither agreeable to their wiſdom, nor
" to their Religion. Therefore he admoniſhed them to abſtain from
" ſuch Counſels; but minded them that it is not the Phyſicians fault,
" if the Patient will do himſelf hurt. He knew the King would never
" like ſuch courſes; and though he had a juſt value for their Interceſſi-
" on; yet he conſidered the King much more, to whom as he had ne-
" ver denyed any thing, that he could grant with his honour; ſo he
" was very deſirous to examine this matter, and to put it to a ſpeedy
" Iſſue, and would do every thing that he could without offending
" God.

A Proclamation againſt Bulls from *Rome*. Lord *Herb.* But the King either ſeeing the Pope reſolved to grant nothing, or apprehending that ſome Bull might be brought into *England*, in behalf of the Queen, or the diſgraced Cardinal, did on the Nineteenth of *September*, put forth a Proclamation againſt any " who purchaſed any thing
" from *Rome*, or elſewhere, contrary to his Royal Prerogative and Au-
" thority, or ſhould publiſh or divulge any ſuch thing, requiring them
" not to do it, under the pains of incurring his indignation, Impriſon-
" ment, and other puniſhments on their perſons. This was founded on the Statute of *Proviſors* and *Premunires*. But that being done, he reſolved

reſolved next to publiſh, to the World, and to his Subjects the juſtice of his cauſe: Therefore ſome Learned men were appointed to compare all that had been written on it, and out of all the Tranſcripts of the Manuſcripts, of Fathers and Councils, to gather together whatſoever did ſtrengthen it. Several of theſe Manuſcripts I have ſeen, one is in Mr. *Smiths* Library, where are the Quotations of the Fathers, Councils, Schoolmen, and Canoniſts, written out at length. There are three other ſuch MSS. in the *Cotton* Library, of which one contains a large vindication of theſe Authorities, from ſome Exceptions made to them; another is an anſwer to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Book for the Queens cauſe. A Third digeſts the Matter into Twelve Articles, which the Reader will find in my Appendix, and theſe are there enlarged on and proved. But all theſe, and many more were ſum'd up in a ſhort Book, and Printed firſt in Latine, then in Engliſh, with the Determinations of the Univerſities before it. Theſe are of ſuch weight and Importance, and give ſo great a light to the whole Matter, that I hope the Reader will not be ill pleaſed to have a ſhort abſtract of them laid before him. 1530.

Books written for the Kings cauſe.

Otho. C. 10.

Ibidem.

Veſp. B. 5. Collect. *Numb.* 36.

An Abſtract of thoſe things which were written for the Divorce.

"The Law of Marriage was originally given by God, to *Adam* in "the ſtate of Innocence, with this Declaration, that Man and Wife "*were one Fleſh*; but being afterwards corrupted by the Inceſtuous "commixtures of thoſe which were of Kin, in the neareſt degrees, "the Primitive Law was again revived by *Moſes*. And he gives many "Rules and Prohibitions about the Degrees of Kindred and Affinity, "which are not to be looked on, as new Laws and judiciary Precepts, "but as a Reſtoring of the Law of Nature, originally given by God, "but then much corrupted. For as the Preface which is ſo oft repeated before theſe Laws, *I am the Lord*, inſinuates that they were conform to the Divine Nature; ſo the conſequences of them ſhow they "were Moral and Natural. For the Breaches of them are called *Wickedneſs* and *Abomination*, and are ſaid *to defile the Land*; and the Violation of them is charged on the *Canaanites*, *by which the Land was polluted, and for which it did vomit out the Inhabitants.* From whence "it muſt be concluded, that theſe were not poſitive Precepts, which "did only bind the *Jews*, but were parts of the Law of Mankind and "Nature; otherwiſe thoſe Nations could contract no Guilt by their "Violating them. Among the forbidden Degrees, one is, *Thou ſhalt "not diſcover the Nakedneſs of thy Brothers Wife, it is thy Brothers "Nakedneſs.* And it is again repeated, *If a man ſhall take his Brothers "wife, it is an unclean thing, he hath uncovered his Brothers Nakedneſs, "they ſhall be childleſs.* Theſe are clear and expreſs Laws of God, "which therefore muſt needs oblige all perſons of what rank ſoever, "without exception.

The grounds of it in the old Teſtament.

Lev. 18. 20

Lev. 18. 2. 4. 5. 6. 21.

v. 17. 24. 26.

v. 24. 25.

Lev. 18. *v.* 16.

Lev. 20. 21.

"In the New Teſtament, St. *John Baptiſt* ſaid to *Herod*, *It is not "Lawful for thee, to take thy Brothers wife*, which ſhows that theſe "Laws of *Moſes* were ſtill obligatory. St. *Paul* alſo in his Epiſtle to "the *Corinthians*, condemns the Inceſtious perſon for having his Fathers "wife, which is one of the Degrees forbidden by the Law of *Moſes*,

And in the New.

Mat. 14. 4.

1 *Cor.* 5. 1.

and

1530. "and calls it *a Fornication, not so much as named among the Gentiles.* "From whence it is inferred, that these forbidden degrees are excluded "by the Law of Nature, since the Gentiles did not admit them. St. "*Paul* also calling it by the common name of *Fornication*, within which, "according to that place, all undue Commixtures of Men and Women "are included; Therefore those places in the New Testament, that "condemn *Fornication*, do also condemn Marriages in forbidden de- "grees; our Saviour did also assert the foundation of affinity, by say- "in, *that Man and Wife are one Flesh.*

"But in all Controverted things, the sense of the Scriptures must "be taken from the Tradition of the Church, which no good Catho- "lick can deny: and that is to be found in the Decrees of Popes and "Councils, and in the writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the "Church: against which, if any argue from their private understand- "ing of the Scriptures, it is the way of Heresie, and savours of *Luthe-* "*ranism.* The first of the Fathers, who had occasion to write of this "Matter, was *Tertullian*, who lived within an Age after the Apostles. "He in expres words says, that the Law of not Marrying the Bro- "thers Wife, did still oblige Christians.

Lib 4. cont. *Marcion.*

The Authorities of Popes.

"The first Pope, whose decision was sought in this Matter, was "*Gregory* the *Great*, to whom *Austin* the Apostle of *England* wrote "for his resolution of some things, in which he desired direction, "and one of these is, *Whether a man may Marry his Brothers Wife?* (who in "the Language of that time was called his *Kinswoman*) The Pope an- "swered Negatively, and proved it by the Law of *Moses*, and there- "fore Defined, *that if any of the* English *Nation, who had Marryed* "*within that degree, were converted to the Faith, he must be admonished* "*to abstain from his wife, and to look on such a Marriage as a most gric-* "*vous Sin.* From which it appears, that that good Pope did judge "it a thing, which by no means could be dispensed with, otherwise "he had not pressed it so much under such Circumstances; since in "the first Conversion of a Nation to the Christian Faith, the Insisting "too much upon it, might have kept back many from receiving the "Christian Religion, who were otherwise well inclined to it. [a] *Ca-* "*lixtus*, [b] *Zacarias*, and [c] *Innocent* the Third, have plainly asserted the "obligation of these Precepts in the Law of *Moses*, the last particu- "larly, who treats about it with great vehemency: So that the Apo- "stolick See has already judged the Matter.

a *ad omnes Galliæ Episcopos.*
b 30. *Quæst.* 3. *Cap. Pitanum.*
c *De Pres. cap. cum in juventutem.*

"Several Provincial Councils have also declared the obligation of "the Precepts, about the degrees of Marriage in *Leviticus*, by the "Council at *Neocesarea*; *If a woman had been Marryed to two Brothers,* "*she was to be cast out of the Communion of the Church till her death, and* "*the man that Marryed his Brothers wife, was to be Anathematized*, which "was also confirmed in a Council held by Pope *Gregory* the Second. "In the Council of *Agde*, where the Degrees that make a Marriage "incestuous are reckoned; this of Marrying the Brothers wife is one "of them: and there it was Decreed, *that all Marriages within these* "*Degrees were Null, and the Parties so Contracting, were to be cast out of* "*the Communion of the Church, and put among the Catechumens, till they* "*separated themselves from one another.* And in the second Council of "*Toledo*, the Authority of the Mosaical Prohibitions about the De-

and Councils.
Can. 2.
Chap. 5.
Can. 61.
Chap. 5.

"grees

" grees of Marriage is acknowledged. It was one of *Wickcliffs* errors, 1530.
" that the Prohibition of Marriage within ſuch degrees was without any
" foundation in the Law of God; for which, and other points, he was
" condemned firſt in a Convocation at *London*, then at *Oxford*, and laſt of
" all at the general Council of *Conſtance*, theſe Condemnations were con-
" firmed. So formally had the Church in many Provincial Councils, and
" in one that was General, decided this matter.

" Next to theſe, the Opinions of the Fathers were to be conſidered. [a] And the Greek.
" In the Greek Church [a] *Origen* firſt had occaſion to treat about it, wri- In 20. *Levit.*
" ting on *Leviticus*; and [b] *Chryſoſtom* after him; but moſt fully St. [c] *Baſil* [b] *Homil* 71.
" the Great, who do expreſly aſſert the Obligations of theſe Precepts. on 22. *Mat.*
" The laſt particularly refuting at great length the Opinion of ſome, [c] *Epiſt. ad Diodor.*
" who thought the marrying two Siſters was not unlawful, laies it down
" as a Foundation, That the Laws in *Leviticus* about Marriage were ſtill
" in force. *Heſychius* alſo, writing upon *Leviticus*, proves that theſe On *Levit.* 18.
" Prohibitions were univerſally obligatory, becauſe both the *Egyptians* and 20.
" and *Canaanites* are taxed for marrying within theſe Degrees; from
" whence he infers, they are of Moral and Eternal Obligation.

" From the Greek they went to the Latin Fathers, and alledged, as And the Latin Fathers.
" was already obſerved, that *Tertullian* held the ſame Opinion, and with [a] Lib. 8. Ep. 66.
" him agreed the three great Doctors of the Latine Church, [a] *Ambroſe*, [b] *Cont. Helvidium.*
" *Jerome*, and St. [c] *Auſtin*, who do plainly deliver the Tradition of the [c] *Cont. Fauſt.*
" Church about the Obligation of thoſe Laws, and anſwer the Objections chap. 8, 9, 10.
" that were made, either from *Abraham's* marrying his Siſter, or from *& Quæſt.* 64.
" *Jacob's* marrying two Siſters, or the Law in *Deuteronomy*, for the Bro- in *Lev. Ad Bo-*
" thers marrying the Brothers Wife, if he died without Children. *niface.* Lib. 3.
chap. 4. Lib.

" They obſerved that the ſame Doctrine was alſo taught by the Fa- 15. *de Civ.*
" thers and Doctors in the latter Ages. [d] *Anſelm* held it, and pleads *Dei.* chap. 16.
" much for marrying in remote Degrees, and anſwers the Objection And of the
" from the Deciſion in the Caſe of the Daughters of *Zelophehad.* [e] *Hugo* Modern Writers.
" *Cardinalis*, *Radulphus Flaviacenſis*, and *Rupertus Tuitienſis*, do agree, In *Epiſt. ad Pium Fratrem.*
" that theſe Precepts are Moral, and of perpetual obligation, as alſo *Hugo* [d] On 18. *Lev.*
" *de Sto. Victore.* [f] *Hildebert* Biſhop of *Mans*, being conſulted in a Caſe [e] Lib. 2. *de*
" of the ſame nature with what is now controverted, plainly deter- *Sacram* p. 2.
" mines, *That a man may not marry his Brothers Wife*; and by many Au- chap. 4 Art. 2.
" thorities ſhews, That by no means it can be allowed. And [g] *Ivo Car-* [f] *Epiſt ad.*
" *notenſis* being deſired to give his Opinion in a Caſe of the ſame circum- *Archiep. Rotomag.*
" ſtances, of a Kings marrying his Brothers Wife, ſays, *Such a Marriage* *& Epiſ. Sag.*
" *is null, as inconſiſtent with the Law of God, and that the King was not to be* [g] *Epiſt.* 240.
" *admitted to the Communion of the Church, till he put away his Wife, ſince*
" *there was no Diſpencing with the Law of God, and no Sacrifice could be offered*
" *for thoſe that continued willingly in ſin.* Paſſages alſo to the ſame purpoſe,
" are in other places of his Epiſtles.

" From theſe Doctors and Fathers the Inquiry deſcended to the School- The Schoolmen.
" men, who had with more niceneſs and ſubtlety examined things. They
" do all agree in aſſerting the Obligation of theſe Levitical Prohibitions.
" *Thomas Aquinas* does it in many places, and confirms it with many
" Arguments. *Altiſiodorenſis* ſays, they are Moral Laws, and part of [2da. 2dæ. *Quæſt.* 154. *art.* 9. In *Tertiam Quæſt.* 54. *art.* 3. In 4tum. *diſt.* 40. Q. 3. and 4.
" the Law of Nature. *Petras de Palude*, is of the ſame mind, and ſays,
" that a mans marrying his Brothers Wife, was a Diſpenſation granted
" by God, but could not be now allowed, becauſe it was contrary to the

1530. "Law of Nature. St. *Antonine* of *Florence*, *Joannes de Turre Cremata*, "*Joannes de Tabia*, *Jacobus de Lausania*, and *Astexanus*, were also cited "for the same Opinion. And those who wrote against *Wickliffe*, name-
[a] Cont. Wikl. c. 8. "ly [a] *Wydeford*, [b] *Cotton*, and [c] *Waldensis*, charged him with Heresie, for
[b] De licitis & illicitis Conjugiis. "denying that those Prohibitions did oblige Christians. And asserted
[c] Lib. de Sacram. Tom. 2. c. 134. "that they were Moral Laws, which obliged all mankind. And the "Books of *Waldensis* were approved by P. *Martin* the first. There were "also many Quotations brought out of *Petrus de Tarentasia*, *Durandus*, "*Stephanus Brulifer*, *Richardus de Media Villa*, *Guido Briancon*, *Gerson*, "*Paulus Ritius*, and many others, to confirm the same Opinion, who did "all unanimously assert, That those Laws in *Leviticus* are parts of the "Law of Nature, which oblige all mankind, and that Marriages con-
And Canonists. "tracted in these Degrees are null and void. All the Canonists were al-"so of the same mind, *Joannes Andreas*, *Joannes de Imola*, *Abbas Pa-"normitanus*, *Matthæus Nern*, *Vincentius*, *Innocentius*, and *Ostiensis*, all "concluded that these Laws were still in force, and could not be dis-"pensed with.

Marriage compleated by consent. "There was also a great deal alledged, to prove that a Marriage is "compleated by the Marriage-Contract, though it be never Consum-"mated. Many Authorities were brought to prove that *Adonijah* could "not marry *Abishag*, because she was his Fathers Wife, though never "know by him. And by the Law of *Moses*, a Woman espoused to a Man, "if she admitted another to her Bed, was to be stoned as an *Adultress*; "from whence it appears, that the validity of Marriage is from the mu-"tual Covenant. And though *Joseph* never knew the Blessed Virgin, "yet he was so much her Husband by the Espousals, that he could not "put her away, but by a Bill of Divorce: and was afterwards called her "Husband and Christs Father. Affinity had been also defined by all "Writers, *a Relation arising out of Marriage*, and since Marriage was a "*Sacrament of the Church*, its Essence could only consist in the Contract; "and therefore as a man in Orders has the Character, though he never "consecrated any Sacrament: So Marriage is compleat, though its ef-"fect never follow. And it was shewed that the Canonists had only "brought in the Consummation of Marriage as essential to it by Eccle-"siastical Law. But that as *Adam* and *Eve* were perfectly married before "they knew one another, so Marriage was compleat upon the Contract; "and what followed, was only an effect done in the right of the Marriage. "And there was a great deal of filthy stuff brought together, of the "different Opinions of the Canonists concerning Consummation, to what "Degree it must go, to shew that it could not be essential to the Mar-"riage Contract, which in modesty were suppressed. Both *Hildebert* "of *Mans*, *Ivo Carnotensis*, and *Hugo de Sto. Victore*, had delivered this "Opinion, and proved it out of St. *Chrysostom*, *Ambrose*, *Austin*, and "*Isidore*. Pope *Nicholas*, and the Council of *Tribur*, defined, that Mar-"riage was compleated by the Consent, and the Benediction. From all "which they concluded, that although it could not be proved that
Violent presumptions of the Consummation of Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage. "Prince *Arthur* knew the Queen, yet that she being once lawfully mar-"ried to him, the King could not afterwards marry her.

"It was also said, that *violent Presumptions* were sufficient in the Opi-"nion of the Canonists to prove Consummation. Formal proofs could "not be expected; and for Persons that were of Age, and in good health,

"to

" to be in Bed together, was in all Trials about Conſummation, all that " the Canoniſts ſought for. And yet this was not all in this Caſe, for " it appeared, that upon her Husbands death, ſhe was kept with great " care by ſome Ladies, who did think her with Child; and ſhe never " ſaid any thing againſt it. And in the Petition offered to the Pope in " her name (repeated in the Bull that was procured for the ſecond Mar- " riage) it is ſaid, ſhe was *perhaps known by Prince* Arthur, and in the " Breve, it is plainly ſaid, ſhe was known by Prince *Arthur*, and though " the Queen offered to purge her ſelf by Oath, that Prince *Arthur* ne- " ver knew her, it was proved by many Authorities out of the Canon- " Law, That a Partie's Oath ought not to be taken, when there were " *violent preſumptions* to the contrary.

" As for the validity of the Popes Diſpenſation, it was ſaid, That " though the School-men and Canoniſts did generally raiſe the Popes " Power very high, and ſtretch it as far as it was poſſible; yet they all " agree that it could not reach the Kings Caſe: Upon this received " Maxim, *That only the Laws of the Church are ſubject to the Pope, and may* " *be diſpenced with by him; but that the Laws of God are above him, and that* " *he cannot diſpence with them in any caſe.* This *Aquinas* delivers in ma- " ny places of his Works, *Petrus de Palude*, ſays, The Pope cannot diſ- " pence with Marriage in theſe Degrees, becauſe it is againſt nature. But " *Joannes de Turre Cremata*, reports a ſingular Caſe, which fell out when " he was a Cardinal. A King of *France* deſired a Diſpenſation to Marry " his Wives Siſter. The matter was long conſidered of and debated in " the *Rota*, himſelf being there, and bearing a ſhare in the Debate; but " it was concluded, *That if any Pope, either out of Ignorance, or being Cor-* " *rupted, had ever granted ſuch a Diſpenſation, that could be no precedent or* " *warrant for doing the like any more, ſince the Church ought to be governed* " *by Laws, and not by ſuch Examples. Antonin*, and *Johannes de Tabia*, held " the ſame. And one *Bacon* an *Engliſh-man*, who had taught the contra- " ry, was cenſured for it even at *Rome*, and he did detract his Opinion, " and acknowledged, that the Pope could not diſpence with the Degrees " of Marriage forbidden by the Law of God.

The Popes Diſpenſation of no force.

In Quod lib. Lib. 4. Art. 13. & in 4 tam. diſt. 15. Q. 3. Art. 2. Sup. Cap. Cum juxtà 35. Q. 2. & 3.

" The Canoniſts agree alſo to this, both *Joannes Andreas*, *Joannes de* " *Imola*, and *Abbas Panormitanus*, aſſert it, ſaying, That the Precepts in " *Leviticus* oblige for ever, and therefore cannot be diſpenced with. And " *Panormitan* ſays, *Theſe things are to be obſerved in Practice, becauſe great* " *Princes do often deſire Diſpenſations from Popes.* Pope *Alexander the* 3d. " would not ſuffer a Citizen of *Pavia* to marry his younger Son, to the " Widow of his eldeſt Son, though he had ſworn to do it. For the Pope " ſaid, it was againſt the Law of God, therefore it might not be done, and " he was to repent of his unlawful Oath.

Sup. Cap. Literas de Reſt. Spoſ. Cap. ad Audien. Sponſal.

" And for the Power of diſpencing even with the Laws of the Church, " by Popes; it was brought in, in the latter Ages. All the Fathers with " one conſent believed, That the Laws of God could not be diſpenced " with by the Church, for which many places were cited out of St. *Cy-* " *prian*, *Baſil*, *Ambroſe*, *Iſidore*, *Bernard*, and *Urban*, *Fabian*, *Marcellus*, and " *Innocent*, that were Popes; beſides an infinite number of latter Wri- " ters. And alſo the Popes *Zoſimus*, *Damaſcus*, *Leo*, and *Hilarius* did free- " ly acknowledge they could not change the Decrees of the Church, nor " go againſt the Opinions or Practices of the Fathers. And ſince the A-

1530. "postles confessed, *they could do nothing against the truth, but for the truth*; "the Pope being Christs Vicar, cannot be supposed to have so great a "Power, as to abrogate the Law of God: though it is acknowledged, "that he is Vested with a *fulness of Power*, yet the Phrase must be restrain- "ed to the matter of it, which is the Pastoral care of Souls. And though "there was no Court Superior to the Popes, yet as St. *Paul* had with- "stood St. *Peter* to his face; so in all Ages upon several occasions, holy "Bishops have refused to comply with, or submit to Orders sent from "*Rome*, when they thought the matter of them unlawful.

Several Bishops refuse to submit to the Popes Decrees. *Gul. Malmesbur. Lib.* 1.

"*Laurence* that succeeded *Austin* the Monk in the See of *Canterbury*, "having excommunicated King *Edbald* for an incestuous Marriage, "would not absolve him, till he put away his Wife; though the Pope "plied him earnestly, both by Intreaties and Threatnings, to let it alone, "and Absolve him. *Dunstan* did the like to Count *Edwin* for another "Incestuous Marriage; nor did all the Popes Interposition make him "give over. They found many other such instances which occurred in "the Ecclesiastical History of Bishops proceeding by Censures and other "Methods, to stop the course of Sin, notwithstanding any encourage- "ment the Parties had from Popes.

"And it is certain that every man when he finds himself engaged in "any course, which is clearly sinful, ought presently to forsake it, ac- "cording to the Opinion of all Divines. And therefore the King upon "these Evidences of the unlawfulness of his Marriage ought to abstain "from the Queen; and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with the other "Bishops, ought to require him to do it, otherwise they must proceed "Church Censures. Many things were also brought from reason (or "at least the Maxims of the School Philosophy, which passed for true "reasons in those days) to prove Marriage in the degrees forbidden by "*Moses* to be contrary to the Law of Nature; and much was alledged "out of Profane Authors, to show what an abhorrency some Heathen "Nations had of Incestuous Marriages.

The Authority of Tradition.

"And whereas the chief strength of the Arguments for the contrary "Opinion, rested in this, That these Laws of *Moses* were not confirmed "by *Christ* or his Apostles in the New Testament. To that they answer- "ed, That if the Laws about Marriage were Moral, as had been proved, "then there was no need of a particular Confirmation, since those "Words of our Saviour: *I came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it*; do "confirm the whole Moral Law. Christ had also expressly asserted the "Relation of Affinity, saying, *That Man and Wife are one Flesh.* St. *Paul* "also condemned a Match as Incestuous for affinity. But though it "were not expressly set down in the Gospel, yet the Traditions of the "Church, are received with equal Authority to written Verities. This "the Court of *Rome*, and all the Learned Writers for the Catholick Faith, "lay down as a Fundamental Truth. And without it, how could the "Seven Sacraments (some of which are not mentioned in the New Te- "stament) with many other Articles of Catholick Belief be maintained "against the Hereticks? The Tradition of the Church being so full "and formal in this particular, must take place: And if any Corruptions "have been brought in by some Popes within an Age or two, which "have never had any other Authority from the Decrees of the Church, "or the Opinions of Learned men, they are not to be maintained in oppo- "sition to the Evidence that is brought on the other side. This

This I have ſummed up in as ſhort and Comprehenſive words as I could, Being the Subſtance of what I gathered out of the Printed Books and Manuſcripts for the Kings Cauſe. But the Fidelity of an Hiſtorian leads me next to open the Arguments that were brought againſt it, by thoſe who wrote on the other ſide for the Queens Cauſe, to prove the validity of the Marrriage, and the Popes Power of diſpenſing with a Marriage in that degree of Affinity. 1530.

I could never by all the ſearch I have made, ſee either MSS. or Printed Books that defended their Cauſe, except *Cajetans* and *Victorias* Books that are printed in their Works. But from an Anſwer that was written to the Biſhop of *Rocheſters* Book, and from ſome other Writings on the other ſide, I gather the Subſtance of their Arguments to have been what follows.

The Arguments for the Marriage.

" Cardinal *Cajetan*, had by many Arguments endeavoured to prove, " that the Prohibitions in *Leviticus*, were not parts of the Moral Law. " They were not obſerved before the Law, no not by the holy ſeed. " *Adams* Children married one another, *Abraham* married his Siſter, " *Jacob* married two Siſters, *Judah* gave his two Sons to *Tamar*, and " promiſed to give her the third for her Husband. By the Law of " *Moſes*, a Diſpenſation was granted in one caſe, for marrying the " Brothers Wife, which ſhows the Law was not Moral, otherwiſe it " could not not be diſpenced with; and if *Moſes* diſpenced with it, why " might not the Pope as well do it, nor was there are force in the " places cited from the New Teſtament. As for that of *Herod*, both " *Joſephus* and *Euſebius* witneſs, that his Brother *Philip* was alive when " he took his Wife, and ſo his Sin was Adultery and not Inceſt. We " muſt alſo think that the Inceſtuous Perſon in *Corinth*, took his Fathers " Wife when he was yet living, otherwiſe if he had been dead, St. " *Paul* could not ſay it was a *Fornication not named among the Gentiles*: " for we not only find both among the *Perſians* and other Nations, the " Marriage of Step-Mothers allowed, but even among the *Jews*, *Adonijah* " deſired *Abiſhag* in Marriage, who had been his Fathers Concubine.

From all which they concluded, " That the Laws about the Degrees " of Marriage, were only Judiciary Precepts, and ſo there was no o- " ther obligation on Chriſtians to obey them, than what flowed from " the Laws of the Church, with which the Pope might diſpenſe. " They alſo ſaid, that the Law in *Leviticus* of not taking the Brothers " Wife, muſt be underſtood of not taking her while he was alive; for " after he was dead, by another Law, a man might marry his Brothers " Wife.

" They alſo pleaded, that the Popes Power of Diſpenſing, did reach " further than the Laws of the Church, even to the Law of God; for " he daily diſpenced with the breaking of Oaths and Vows, though " that was expreſly contrary to the ſecond Commandment: and though " the fifth Commandment, *Thou ſhalt do no Murther*, be againſt killing, " yet the Popes diſpenced with the putting Thieves to death, and in ſome " caſes, where the reaſon of the Commandment does not at all times " hold, he is the only Judge according to *Summa Angelica*. They Con- " cluded the Popes Power of Diſpenſing was as neceſſary as his Power " of Expounding the Scriptures, and ſince there was a Queſtion made " concerning the Obligation of theſe Levitical Prohibitions, whether

" they

1530. "they were Moral, and did oblige Christians or not? the Pope must "be the only Judge: There were also some late Precedents found, one "of P. *Martin*, who in the case of a Mans having married his own Sister, "who had lived long with her, upon a Consultation with Divines and "Lawyers, confirm'd it, to prevent the Scandal, which the dissolv- "ing of it would have given. Upon which St. *Antonin* of *Florence* says, "that since the thing was dispensed with, it was to be referred to the "Judgment of God, and not to be condemned.

"The Pope had granted this Dispensation, upon a very weighty "Consideration, to keep peace between two great Crowns: it had "now stood above twenty years: it would therefore raise an high Scan- "dal, to bring it under debate; besides that it would do much hurt, and "bring the Titles to most Crowns into Controversie.

The Answers made to these. "But they concluded, that whatever Informalities or Nullities were "pretended to be in the Bulls or Breves, the Pope was the only com- "petent Judge of it, and that it was too high a Presumption for inferior "Prelates to take upon them to examine or discuss it.

But to these Arguments it was answered by the Writers for the Kings Cause, "that it was strange to see men, who pretended to be "such Enemies to all Heretical Novelties, yet be guilty of that, which "Catholick Doctors hold to be the foundation of all Heresie; which "was the setting up of private senses of Scripture, and Reasonings "from them, against the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church. It "was fully made out, that the Fathers and Doctors of the Church did "universally agree in this, that the Levitical Prohibitions of the De- "grees of Marriage are Moral, and do oblige all Christians. Against "this Authority, *Cajetan* was the first that presumed to write, oppo- "sing his private conceits to the Tradition of the Church: which is "the same thing, for which *Luther* and his followers are so severely "condemned. May it not then be justly said of such men that they "plead much for Tradition, when it makes for them, but reject it "when it is against them? Therefore all these exceptions are over- "thrown with this one Maxim of Catholick Doctrine, *That they are* "*Novelties against the constant Tradition of the Christian Church, in all* "*Ages.* But if the force of them be also examined, they will be found "as weak as they are new. That before the Law, these degrees "were not observed, proves only, that they are not evidently contra- "ry to the common sense of all men; But as there are some Moral "Precepts, which have that natural evidence in them, that all men "must discern it, so there are others that are drawn from publick "inconvenience and dishonesty, which are also parts of the Law of "Nature: These Prohibitions are not of the first, but of the second "sort, since the Immorality of them appears in this, that the Fami- "liarities and Freedoms amongst near Relations are such, that if an hor- "ror were not struck in men at conjunctures in these degrees, Fami- "lies would be much defiled. This is the Foundation of the Prohibi- "tions of Marriages in these degrees: Therefore it is not strange if "men did not apprehend it, before God made a Law concerning it. "Therefore all examples before the Law, show only the thing is not so "evident, as to be easily collected by the light of Nature. And for "the Story of *Judah* and *Tamar*, there is so much wickedness in all the

"parts

" parts of it, that it will be very hard to make a Precedent out of any 1531.
" part of it. As for the Proviſion about marrying the Brothers Wife,
" that only proves, the ground of the Law is not of its own Nature
" Immutable, but may be diſpenſed with by God in ſome caſes. And
" all theſe Moral Laws, that are founded on publick conveniency and
" honeſty, are diſpenſable by God in ſome caſes; but becauſe *Moſes*
" did it by Divine Revelation, it does not follow, that the Pope can do
" it by his ordinary Authority.

" For that about *Herod*, it is not clear from *Joſephus*, that *Philip*
" was alive when *Herod* married his Wife. For all that *Joſephus*
" ſays, is, that ſhe ſeparated from her Husband when he was yet alive,
" and divorced her ſelf from him. But he does not ſay, that he lived
" ſtill after ſhe married his Brother. And by the Law of Divorce
" Marriage was at an end, and broken by it as much, as if the Party
" had been dead, ſo that in that caſe ſhe might have married any
" other: Therefore *Herods* ſin in taking her, was from the Relation of
" having been his Brothers Wife. And for the Inceſtuous Perſon in *Co-*
" *rinth*, it is as certain, that though ſome few inſtances of a King of
" *Syria* and ſome others, may be brought of Sons marrying their Step-
" Mothers, yet theſe things were generally ill looked on, even where
" they were practiſed by ſome Princes, who made their pleaſure their
" Law. Nor could the Laws of *Leviticus* be underſtood, of not mar-
" rying the Brothers Wife when he was alive; for it was not lawful
" to take any mans Wife from him living. Therefore that cannot be
" the meaning. And all thoſe Prohibitions of Marriage in other de-
" grees, excluding thoſe Marriages ſimply, whether during the life, or
" after the death of the Father, Son, Uncle, and other ſuch Relations,
" there is no ground to disjoynt this ſo much from the reſt, as to make
" it only extend to a Marriage before the Husbands death. And for any
" Precedents that were brought, they were all in the latter Ages, and
" were never confirmed by any publick Authority. Nor muſt the
" Practices of latter Popes be laid in the Ballance againſt the Deciſions
" of former Popes, and the Doctrine of the whole Church; and as to the
" Power that was aſcribed to the Pope, that began now to be enquired
" into with great freedom, as ſhall appear afterwards.

The Queen ſtill intractable.

Theſe Reaſons on both ſides being thus opened, the Cenſures of them, it is like, will be as different now, as they were then: for they prevailed very little on the Queen, who ſtill perſiſted to juſtifie her Marriage, and to ſtand to her Appeal. And though the King carried it very kindly to her in all outward appearance, and employed every body that had credit with her, to bring her to ſubmit to him, and to paſs from her Appeal, remitting the Deciſion of the matter to any four Prelates, and four Secular men in *England*, ſhe was ſtill unmovable and would hearken to no propoſition. In the Judgments that people paſſed, the Sexes were divided; the Men generally approved the Kings Cauſe, and the Women favoured the Queen. But now the Seſſion of Parliament came on the ſixteenth of *January*, and there the King firſt brought into the Houſe of Lords, the Determination of the Univerſities, and the Books that were written for his Cauſe by Foreigners. After they were read and conſidered there, the Lord Chancellor did on the 20th. of *March*, with twelve Lords both of the Spiritualty and Temporalty

Hall.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

Mort.

1531. Temporalty go down to the House of Commons, and shewed them what the Universities and Learned men beyond Sea, had written for the Divorce, and produced twelve Original Papers, with the Seals of the Universities to them, which Sir *Brian Tuke* took out of his hand, and read openly in the House, Translating the Latin into English. Then about an hundred Books written by Foreign Divines, for the Divorce, were also shewed them; none of which were read, but put off to another time, it being late. When that was done, the Lord Chancellor desired they would report in their Countries, *what they had heard and seen, and then all men should clearly perceive, that the King hath not attempted this matter of Will and Pleasure, as strangers, say, but only for the Discharge of his Conscience, and the Security of the Succession to the Crown.* Having said that, he left the House. The matter was also brought before the Convocation; and they having weighed all that was said on both sides, seemed satisfied that the Marriage was unlawful, and that the Bull was of no force; more not being required at that time.

Convocation.

The whole Clergy used in a *Premunire.*

But it is not strange, that this matter went so easily in the Convocation, when another of far greater consequence passed there, which will require a full and distinct account. Cardinal *Wolsey* by exercising his Legantine Authority had fallen into a *Premunire*, as hath been already shown, and now those who had appeared in his Courts, and had Sutes there, were found to be likewise in the same Guilt by the Law; and this matter, being excepted out of the Pardon that was granted in the former Parliament, was at this time set on foot: Therefore an Indictment was brought into the Kings Bench, against all the Clergy of *England*, for breaking the Statutes against Provisions or Provisors. But to open this more clearly,

The Prerogatives of the Kings of *England*, in Ecclesiastical affairs.

It is to be considered, that the Kings of *England* having claimed in all Ages, a Power in Ecclesiastical Matters, equal to what the *Roman* Emperors had in that Empire, they exercised this Authority both over the Clergy and Laity: and did at first erect Bishopricks, grant Investures in them, call Synods, make Laws, about Sacred as well as Civil Concerns: and in a word, they governed their whole Kingdom. Yet when the Bishops of *Rome* did stretch their Power beyond either the limits of it in the Primitive Church, or what was afterward granted them by the Roman Emperors; and came to assume an Authority in all the Churches of *Europe*; as they found some Resistance every where, so they met with a gareat deal in this Kingdom; and it was with much difficulty that they gained the Power of giving Investures, receiving Appeals to *Rome*, and of sending Legates to *England*, with several other things, which were long contested, but were delivered up at length, either by feeble Princes, or when Kings were so engaged at home or abroad, that it was not safe for them to offend the Clergy. For in the first Contest between the Kings and the Popes, the Clergy were generally on the Popes side, because of the Immunity and Protection they enjoyed from that See, but when Popes became ambitious and warlike Princes, then new Projects and Taxes were every where set on foot, to raise a great Treasure. The Pall, with many Bulls and high Compositions for them, Annates or first Fruits, and Tenths were the standing Taxes of the Clergy, besides many

The Encroachment of the Papacy.

many new ones upon emergent occaſions. So that they finding themſelves thus oppreſſed by the Popes, fled again back to the Crown for Protection, which their Predeceſſors had abandoned. 1531.

From the days of *Edward* the firſt, many Statutes were made to reſtrain the Exactions of *Rome*. For then the Popes not ſatisfied with their other oppreſſions, (which a Monk of that time lays open fully, and from a deep ſenſe of them) did by Proviſions, Bulls, and other Arts of that See, diſpoſe of Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and leſſer Benefices to Foreigners, Cardinals, and others that did not live in *England*. Upon which the Commonalty of the Realm, did repreſent to the King in Parliament, *That the Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and other Benefices were founded by the Kings and People of* England, *To inform the People of the Law of God, and to make Hoſpitality, Alms, and other works of Charity, for which end they were endowed by the King and People of* England; *and that the King, and his other Subjects who endowed them, had upon Voidances the Preſentment and Collations of them, which now the Pope had Uſurped and given to Aliens, by which the Crown would be diſinherited, and the ends of their Endowments deſtroyed, with other great Inconveniences:* Therefore it was ordained, *That theſe Oppreſſions ſhould not be ſuffered in any manner.* But notwithſtanding this, the abuſe went on, and there was no effectual way laid down in the Act, to puniſh theſe Tranſgreſſions. The Court of *Rome* was not ſo eaſily driven out of any thing, that either increaſed their Power or their Profits; Therefore by another Act in his Grand-Child *Edward* the 3d's time, the Commons complained *that theſe abuſes did abound, and that the Pope did daily reſerve to his Collation Church-Preferments in* England, *and raiſed the Firſt-Fruits with other great Profits, by which the Treaſure of the Realm was carried out of it, and many Clerks advanced in the Realm, were put out of their Benefices, by thoſe Proviſors; therefore the King being bound by Oath to ſee the Laws kept, did with the aſſent of all the great Men and the Commonalty of the Realm, ordain, That the free Elections, Preſentments, and Collations of Benefices, ſhould ſtand in the Right of the Crown, or of any of his Subjects as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithſtanding any Proviſions from* Rome. *And if any did diſturb the Incumbents by vertue of ſuch Proviſions, thoſe Proviſors or others employed by them, were to be put in Priſon, till they made Fine and Ranſom to the King at his Will; or if they could not be apprehended, Writs were to be iſſued out to ſeize them, and all Benefices poſſeſſed by them, were to fall into the Kings hands, except they were Abbeys or Priories, that fell to the Canons or Colledges.* By another Act *the Proviſors were put out of the Kings Protection, and if any man offended againſt them, in Perſon or Goods, he was excuſed, and was never to be impeached for it.* And two years after that upon another Complaint, of their Suing the Kings Subjects in other Courts, or beyond Sea, it was ordained, *That any who Sued either beyond Sea, or in any other Court, for things that had been Sued, and about which judgment had been given in former times, in the Kings Courts, were to be Cited to anſwer for it in the Kings Courts within two Months; and if they came not, they were to be put out of the Kings Protection, and to forfeit their Lands, Goods, and Chattels to the King, and to be impriſoned and ranſomed at the Kings Will.* Both theſe Statutes received a new Confirmation Eleven years after that. But thoſe Statutes proved ineffectual, and in the

Mat. Paris. The Laws made againſt them.

25 *Edw.* 1. repeated in the Stat. of Proviſors.

25 *Edw.* 3.

25 *Edw.* 3. Statute of Proviſors.

27 *Edw.* 3. *cap.* 1.

38 *Edw.* 3. *cap.* 1.

1531. beginning of the Reign of *Richard* the 2*d*, the former Acts were confirmed by another Statute, and appointed to be Executed; and not only the Provisors themselves, but all such as took Procuratories, Letters of Attorney, or Farms from them, were involved in the same Guilt. And in the *7th* year of that King, Provisions were made against Aliens, having Benefices without the Kings Licence, and the King promised to abstain from granting them Licences: for this was another Artifice of the *Roman* Court, to get the King of their side, by accepting his Licence, which by this Act was restrained. This failing, they betook themselves to another Course, which was to prevail with the Incumbents that were presented in *England* according to Law, to take Provisions for their Benefices from *Rome*, to Confirm their Titles. This was also forbidden under the former pains. As for the Rights of Presentations, by the Law they were tryed and judged in the Kings Courts, and the Bishops were to give Institution according to the Title declared in these Judgments: This the Popes had a mind to draw to themselves, and to have all Titles to Avousons tryed in their Courts; and Bishops were Excommunicated, who proceeded in this matter according to the Law. Of which great complaint was made in the 16*th* year of the Reign of *Richard* the 2*d*. And it was added to that, that the Pope intended to make many Translations of Bishops, some to be within, and some out of the Realm, which among other inconveniences reckoned in the Statute, would produce this effect, *That the Crown of* England, *which had been so free at all times, should be subjected to the Bishop of* Rome, *and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm by him defeated and destroyed at his Will. They also found those things to be against the Kings Crown, and Regality, used and approved in the time of his Progenitors: Therefore all the Commons resolved to live and dye with him and his Crown, and they required him by way of Justice, to examine all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, what they thought of those things, and whether they would be with the Crown to uphold the Regality of it? To which all the Temporal Lords answered, they would be with the Crown. But the Spiritual Lords being asked, said, they would neither deny nor affirm that the Bishop of* Rome *might, or might not, Excommunicate Bishops, or make Translations of Prelates: But upon that Protestation*, they said, *that if such things were done, they thought it was against the Crown, and said they would be with the King, as they were bound by their Leageance*; whereupon it was ordained *that if any did purchase Translations, Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, or other Instruments from the Court of* Rome, *against the King or his Crown, or whosoever brought them to* England, *or did receive, or execute them, they were out of the King Protection, and that they should forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the Kings, and their Persons should be imprisoned.* And becaufe the Proceedings were to be upon a Writ, called from the most material words of it, *Præmunire facies*, this was called the *Statute* of *Præmunire.*

3 *Richard* 2d. *cap.* 3.

12 *Richard* 2d. *cap.* 15.

16 *Richard* 2d *cap.* 5.

When *Henry* the 4*th* had Treasonably Usurped the Crown, all the Bishops (*Carliste* only excepted) did assist him in it, and he did very gratefully oblige them again in other things; yet he kept up the force of the former Statutes. For the *Cistercian* Order having procured Bulls, discharging them of paying Tithes, and forbidding them to let their Farms to any, but to possess them themselves,

this

This was complained of in Parliament in the second year of his Reign, 1531.
and those Bulls were declared to be of no force, and if any did put them in Execution, or procured other such Bulls, they were to be proceeded against, upon the Statutes made in the 13th *year of the former Kings Reign, against Provisors.* 2 Hen. 4. cap. 4. But all this while though they made Laws for the future, yet they had not the Courage to put them in execution. And this Feebleness in the Government, made them so much despised, and so oft broken; whereas the severe execution of one Law in one instance would more effectually have prevented the Mischief, than all these Laws did without execution. In the *6th* year of his Reign, Complaints being made 6 Hen. 4. cap. 1. of the excessive Rates of Compositions for Arch-bishopricks and Bishopricks in the Popes Chamber, *which were raised to the treble of what had been formerly payed*; it was Enacted, *That they should pay no more, than had been formerly wont to be payed.* In the *7th* year of his Reign, the 7 Hen. 4. cap. 6. 8. Statute made in the second year was confirmed, and by another Act, *The Licences which the King had granted for the Executing any of the Popes Bulls, are declared of no force, to prejudice any Incumbent in his Right.* Yet the abuses and Encroachments of the Court of *Rome* still encreasing, all former Statutes against *Provisors* were Confirmed again, and all Elections declared free, and not to be interrupted, either by 17 Hen. 4. cap 8. the Pope, or the King. But at the same time, the King pardoned all the former transgressions against these Statutes. By those Pardons the Court of *Rome* was more encouraged, then terrified by the Laws; therefore there was a necessity of making another Law in the Reign of *Henry 5th*, against *Provisors*, *That the Incumbents Lawfully Invested in their Livings, should not be molested by them, though they had the Kings Pardon; and both Bulls and Licences were declared void and of no value, and those who did upon such grounds molest them, should incur the pains of the Statutes against Provisors.* 4 Hen. 5. cap. 4.

Our Kings took the best opportunity that ever could have been found to depress the Papal Power; for from the beginning of *Richard* the Seconds Reign, till the Fourth year of *Henry* the Fifth, the Popedom was broken by a long and great Schism; and the Kingdoms of *Europe* were divided in their Obedience: Some holding for those that sate at *Rome*, and others for the Popes of *Avignon*: *England* in opposition to *France*, that chiefly supported the *Avignon* Popes, did adhere to the *Roman* Popes. The Papacy being thus divided, the Popes were as much at the mercy of Kings for their Protection, as Kings had formerly been at theirs; so that they durst not thunder as they were wont to do, otherwise this Kingdom had certainly been put under Excommunications and Interdicts for these Statutes, as had been done formerly upon less Provocations.

But now that the Schism was healed, Pope *Martin* the Fifth, began to re-assume the Spirit of his Predecessors, and sent over threatning messages to *England*, in the beginning of *Henry* the Sixth's Reign. None of our Books have taken any notice of this piece of out History: The Manuscript out of which I draw it, has been written near that time, and contains many of the Letters, that passed between *Rome* and *England*, upon this occasion. *Ex MSS. D. Petyt.*

The first Letter is to *Henry Chichely*, then Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who had been promoted to that See by the Pope, but had made

1530. no opposition to the Statute against Provisions in the Fourth year of *Henry* the Fifth; and afterwards in the Eighth year of his Reign, when the Pope had granted a Provision of the Arch-bishoprick of *York*, to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, the Chapter of *York* rejected it, and pursuant to the former Statute, made a Canonical Election. *Henry* the Fifth being then the greatest King in Christendom, the Pope durst not offend him: So the Law took place without any further contradiction, till the Sixth year of his Sons Reign, that *England* was both under an Infant King, and had fallen from its former greatness: Therefore the Pope who waited for a good conjuncture, laid hold on this, and first expostulated severely with the Arch-bishop for his remisness, that he had not stood up more for the Right of St. *Peter* and the See of *Rome*, that had bestowed on him the Primacy of *England*; and then says many things against the Statute of *Præmunire*, and exhorts him to imitate the Example of his Predecessor St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* the Martyr, in asserting the Rights of the Church; requiring him, under the pain of Excommunication, to declare at the next Parliament to both House the unlawfulness of that Statute, and that all were under Excommunication who obeyed it. But to make sure work among the People, he also commands him, to give orders under the same pains, that all the Clergy of *England* should preach the same Doctrine to the People. This bears date the Fifth day of *December* 1426. and will be found in the Collection of Papers.

Reg. Chichel. Fol. 30.

But it seems the Pope was not satisfied with his Answer, for the next Letter in that MSS. is yet more severe, and in it, his Legantine Power is suspended. It has no date added to it, but the Paper that follows, bearing date the Sixth of *April* 1427. leads us pretty near the date of it. It contains an Appeal of the Arch-bishops, from the Popes Sentence, to the next general Council; or if none met, to the Tribunal of God and Jesus Christ.

Collection Number 37.

There is also another Letter, dated the sixth of *May*, directed to the Arch-bishop, and makes mention of Letters written to the whole Clergy to the same purpose, requiring him to use all his Endeavours, for repealing the Statute, and chides him severely because he had said, *That the Popes zeal in this matter was only, that he might raise much Money out of* England; which he resents as an high Injury, and protests that he designed only to maintain those Rights, that Christ himself had granted to his See, which the Holy Fathers, the Councils, and the Catholick Church has always acknowledged. If this does not look like Teaching *ex Cathedra* it is left to the Readers Judgment.

But the next Letter is of an higher strain. It is directed to the two Arch-bishops only, and it seems, in despite to *Chichely*, the Arch-bishop of *York* is named before *Canterbury*. By it the Pope annuls the Statutes made by *Edward* the Third and *Richard* the Second, and commands them to do no Act in pursuance of them: and declares, if they, or any other gave obedience to them, they were *ipso facto* Excommunicated, and not to be relaxed, unless at the point of death, by any but the Pope. He charges them also to intimate that his Monitory Letter to the whole Nation, and cause it to be affixed in the several places, where there might be occasion for it. This is dated the 8*th* of *December*, the tenth year of his Popedom. Then follow Letters from

from the Univerſity of *Oxford*, the Arch-biſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, and *Lincoln*, to the Pope; all to mitigate his diſpleaſure againſt the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, in which they gave him the higheſt teſtimony poſſible, bearing date the 10*th* and the 25*th* day of *July*. Theſe the Arch-biſhop ſent by an Expreſs to *Rome*, and wrote the humbleſt ſubmiſſion poſſible to the Pope; proteſting that he had done, and would do all that was in his power, for repealing theſe Statutes. One thing in this Letter is remarkable, he ſays, *He hears the Pope had proceeded to a Sentence againſt him, which had never been done from the days of St.* Auſtin *to that time: but he knew that only by report, for he had not opened, much leſs read the Bulls, in which it was contained; being commanded by the King, to bring them with the Seals entire, and lay them up in the Paper-Office, till the Parliament was brought together.* 1531.

There are two other Letters to the King, and one to the Parliament, for the Repeal of the Statute. In thoſe to the King, the Pope writes, that he had often preſſed both King and Parliament to it; and that the King had anſwered, that he could not repeal it without the Parliament. But he excepts to that, as a delaying the buſineſs, and ſhews it is of it ſelf unlawful, and that the King was under Excommunication, as long as he kept it; therefore he expects that at the furtheſt, in the next Parliament, it ſhould be repealed. It bears date the 13*th* of *October*, in the 10*th* year of his Popedom. In his Letter to the Parliament, he tells them, that no Man can be ſaved, who is for the obſervation of that Statute. Therefore he requires them, under pain of Damnation to repeal it, and offers to ſecure them from any abuſes, which might have crept in formerly with theſe Proviſions. This is dated the third of *October*, *Decimo Pontificat.* But I believe it is an error of the Tranſcriber, and that its true date was the 13*th* of *October*. And to the King and Parliament. Collection Number 38. Collection Number 38

The Parliament ſate in *January* 1427. being the ſixth year of King *Henry* the ſixth, during which on the 30*th* of *January*, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, accompanied by the Arch-biſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, St. *Davids*, *Ely*, and *Norwich*, and the Abbots of *Weſtminſter* and *Reading*, went from the Houſe of Lords, to the place where the Houſe of Commons ordinarily ſate, which was the Refectory of the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, where the Arch-biſhop made a long Speech, in the form of a Sermon, upon that Text; *render to Cæſar the things which are Cæſars, and to God the things that are Gods.* He began with a Proteſtation, that he and his Brethren intended not to ſay any thing, that might derogate from the King, the Crown, or the People of *England*. Then he alledged many things, for the Popes Power in granting Proviſions, to prove it was of Divine Right, and admoniſhed and required them to give the Pope ſatisfaction in it, otherwiſe he laid out to them with Tears, what miſchiefs might follow, if he proceeded to cenſures; which will appear more fully from the Inſtrument, that will be found in the Collection at the end. But it ſeems the Parliament would do nothing for all this, for no Act neither of Repeal nor Explanation was paſſed. But to no purpoſe. Collection Number 40.

Yet it appears the Pope was ſatisfied with the Arch-biſhops carriage in this matter; for he ſoon after reſtored him to the Exerciſe of his Legantine Power, as *Godwin* has it; only he by a miſtake ſays, he was made

1531. made Legate, *Anno* 1428. whereas it was only a Reſtitution after a Cenſure.

The Clergy excuſe themſelves.

Thus ſtood the Law of *England* in that matter, which was neither Repealed nor well Executed; for the Popes Uſurpations ſtill encreaſing, thoſe Statutes lay dead among the Records, and ſeveral Cardinals had procured and executed a Legantine Power, which was clearly contrary to them. And as Cardinal *Wolſey* was already brought under the laſh for it, ſo it was now made uſe of; partly to give the Court of *Rome* apprehenſions of what they were to expect from the King, if they went on to uſe him ill; and partly to proceed ſeverely againſt all thoſe of the Clergy, who adhered obſtinately to the Intereſts of that Court; and to make the reſt compound the matter, both by a full Submiſſion and a conſiderable Subſidy. It was in vain to pretend, it was a publick and allowed Error, and that the King had not only connived at the Cardinals Proceedings, but had made him all that while his chief Miniſter: That therefore they were excuſable in ſubmitting to an Authority to which the King gave ſo great encouragement, and that if they had done otherwiſe they had been unavoidably ruined. For to all this it was anſwered, that the Laws were ſtill in force, and that their Ignorance could not excuſe them, ſince they ought to have known the Law; yet ſince the violation of it was ſo publick, though the Court proceeded to a Sentence, That they were all out of the Kings protection, and were liable to the pains in the Statutes; the King was willing, upon a reaſonable Compoſition, and a full Submiſſion, to pardon them.

Yet they compound.

So in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, a Petition was brought in to be offered to the King. In the Kings Title, he was called, *the Protector and Supreme Head of the Church, and Clergy of* England. To this ſome oppoſition was made, and it was put off to another day; but by the Interpoſition of *Cromwell*, and others of the Kings Council, who came to the Convocation, and uſed Arguments to perſwade them to it, they were prevailed with to paſs it with that Title, at leaſt none ſpeaking againſt it: For when *Warham* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid, *That ſilence was to be taken for conſent*, They cried out, *they were then all ſilent*: Yet it was moved by ſome to add theſe words to the Title, *in ſo far as is lawful by the Law of Chriſt*. But *Parker* ſays, The King diſliked that Clauſe, ſince it left his Power ſtill diſputable; therefore it was caſt out, and the Petition paſſed ſimply, as it was firſt brought in. Yet in that he was certainly miſinformed; for when the Convocation of the Province of *York* demurred about the ſame Petition, and ſent their Reaſons to the King, why they could not acknowledge him *Supreme Head*, which (as appears by the Kings Anſwer to them) were chiefly founded on this, that the term *Head* was improper, and did not agree to any under Chriſt; the King wrote a long and ſharp Anſwer to them, and ſhowed them, that words were not always to be underſtood in their ſtrict ſenſe, but according to the common acceptation. And among other things he ſhowed what an Explanation was made in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, That it was *in ſo far as was agreeable to the Law of Chriſt*; by which it appears, that at that time the King was ſatisfied to have it paſs any way, and ſo it was agreed to by nine Biſhops (the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* being one) and 52 Abbots and Priors, and the Major part of the lower Houſe of Convocation in the Province of *Canterbury*. Of which number it is very probable

And acknowledge the King Supreme Head of the Church of *England*. Lord *Herbert*.

Antiquit. Britanniæ inedita Warham.

Printed in the *Cugula*.

Reginald

Reginald Pool was, for in his Book to the King, he says, he was then in *England*, and adds, that the King would not accept of the Sum the Clergy offered unless they acknowledged him *Supream Head*; he being then Dean of *Exeter*, was of the lower House of Convocation; and it is not likely the King would have continued the Pensions, and other Church-Preferments he had, if he had refused to sign that Petition and Submission. By it they prayed the King to accept of 100000 *l.* in lieu of all punishments which they had incurred, by going against the Statutes of *Provisors*, and did promise for the future, neither to make, nor execute any Constitu ion without the Kings Licence; upon which he granted them a general Pardon: And the Convocation of the Province of *York* offering 18840 *l.* with another Submission of the same nature afterwards, though they met with more opposition, they were also pardoned. 1531.

When the Kings Pardon for the Clergy was brought into the House of Commons they were much troubled to find themselves not included within it; for by the Statutes of *Provisors*, many of them were also liable, and they apprehended, that either they might be brought in trouble, or at least it might be made use of to draw a Subsidy from them: so they sent their Speaker with some of their Members, to represent to the King, the great grief of his Commons to find themselves out of his favour, which they concluded from the Pardon of the Pains of *Præmunire* to his Spiritual Subjects, in which they were not included; and therefore prayed the King that they might be comprehended within it. But the King answered them, That they must not restrain his Mercy, nor yet force it; it was free to him either to execute, or mitigate the severity of the Law: That he might well grant his Pardon by his Great Seal without their assent, but he would be well advised before he pardoned them, because he would not seem to be compelled to it. So they went away, and the House was in some trouble: many blamed *Cromwell*, who was growing in favour, for this rough answer; yet the Kings Pardon was passed. The Commons desire to be included in the Kings Pardon. *Hall.*

But his other concerns made him judge it very unfit to send away his Parliament discontented, and since he was so easie to them as to ask no Subsidy, he had no mind to offend them; and therefore when the thing was over, and they out of hopes of it, he on his own accord sent another Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, of their Transgressions of the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*; which they received with great joy, and acknowledged there was a just Temperature of Majesty and Clemency in the Kings Proceedings. Which the King afterwards grants.

During this Session of Parliament, an unheard-of Crime was committed by one *Richard Rouse* a Cook, who on the 16*th* of *February*, Poysoned a Vessel of Yest that was to be used in Porridge, in the Bishop of *Rochester*'s Kitchin, with which 17 Persons of his Family were mortally infected, and one of the Gentlemen died of it; and some poor People that were charitably fed with the remainder of it, were also infected, one Woman dying. The Person was apprehended, and by Act of Parliament, Poysoning was declared *Treason*, and *Rouse* was attainted, and Sentenced to be Boiled to death, which was to be the punishment of Poysoning for all times to come: That the Terror of this unheard of Punishment might strike a Horror in all Persons at such an unexampled Crime. And the Sentence was executed in *Smithfield* soon after. One Attainted for Poysoning. 22 *Hen.* 8. Act. 16. *Hall.*

Of this I take notice, the rather because of *Sander*'s Malice, who says, this

1531. this *Rouse* was set on by *Anne Boleyn*, to make away the Bishop of *Rochester*, of which there is nothing on Record, nor does any writer of that time so much as insinuate it. But Persons that are set on to commit such Crimes, are usually, either conveyed out of the way, or secretly dispatched, that they may not be brought to an open Trial. And it is not to be imagined, that a Man that was employed by them that might have preferred him, and found himself given up and adjudged to such a death, would not have published their Names who set him on to have lessened his own Guilt, by casting the load upon them that had both employed and deserted him. But this must pass among the many other vile Calumnies, of which *Sanders* has been the Inventer, or Publisher, and for which he had already answered to his Judge.

When the Session of Parliament was over, the King continued to ply the Queen with all the applications he could think of, to depart from her Appeal. He grew very Melancholy, and used no sort of Diversion, but was observed to be very pensive. Yet nothing could prevail with the Queen. She answered the Lords of the Council, when they pressed her much to it, *That she prayed God to send the King a quiet Conscience, but that she was his lawful Wife, and would abide by it, till the Court of* Rome *declared the contrary.* Upon which the King forbore to see her, or to receive any Tokens from her, and sent her word, to choose where she had a mind to live, in any of his Mannours. She answered, that to which place soever she were removed, *nothing could remove her from being his Wife.* Upon this answer the King left her at *Windsor*, the 14*th* of *July* and never saw her more. She removed first to *Moor*, then to *Easthamstead*, and at last to *Amphthill*, where she stayed longer.

Lord *Herbert.*

The King leaves the Queen.

A disorder among the Clergy of *London* about the Subsidy. *Hall.*

The Clergy went now about the raising of the 100000 *l.* which they were to pay in five years; and to make it easier to themselves, the Prelates had a great mind to draw in the Inferiour Clergy to bear a part of the burden. The Bishop of *London* called a meeting of some Priests about *London*, on the first of *September*, to the Chapter-House at St. *Pauls*: He designed to have had at first only a small number, among whom he hoped it would easily pass, and that being done by a few, others would more willingly follow. But the matter was not so secretly carried, but that all the Clergy about the City hearing of it, went thither. They were not a little encouraged by many of the Laity, who thought it no unpleasant diversion to see the Clergy fall out among themselves. So when they came to the Chapter-House on the day appointed, the Bishops Officers would only admit some few to enter, but the rest forced the Door and rushed in, and the Bishops Servants were beaten and ill used. But the Bishop seeing the Tumult was such, that it could not be easily quieted, told them all, *That as the State of Men in this life was frail, so the Clergy through frailty and want of Wisdom, had misdemeaned themselves towards the King, and had fallen in a Præmunire, for which the King of his great Clemency was pleased to pardon them, and to accept of a little, in stead of the whole of their Benefices, which by the Law had fallen into his hand: Therefore he desired they would patiently bear their share in this burden.* But they answered, They had never medled with any of the Cardinals Faculties, and so had not fallen in the *Præmunire*; and that their Livings were so small, that they could hardly subsist by them. Therefore since the Bishops and Abbots were only Guilty, and had good Preferments, they only ought to

to be punished, and pay the Tax; but that for themselves they needed not the Kings Pardon, and so would pay nothing for it. Upon which the Bishop's Officers threatned them, but they on the other hand (being encouraged by some Lay-men that came along with them) persisted in their denyal to pay any thing; so that from high words the matter came to blows, and several of the Bishop's Servants were ill handled by them. But he to prevent a further Tumult, apprehending it might end upon himself, gave them good words, and dismissed the meeting with his blessing, and promised that nothing should be brought in Question that was then done. Yet he was not so good as his word; for he complained of it to the Lord Chancellor, who was always a great Favourer of the Clergy; by whose order fifteen Priests and five Lay-men were committed to several Prisons; but whether the Inferiour Clergy pay'd their proportion of the Tax or not, I have not been able to discover. 1531.

This year the State of Affairs beyond-Sea, changed very considerably. The Pope expected not only to recover *Floence* to his Family by the Emperors means, but also to wrest *Modena* and *Reggio* from the Duke of *Ferrara*, to which he pretended, as being Fiefs of the Papacy; and the Emperor having engaged by the former Treaty to restore them to him. But now that the Popes pretensions were appointed to be examined by some Judges delegated by the Emperor, they determined against the Pope, for the Duke of *Ferrara*: which so disgusted the Pope, that he fell totally from the Emperor, and did unite with the King of *France*, a Match being also projected between the Duke of *Orleance* (afterwards *Henry* the 2d.) and his Neece *Catharina de Medici*: which did work much on the Popes ambition, to have his Family Allied to so mighty a Monarch. So that now he became wholly *French*. The Pope falls off to the *French* Faction.

The *French* King was also on account of this Marriage to resigne all the pretensions he had to any Territory in *Italy* to his younger Son; which as it would give less Umbrage to the other Princes of *Italy*, who liked rather to have a King's younger Son among them, than either the Emperor or the *French* King; so the Pope was wonderfully pleased to raise another great Prince in *Italy* out of his own Family. On these grounds was the Match at this time designed, which afterwards took effect; but with this difference, that by the *Dolphin*'s death, the Duke of *Orleance* became King of *France*, and his Queen made the greatest Figure that any Queen of *France*, had done for many Ages. A Match projected between the Pope's Neece and the Duke of *Orleance*.

This change in the Popes mind might have produced another in the Kings Affairs, if he had not already gone so far, that he was less in fear of the Pope than formerly. He found the Credit of his Clergy was so low, that to preserve themselves from the contempt and fury of the people, they were forced to depend wholly on the Crown. For *Lutheranism* was then making a great progress in *England*, of which I shall say nothing here, being resolved at the end of this Book to give an account of the whole Course of it in those years that fall within this time. But what by the means of the new Preachers, what by the scandals cast on the Clergy, they were all at the Kings Mercy; so he did not fear much from them, especially in the Southern parts, which were the richest and best peopled. Therefore the King went on resolutely. The Pope on the other hand was in great perplexity; he saw *England* ready to be lost, and knew not what to do to rescue or preserve it. If he gave way to

1531. what was lately done in the buſineſs of the *Præmunire*, he muſt thereby loſe the greateſt advantages he drew from that Nation; and it was not likely that after the King had gone ſo far, he would undo what was done.

The Emperor is engaged in a War with the Turk.

The Emperor was more remiſs in proſecuting the Queens Appeal at *Rome*, for at that time the *Turk* with a moſt numerous and powerful Army was making an impreſſion on *Hungary*, (which to the great ſcandal of the *moſt Chriſtian King* was imputed to his Councils and Preſents at the *Port*) and all the Emperor's thoughts were taken up with this. Therefore as he gave the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* ſome preſent ſatisfaction in Religion and other matters; ſo he ſent over to *England*, and deſired the Kings aſſiſtance againſt that vaſt Army of 300000 men that was falling in upon Chriſtendom. To this the King made a general anſwer, that gave ſome hopes of aſſiſting him. But at the ſame time the Proteſtant Princes, reſolving to draw ſome advantage from that conjuncture of Affairs, and being courted by the *French* King, entred into a League with him, for the defence of the Rights of the Empire. And to make this firmer, the King was invited by the *French* King to joyn in it; to which he conſented, and ſent over to *France* a ſum of Money to be employed for the ſafety of the Empire. And this provoked the Emperor to renew his endeavours in the Court of *Rome* for proſecuting the Queens Appeal,

The *French* King encouraged the King to go on with his Divorce, that he might totally Alienate him from the Emperor. The *French* Writers alſo add another Conſideration, which ſeems unworthy of ſo great a King, that he himſelf being at that time ſo publick a Courtier of Ladies, was not ill pleaſed to ſet forward a thing of that nature. "But though "Princes allow themſelves their pleaſures, yet they ſeldom Govern their "Affairs by ſuch Maxims.

1532. In the beginning of the next year a new Seſſion of Parliament was held,

The Parliament complains of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

in which the Houſe of Commons went on to complain of many other grievances they lay under from the Clergy, which they put in a writing, and preſented it to the King. In it they complained of the proceedings in the Spiritual Courts, and eſpecially their calling men before them, *ex officio*, and laying Articles to their charge, without any Accuſer; and then admitting no Purgation, but cauſing the Party Accuſed, either to abjure, or to be burnt; which they found very grievous and intolerable. This was occaſioned by ſome violent proceeding againſt ſome reputed Hereticks, of which an account ſhall be given afterwards. But thoſe complaints were ſtifled, and great miſunderſtandings aroſe between the King and the Houſe of Commons upon this following occaſion.

Hall.

But reject a Bill about Wards.

There was a common practice in *England* of mens making ſuch Settlements of their Eſtates by their Laſt Wills, or other Deeds, that the King and ſome great Lords were thereby defrauded of the advantages they made by *Wards*, *Marriages*, and *Primer Seaſon*. For regulating which, a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Peers, and aſſented to there; but when it was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, it was rejected by them, and they would neither paſs the Bill, nor any other Qualification of that Abuſe. This gave the King great offence, and the Houſe when they addreſſed to him about the proceedings of the Clergy, alſo prayed,

The Commons Petition that they may be diſſolved.

That he would conſider what Coſt, Charge, and Pains they had been at ſince the beginning of the Parliament, and that it would pleaſe his Grace of his Princely

by Benignity to Diſſolve his Court of Parliament, and that his Subjects might return into their Countries. To which the King anſwered, "That for "their complaints of the Clergy, he muſt hear them alſo before he could "give Judgment, ſince in Juſtice he ought to hear both Parties; but "that they deſiring the Redreſs of ſuch Abuſes, was contrary to the other "part of their Petition; for if the Parliament were diſſolved how could "thoſe things they complained of be amended? And as they complain-"ed of their long attendance, ſo the King had ſtayed as long, as they had "done, and yet he had ſtill patience, and ſo they muſt have, otherwiſe "their grievances would be without Redreſs. But he did expoſtulate "ſeverely upon their rejecting the Bill about Deeds in prejudice of the "Rights of the Crown. He ſaid, he had offered them a great mitiga-"tion of what by the rigour of the Law he might pretend to; and if they "would not accept of it, he would try the outmoſt ſeverity that the Law "allowed, and would not offer them ſuch a favour again. Yet all this did not prevail, for the Act was rejected, and their complaint againſt the Clergy was alſo laid aſide, and the Parliament was Prorogued till *April* next. 1532. The King's Anſwer.

In this Parliament the Foundation of the Breach that afterwards followed with *Rome*, was laid, by an Act for reſtraining the payment of *Annates* to that Court, which ſince it is not Printed with the other Statutes, ſhall be found in the end of this Volume: The ſubſtance of it is as follows.

An Act againſt *Annates*. Collect. Numb. 41.

That great Sums of Money had been conveyed out of the King-"dom, under the Title of *Annates* or Firſt-Fruits to the Court of *Rome*, "which they extorted by reſtraint of Bulls and other Writs; that it "happened often by the frequent deaths of Arch-biſhops, and Biſhops, "to turn to the utter undoing of their Friends, who had advanced "thoſe Sums for them. Theſe *Annates* were founded on no Law; for "they had no other way of obliging the Incumbents of Sees to pay "them, but by reſtraining their Bulls. The Parliament therefore "conſidering that theſe were firſt begun to be payed, to defend Chri-"ſtendom againſt Infidels, but were now turned to a duty claimed "by that Court againſt all Right and Conſcience, and that vaſt Sums "were carryed away upon that account, which from the Second year of "King *Henry* the 7th to that preſent time amounted to 800000 Ducats, "beſides many other heavy Exactions of that Court, did declare that the "King was bound by his Duty to Almighty God, as a good Chriſtian "Prince to hinder theſe oppreſſions. And that the rather, becauſe "many of the Prelates were then very Aged, and like to die in a ſhort "time, whereby vaſt Sums of Money ſhould be carryed out of *En-"gland*, to the great Impoveriſhing of the Kingdom. And therefore "all payments of Firſt-Fruits to the Court of *Rome* were put down "and for ever reſtrained, under the pains of the forfeiture of the Lands, "Goods, and Chattels of him that ſhould pay them any more, together "with the Profits of his See, during the time that he was veſted with it. "And in caſe Bulls were reſtrained in the Court of *Rome*, any perſon "preſented to a Biſhoprick, ſhould be notwithſtanding Conſecrated by "the Arch-biſhop of the Province; or if he were preſented to an "Arch-biſhoprick, by any two Biſhops in the Kingdom, whom the "King ſhould appoint for that end; and that being ſo Conſecrated,

1532. "they should be Invested, and enjoy all the Rights of their Sees in full "and ample manner; yet that the Pope and Court of *Rome* might "have no just cause of Complaint, the persons presented to Bishopricks "are allowed to pay them 5 *lib.* for the Hundred, of the clear Profits "and Revenues of their several Sees. But the Parliament not willing "to go to extremities, Remitted the final ordering of that Act to the "King, that if the Pope would either charitably and reasonably put "down the payment of *Annates*, or so moderate them, that they might "be a tolerable burden, the King might at any time before *Easter* 1533. "or before the next Session of Parliament, declare by his Letters Pa- "tents whether the premisses or any part of them should be observed "or not, which should give them the full force and Authority of a "Law. And that if upon this Act the Pope should vex the King, or "any of his Subjects by Excommunications or other Censures, these not- "withstanding the King should cause the Sacraments, and other Rites "of the Church to be administred, and that none of these Censures "might be published or Executed.

This Bill began in the House of Lords, from them it was sent to the Commons, and being agreed to by them, received the Royal Assent, but had not that final Confirmation mentioned in the Act before the 9th of *July* 1533. and then by Letters Patents (in which the Act is at length recited) it was confirmed.

Parl. Rolls.

The Pope writes to the King about the Queens Appeal.

But now I come to open the final Conclusion of the Kings Suit at *Rome*. On the 25th of *January* "the Pope wrote to the King, that he "heard reports, which he very unwillingly believed, that he had put "away his Queen, and kept one *Anne* about him as his Wife; which "as it gave much Scandal, so it was an high Contempt of the Apo- "stolik See, to do such a thing while his Suit was still depending, "notwithstanding a Prohibition to the contrary. Therefore the Pope "remembring his former merits, which were now like to be clouded "with his present Carriage, did exhort him to take home his Queen, "and to put *Anne* away; and not to continue to provoke the Empe- "ror and his Brother by so high an Indignity, nor to break the Gene- "ral peace of Christendom, which was its only security against the "Power of the *Turk*. What answer the King made to this I do not "find, but instead of that I shall set down the Substance of a Dispatch, which the King sent to *Rome* about this time, drawn from a Copy of it; to which the date is not added. But it being an answer to a Let- ter he received from the Pope the 7th of *October*, it seems to have been written about this time, and it concluding with a Credence to an Ambassador, I judge it was sent by Doctor *Bennet*, who was dispatch- ed to *Rome* in *January* 1532. to shew the Pope the Opinions of Learn- ed men, and of the Universities, with their Reasons. The Letter will be found in the end of this Volume, the Contents of it are to this pur- pose.

L. *Herbert.*

Collect. *Numb.* 24.

A Dispatch of the King to the Pope.

"The Pope had writ to the King, in order to the Clearing all his "scruples, and to give him quiet in his Conscience; of which the King "takes notice, and is sorry that both the Pope and himself were so "deceived in that matter; the Pope by trusting to the judgments of "others, and writing whatever they suggested; and the King by de- "pending so much on the Pope, and in vain expecting remedy from "him

" him ſo long. He imputes the miſtakes that were in the Popes Let- 1532.
" ters, (which he ſays had things in them contrary both to Gods Law
" and Mans Law,) to the Ignorance and raſhneſs of his Councellors:
" for which himſelf was much to be blamed, ſince he reſted on their
" advice, and that he had not carried himſelf as became Chriſts Vi-
" car, but had dealt both unconſtantly and deceitfully: for when the
" Kings Cauſe was firſt opened to him, and all things that related to it
" were explained; he had Granted a Commiſſion, with a promiſe
" not to recal it, but to confirm the Sentence which the Legates ſhould
" give: and a Decretal was ſent over defining the cauſe. If theſe
" were juſtly granted, it was Injuſtce to revoke them, but if they
" were juſtly revoked, it was unjuſt to grant them. So he preſſes the
" Pope, that either he could grant theſe things, or he could not; If
" he could do it, where was the Faith which became a Friend, much
" more a Pope ſince he had broke theſe promiſes: But if he ſaid he could
" not do them, had he not then juſt cauſe to diſtruſt all that came
" from him, when at one time he condemned what he had allowed at
" another. So that the King ſaw clearly he did not conſider the eaſe
" of his Conſcience, but other worldly reſpects; that had put him
" on Conſulting ſo many Learned men, whoſe judgments differed
" much from thoſe few that were about the Pope, who thought the
" Prohibition of ſuch Marriages was only Poſitive, and might be di-
" ſpenced with by the Pope: whereas all other Learned men thought
" the Law was Moral and indiſpenſable. He perceived the Apoſtolick
" See was deſtitute of that Learning, by which it ſhould be directed:
" and the Pope had oft profeſſed his own Ignorance, and that he ſpake
" by other mens mouths; but many Univerſities in *England*, *France*,
" and *Italy*, had declared the Marriage unlawful, and the Diſpenſation
" null. None honoured the Apoſtolick See more than he had done,
" and therefore he was ſorry to write ſuch things if he could have
" been ſilent. If he ſhould obey the Popes Letters, he would offend
" God and his own Conſcience, and give ſcandal to thoſe who con-
" demned his Marriage: he did not willingly diſſent from him with-
" out a very urgent cauſe, that he might not ſeem to deſpiſe the A-
" poſtolick See; therefore he deſired the Pope would forgive the free-
" dom that he uſed, ſince it was the Truth that drew it from him. And
" he added, that he intended not to Impugn the Popes Authority fur-
" ther, except he compelled him; and what he did was only to bring
" it within its firſt and Ancient Limits, to which it was better to re-
" duce it, than to let it always run on headlong and do amiſs; therefore
" he deſired the Pope would Conform himſelf to the opinions of ſo
" many Learned men, and do his Duty and Office. The Letter ends
" with a Credence to the Ambaſſador.

The Pope ſeeing his Authority was declining in *England*, reſolved now to do all he could to recover it, either by force or Treaty: and ſo ordered a Citation to be made of the King to appear in Perſon or by Proxie at *Rome*, to anſwer to the Queens appeal: upon which Sir *Edward Karne* was ſent to *Rome*, with a new Character of *Excuſator*.

Sir *Edward Karne* ſent to *Rome*.

" His Inſtructions were to take the beſt Counſel for pleading an Ex-
" cuſe of the Kings appearance at *Rome*. Firſt, upon the grounds that
" might be found in the Canon-Law; and thoſe being not ſufficient,

" he

1532. "he was to insist on the Prerogative of the Crown of *England*. Doctor *Bonner* went with him, who had expressed much zeal in the Kings cause, though his great zeal was for Preferment, which by the most servile ways he always Courted. He was a forward bold man, and since there were many Threatnings to be used to the Pope and Cardinals, he was thought fittest for the employment, but was neither Learned nor discreet.

His Negotiation there taken from the Original Letters. *Cott. lib. Vitell. B.* 13.

They came to *Rome* in *March*, where they found great heats in the Consistory about the Kings business. The Imperialists pressed the Pope to proceed, but all the wise and indifferent Cardinals were of another mind. And when they understood what an Act was passed about *Annates*, they saw clearly, that the Parliament was resolved to adhere to the King in every thing he intended to do against their Interests. The Pope expostulated with the Ambassadors about it, but they told him the Act was still in the Kings Power; and except he provoked him, he did not intend to put it in execution. The Ambassadors finding the Cardinal of *Ravenna* of so great reputation, both for Learning and Vertue, that in all matters of that kind his opinion was heard as an Oracle, and gave Law to the whole Consistory; they resolved to gain him by all means possible. And Doctor *Benn* made a secret address to him, and offered him what Bishoprick either in *France* or *England* he would desire, if he would bring the King matter to a good issue. He was at first very shie; at length he said he had been oft deceived by many Princes, who had made him great Promises, but when their business was ended, never thought of performing them; therefore he would be sure: and so drave a Bargain, and got under Doctor *Bennets* hand a promise, (of which a Copy being sent to the King, written by *Bennet* himself will be found at the end of this Volume;) Bearing, that he having Powers from the King for that effect, dated the 29th of *December* last, did promise (the Cardinal for his help in the Kings affair, Monasteries or other Benefices in *France*, to the value of 6000 Ducats a year: and the first Bishoprick that fell vacant in *England*; and if it were not *Ely*; that whenever that See was vacant, upon his resigning the other, he should be provided with the Bishoprick of *Ely*; dated at *Rome* the 7th of *February* 1532. This I set down as one of the most Considerable Arguments that could be used to satisfie the Cardinals Conscience about the justice of the Kings Cause. This Cardinal was the fittest to work secretly for the King, for he had appeared visible against him. I find also by other Letters, that both the Cardinals of *Ancona* and *Monte* (afterwards Pope *Julius* the 3d) were prevailed with, by arguments of the same nature, though I cannot find out what the Bargains were. *Providellus*, that was accounted the greatest Canonist in *Italy*, was brought from *Bononia*, and entertained, by the Ambassadors, to give Councel in the Kings Cause, and to plead his Excuse, from appearing at *Rome*. The plea was summed up in 28 Articles, which were offered to the Pope; and he admitted them to be examined in the Consistory, appointing three of them to be opened at a Session. But the Imperialists opposed that, and after fifteen of them had been heard, procured a new order that they should be heard in a Congregation of Cardinals before the Pope; petending that a Consistory sitting but

The Cardinal of *Ravenna* corrupted by Bribes. Collect. *Numb.* 43.

Collect. *Numb.* 44.

but once a week, and having a great deal of other Buſineſs, it would be long before the matter could be brought to any iſſue. So *Kerne* was ſerved with a new Order to appear in the Congregation the 3d. of *April* with this Certification, That if he appeared not they would proceed. Upon which he proteſted, that he would adhere to the former Order: yet being warned the ſecond time, he went firſt and proteſted againſt it, which he got entred in the Datary. This being conſidered in the Congregation, they renewed the Order of hearing it in the Conſiſtory on the 10th. of *April*, and then *Providellus* opened three Concluſions. Two of them related to *Kern*'s Powers, the third was concerning the Safety of the place to both parties. But the Imperialiſts and the Queens Council being diſſatisfied with this order would not appear. Upon which *Kerne* complained of their Contumacy, and ſaid, By that it was viſible they were diſtruſtful of their Cauſe. On the 14th. of *April* a new intimation was made to *Kerne* to appear on the 17th. with his Advocates, to open all the reſt of the Concluſions, but he according to the firſt Order would only plead to three of them, and ſelected the 19, 20, and 21; (what theſe related to I find not.) Upon which *Providellus* pleaded and anſwered the Objections that did ſeem to militate againſt them, but neither would the Imperialiſts appear that Seſſion. 1532. Collect. *Numb.* 45.

In *June* news were brought to *Rome*, which gave the Pope great offence: A Prieſt had Preached for the Popes Authority in *England*, and was for that caſt into Priſon. And another Prieſt being put in Priſon by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, upon ſuſpition of Hereſie, had appealed to the King as the Supream Head: upon which he was taken out of the Arch-biſhops hands, and being examined in the Kings Courts was ſet at liberty. This the Pope reſented much, but the Embaſſadors ſaid, all ſuch things might have been prevented, if the King had got Juſtice at the Popes hands.

The King alſo at this time deſired a Bull for a Commiſſion to erect ſix new Biſhopricks, to be endowed by Monaſteries that were to be ſuppreſſed. This was expedited and ſent away at this time: And the old Cardinal of *Ravenna* was ſo jealous, that the Ambaſſadors were forced to promiſe him the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*; (one of the new Biſhopricks) with which he was well ſatisfied, having ſeen by a particular ſtate of the Endowment that was deſigned for it, what advantage it would yield him. But he had declared himſelf ſo openly before againſt the Reaſons for the Excuſe, that he could not ſerve the King in that matter, but in the main Cauſe he undertook to do great ſervice, and ſo did the Cardinals *De Monte* and *Ancona*. A Bull for erecting new Biſhopricks.

Upon the 27th. of *June* the Debate was brought to a Concluſion about the Plea Excuſatory; and when it was expected, that the Pope ſhould have given ſentence againſt the Articles, he admitted them all *Si & prout de jure*. Upon which the Imperialiſts made great Complaints: The Cardinals grew weary of the length of the Debate, ſince it took up all their time; but it was told them, the matter was of great importance, and it had been better for them not to have proceeded ſo precipitately at firſt, which had now brought them into this trouble, and that the King had been at much pains and trouble on their account; therefore it was unreaſonable for them to complain, who were put to no other trouble, but to ſit in their Chairs two or three hours in a week to hear the Kings De-

1532. Defences. The Imperialists had also occasioned the Delays, though they complained of them, by their Cavils, and Allegations of Laws and Decisions that never were made, by which much time was spent. But it was objected, That the Kings Excuse for not coming to *Rome*, because it was too remote from his Kingdom, and not safe, was of no force, since the place was safe to his Proxy. And the Cardinal of *Ravenna* pressed the Ambassadors much to move the King, instead of the Excusatory Process to send a Proxy, for examining and discussing the Merits of the Cause, in which it would be much easier to advance the Kings matter; and that he having appeared against the King in this Process, would be the less suspected in the other.

The Pope desires the King would submit to him. Collect. *Numb.* 46.

The business being further considered in three Sessions of the Consistory, it was resolved, that since the Vacation was coming on, they would neither allow of, nor reject the Kings Excusatory Plea; but the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals would write to the King, intreating him to send a Proxy for judging the Cause against the Winter. And with this *Bonner* was sent over, with Instructions from the Cardinals that were gained to the King, to represent to him that his Excusatory Plea could not be admitted; for since the Debate was to be, whether the Pope could grant the Dispensation or not, it could not be committed to Legates, but must be judged by the Pope and the Consistory. He was also ordered to assure the King, that the Pope did now lean so much to the *French* Faction, that he needed not fear to refer the matter to him.

A Session of Parl.

But while these things were in debate at *Rome*, there was another Session of Parliament in *April*; and then the King sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and gave him the Answer which the Clergy had drawn to the Addresses they made in the former Session about their Courts. The King himself seemed not at all pleased with it, but what the House did in it does not appear, further than that they were no way satisfied with it. But there happened another thing that offended the King much: One *Themse* of the House of Commons moved, that they should address to the King to bring the Queen back to the Court, and ran out upon the Inconveniences that were like to follow if the Queen were put away, particularly the ill consequence of the Illigitimation of the Princess. Upon this the King took occasion (when he gave them the Clergies Answer) to tell them, that he wondered at that motion made in their House, for the matter was not to be determined there. It touched his Soul; he wished his marriage were good, but the Doctors and Learned men had determined it to be null and detestable; and therefore he was obliged in Conscience to abstain from her, which he assured them flowed from no lust or foolish Appetite. He was then 41 years old, and at that Age those Heats abate. But except in *Spain* or *Portugal* it had not been heard of, that a man married two Sisters; and that he never heard, that any Christian man before himself had married his Brothers Wife: Therefore he assured them his Conscience was troubled, which he desired them to report to the House. In this Session the Lord Chancellour came down to the Commons, with many of the Nobility about him, and told them the King had considered the Marches between *England* and *Scotland*, which were uninhabited on the *English* side, but well peopled on the *Scottish*; and that laid *England* open

One moves for bringing the Queen to Court.

At which the King is offended.

to

to the Incurſion of the *Scots*; therefore the King intended to build Houſes there, for planting the *Engliſh* ſide. This the Lords liked very well, and thought it convenient to give the King ſome Aids for the Charges of ſo neceſſary a Work, and therefore deſired the Commons to conſult about it. Upon which the Houſe voted a Subſidy of a Fifteenth: But before the Bill could be finiſhed, the Plague broke out in *London*, and the Parliament was prorogued till *February* following. On the 11*th.* of *May* (three days before the Prorogation) the King ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and told him, "That he found upon In- "quiry, that all the Prelates, whom he had looked on as wholly his Sub- "jects, were but half Subjects; for at their Conſecration they ſwore "an Oath quite contrary to the Oath they ſwore to the Crown; ſo "that it ſeemed they were the Popes Subjects rather than his. Which "he referred to their care, that ſuch order might be taken in it, that the "King might not be deluded. Upon which the two Oaths that the Clergy ſwore to the King and the Pope, were read in the Houſe of Commons, but the Conſequence of them will be better underſtood by ſetting them down.

1532.

A Subſidy is voted.

The King remits the Oath which the Clergy ſwore to be conſidered by the Commons.

The Oath to the Pope.

"I *John* Biſhop or Abbot of *A.* from this hour forward ſhall be faith- "full and obedient to St. *Peter*, and to the Holy Church of *Rome*, and to "my Lord the Pope and his Succeſſors canonically entring. I ſhall "not be of counſel nor conſent, that they ſhall looſe either Life or Mem- "ber, or ſhall be taken, or ſuffer any violence or any wrong by any "means. Their Counſel to me credited by them, their Meſſengers or "Letters I ſhall not willingly diſcover to any perſon. The Papacy of "*Rome*, the Rules of the Holy Fathers, and the Regality of St. *Peter*, I "ſhall help and maintain, and defend againſt all men. The Legate of "the See Apoſtolick going and coming I ſhall honorably entreat. The "Rights, Honours, Priviledges, Authorities of the Church of *Rome*, "and of the Pope and his Succeſſors, I ſhall cauſe to be conſerved, de- "fended, augmented, and promoted. I ſhall not be in Counſil, Trea- "ty, or any act in the which any thing ſhall be imagined againſt him or "the Church of *Rome*, their Rights, Seats, Honours, or Powers. And "if I know any ſuch to be moved or compaſſed, I ſhall reſiſt it to my "power, and as ſoon as I can, I ſhall advertiſe him, or ſuch as may give "him knowledge. The Rules of the Holy Fathers, the Decrees, Ordi- "nances, Sentences, Diſpoſitions, Reſervations, Proviſions, and Com- "mandments Apoſtolick, to my power I ſhall keep, and cauſe to be kept "of others. Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Rebels to our Holy Father "and his Succeſſors, I ſhall reſiſt and perſecute to my power. I ſhall "come to the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonical "Impediment. The Threſholds of the Apoſtles I ſhall viſit yearly "perſonally, or by my Deputy. I ſhall not alienate or ſell my Poſ- "ſeſſions without the Popes Counſel. So God help me and the Holy "Evangeliſts.

Their Oath to the Pope.

1532.

The Oath to the King.

Their Oath to the King.

"I *John* Bishop of *A.* utterly renounce, and clearly forsake all such "Clauses, Words, Sentences and Grants, which I have or shall have "hereafter of the Popes Holiness, of and for the Bishoprick of *A.* that "in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to "your Highness, your Heirs, Successors, Dignity, Priviledge, or Estate "Royal. And also I do swear, That I shall be faithful and true, and "Faith and Truth I shall bear to you my Sovereign Lord, and to your "Heirs Kings of the same, of Life and Limb, and yearly Worship above "all Creatures, for to live and dye with you and yours against all Peo "ple. And diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and busines "after my wit and power, and your Counsel I shall keep and hold, know "ledging my self to hold my Bishoprick of you only, beseeching you "of Restitution of the Temporalties of the same; promising as before, "that I shall be a faithful, true, and obedient Subject to your said High "ness, Heirs, and Successors, during my Life; and the Services and "other things due to your Highness for the Restitution of the Tempo "ralties of the same Bishoprick, I shall truly do and obediently perform "So God me help and all Saints.

More laid down his Office.

The Contradiction that was in these was so visible, that it had soon produced a severe Censure from the House, if the Plague had not hindered both that and the Bill of Subsidy. So on the 14*th.* of *May* the Parliament was prorogued. Two days after, Sir *Thomas More* Lord Chancellor, having oft desired leave to deliver up the great Seal, and be discharged of his Office, obtained it; and Sir *Thomas Audley* was made Lord Chancellor. *More* had carried that Dignity with great temper, and lost it with much joy. He saw now how far the Kings Designs went; and though he was for cutting off the Illegal Jurisdiction which the Popes exercised in *England*, and therefore went cheerfully along with the Sute of *Præmunire*; yet when he saw a total Rupture like to follow, he excused himself, and retired from Business with a Greatness of Mind, that was equal to what the ancient Philosophers pretended in such cases. He also disliked *Anne Boleyn*, and was prosecuted by her Father, who studied to fasten some Criminal Imputation on him, about the discharge of his Imployment; but his Integrity had been such, that nothing could be found to blemish his Reputation.

An Enterview with the *French* King.

In *September* following, the King created *Anne Boleyn* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, to bring her by degrees up to the Heighth for which he had designed her. And in *October* he passed the Seas, and had an Enterview with the *French* King; where all the most obliging Complements that were possible passed on both sides with great Magnificence, and a firm Union was concerted about all their Affairs. They published a League that they made to raise a mighty Army next year against the *Turk*; but this was not much considered, it being generally believed that the *French* King and the *Turk* were in a good Correspondence. As for the matter of the Kings Divorce, *Francis* encouraged him to go on in it, and in his intended Marriage with *Anne Boleyn*, promising if it were question-

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ed to assist him in it: And as for his appearance at *Rome*, as it was certain he could not go thither in Person, so it was not fit to trust the secrets of his Conscience to a Proxie. The *French* King seemed also resolved to stop the Payments of Annates and other Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, and said he would send an Ambassador to the Pope, to ask Redress of these, and to protest, that if it were not granted, they would seek other remedies by Provincial Councils: And since there was an Interview designed between the Pope and the Emperor at *Bononia* in *December*, the *French* King was to send two Cardinals thither to procure Judges for ending the business in *England*. There was also an Interview proposed between the Pope and the *French* King, at *Nice* or *Avignon*. To this the King of *England* had some Inclinations to go for ending all differences, if the Pope were well disposed to it. 1532.

Upon this Sir *Thomas Eliot* was sent to *Rome* with answer to a Message the Pope had sent to the King, from whose Instructions, both the substance of the Message and of the Answer may be gathered. "The Pope "had offered to the King, that if he would name any different place out "of his own Kingdom, he would send a Legate and two Auditors of the "*Rota* thither, to form the Process, reserving only the Sentence to himself. The Pope also proposed a Truce of three or four years, and promised that in that time he would call a general Council. For this Message the King sent the Pope thanks, but for the Peace he could receive "no propositions about it without the concurrence of the *French* King; "and though he did not doubt the Justice of a general Council, yet considering the state of the Emperors Affairs at that time, with the *Lutherans*, he did not think it was seasonable to call one. That as for "sending a Proxy to *Rome*, if he were a private Person he could do it, "but it was a part of the Prerogative of his Crown, and of the Priviledges "of his Subjects, That all Matrimonial Causes should be originally "judged within his Kingdom by the *English* Church, which was consonant to the general Councils and Customs of the Ancient Church, "whereunto he hoped the Pope would have regard: And that for keeping up his Royal Authority, to which he was bound by Oath, he could "not without the consent of the Realm, submit himself to a Foreign "Jurisdiction, hoping the Pope would not desire any violation of the "Immunities of the Realm, or to bring these into publick Contention, "which had been hitherto enjoyed without intrusion or molestation. The "Pope had confessed, that without an urgent cause, the Dispensation "could not be granted. This the King laid hold on, and ordered his Ambassador to shew him that there was no War nor appearance of any "between *England* and *Spain* when it was granted. To verifie that he "sent an attested Copy of the Treaty between his Father and the Crown "of *Spain* at that time: By the words of which it appeared that it was "then taken for granted, that Prince *Arthur* had consummated the "Marriage, which was also proved by good Witnesses. In fine, since the "thing did so much concern the Peace of the Realm, it was fitter to judge "it within the Kingdom than any where else; therefore he desired the "Pope would remit the discussing of it to the Church of *England*, and "then confirm the Sentence they should give. To the obtaining of this, "the Ambassador was to use all possible diligence; yet if he found real "intentions in the Pope to satisfie the King, he was not to insist on that

Eliot sent to *Rome* with Instructions. *Cott. Lib. Vit.* B. 13.

1532. " as the Kings final Resolution: And to let the Cardinal of *Ravenna* see, " that the King intended to make good what was promised in his name, " the Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* falling vacant, he sent him the " offer of it, with a promise of the Bishoprick of *Ely* when it should be " void.

The King married *Anne Boleyn*, *Nov.* 14. *Cowper*, *Holinshed* and *Sanders*.

Soon after this he married *Anne Boleyn*, on the 14*th.* of *November*, upon his landing in *England*, but *Stow* says without any ground, that it was on the 25*th.* of *January*. *Rowland Lee* (who afterward got the Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*) did officiate in the Marriage. It was done secretly in the presence of the Duke of *Norfolk* and her Father, her Mother, and Brother, and Dr. *Cranmer*. The grounds on which the King did this, were, That his former Marriage being of it self null, there was no need of a Declarative Sentence after so many Universities and Doctors had given their Judgments against it. Soon after the Marriage she was with Child, which was looked on as a signal Evidence of her Chastity, and that she had till then kept the King at a due distance.

An Enterview between Pope and Emperor.

But when the Pope and the Emperor met at *Bononia*, the Pope expressed great Inclinations to favour the *French* King, from which the Emperor could not remove him, nor engage him to accept of a Match for his Neice *Katherine de Medici* with *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*. But the Pope promised him all that he desired as to the King of *England*; and so that matter was still carried on. Dr. *Bennet* made several Propositions to end the matter, either that it should be judged in *England*, according to the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, and that the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* with the whole Clergy of his Province should determine it, or that the King should name one, either Sir *Thomas More* or the Bishop of *London*, the Queen should name another, the *French* King should name a third, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* to be the fourth; or that the Cause should be heard in *England*; and if the Queen did Appeal, it should be referred to three Delegates, one of *England*, another of *France*, and a third to be sent from *Rome*, who should sit and judge the Appeal in some indifferent place. But the Pope would hearken to none of these Overtures, since they were all directly contrary to that height of Authority, which he resolved to maintain: Therefore he ordered *Capisucci* the Dean of the *Rota*, to cite the King to answer to the Queens Appeal. *Kane* at *Rome* protested against the Citation, since the Emperor's Power was so great about *Rome*, that the King could not expect justice there; and therefore desired they would desist, otherwise the King would Appeal to the Learned Men in Universities; and said there was a nullity in all their Proceedings, since the King was a Soveraign Prince, and the Church of *England* a free Church, over which the Pope had no just Authority.

Some Overtures about the Divorce. Lord *Herbert*.

1533. A Session of Parliament.

But while this depended at *Rome*, another Session of Parliament was held in *England*, which began to sit on the 4*th.* of *February*. In this the Breach with *Rome* was much forwarded by the Act they passed against all Appeals to *Rome*. " The Preamble bears, That the Crown of *England*

An Act against Appeals to *Rome*. 24. *Hen.* 8. Act 22.

" was Imperial, and that the Nation was a compleat Body within it self, " with a full Power to give Justice in all Cases, Spiritual as well as Temporal; and that in the Spiritualty as there had been at all times, so " there were them men of that sufficiency and integrity, that they might " declare and determine all doubts within the Kingdom; and that several

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" ral Kings, as *Edward* the first, *Edward* the third, *Richard* the second, 1533.
" and *Henry* the fourth, had by several Laws preserved the Liberties of
" the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, from the annoyance of the
" See of *Rome*, and other foreign Potentates; yet many inconveniences
" had risen by Appeals to the See of *Rome* in Causes of Matrimony, Di-
" vorces, and other Cases, which were not sufficiently provided against
" by these Laws; by which, not only the King and his Subjects were put
" to great Charges, but Justice was much delayed by Appeals, and *Rome*
" being at such a distance, Evidences could not be brought thither, nor
" Witnesses so easily as within the Kingdom: Therefore it was enacted,
" That all such Causes, whether relating to the King, or any of his Subjects,
" were to be determined within the Kingdom in the several Courts to
" which they belonged, notwithstanding any Appeals to *Rome*, or Inhi-
" bitions and Bulls from *Rome*; whose Sentences should take effect, and
" be fully executed by all Inferior Ministers; and if any Spiritual Persons
" refused to execute them because of Censures from *Rome*, they were to
" suffer a years Imprisonment, and Fine and Ransom at the Kings Will;
" and if any Persons in the Kings Dominions procured or executed any
" Process or Censures from *Rome*, they were declared liable to the pains
" in the Statute of *Provisors* in the *16th.* of *Richard* the second. But that
" Appeals should only be from the Arch-Deacon or his Official to the Bi-
" shop of the Dioceſs, or his Commissary, and from him to the Arch-bishop
" of the Province, or the Dean of the Arches, where the final Determi-
" nation was to be made without any further Process; and in every Pro-
" cess concerning the King or his Heirs and Successors, an Appeal should
" lie to the upper House of Convocation, where it should be finally De-
" termined, never to be again called in question.

As this Bill passed, the sense of both Houses of Parliament about the Kings Marriage did clearly appear, but in the Convocation, the business was more fully debated. The Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* was at this time destitute of its Head and principal Member. For *Warham* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* was dead since *August* last year. He was a great Canonist, an able States-man, a dextrous Courtier, and a favourer of Learned Men. He always hated Cardinal *Wolsey*, and would never stoop to him, esteeming it below the Dignity of his See. He was not so peevishly engaged to the Learning of the Schools as others were, but set up and encouraged a more generous way of Knowledge; yet he was a severe persecutor of them whom he thought Hereticks, and enclined to believe idle and Fanatical People, as will afterwards appear, when the Impostors of the Maid of *Kent* shall be related.

Warhams Death, *Aug.* 23.

The King saw well of how great importance it was to the designs he was then forming, to fill that See, with a Learned, Prudent, and Resolute man; but finding none in the Episcopal Order that was qualified to his mind, and having observed a native simplicity joyned with much courage, and tempered with a great deal of wisdom in Dr. *Cranmer*, who was then Negotiating his business among the Learned men of *Germany*, he of his own accord, without any addresses from *Cranmer*, designed to raise him to that Dignity, and gave him notice of it, that he might make hast and come home to enjoy that Reward which the King had appointed for him. But *Cranmer* having received this, did all he could to excuse himself from the burden which was coming upon him; and therefore he returned

The King resolves to promote *Cranmer*.

Fox.

1533. turned very slowly to *England*, hoping that the Kings thoughts cooling, some other person might step in between him and a Dignity, of which having a just and primitive sense, he did look on it with fear and apprehension, rather than joy and desire. This was so far from setting him back, that the King, (who had known well what it was to be importuned by ambitious and aspiring Church-men, but had not found it usual that they should decline and fly from Preferment) was thereby confirmed in his high opinion of him; and neither the delays of his Journey, nor his intreaties to be delivered from a Burden, which his Humility made him imagine himself unable to bear, could divert the King. So that though six months elapsed before the thing was setled, yet the King persisted in his Opinion, and the other was forced to yield.

Cranmers Bulls from *Rome*. In the end of *January* the King sent to the Pope for the Bulls for *Cranmers* Promotion; and though the Statutes were passed against procuring more Bulls from *Rome*, yet the King resolved not to begin the breach till he was forced to it by the Pope. It may be easily imagined, that the Pope was not hearty in this Promotion, and that he apprehended ill consequences from the Advancement of a Man, who had gone over many Courts of Christendom, disputing against his Power of Dispensing, and had lived in much Familiarity with *Osiander* and the *Lutherans* in *Germany*: Yet on the other hand he had no mind to precipitate a Rupture with *England*; therefore he consented to it, and the Bulls were expedited, though instead of *Annates* there was only 900 Duckats paid for them.

They were the last Bulls that were received in *England* in this Kings Reign; and therefore I shall give an account of them, as they are set down in the beginning of *Cranmers* Register. By one Bull he is upon the Kings Nomination, promoted to be Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, which is directed to the King. By a second directed to himself, he is made Arch-bishop. By a third he is absolved from all Censures. A fourth is to the Suffragans. A fifth to the Dean and Chapter. A sixth to the Clergy of *Canterbury*. A seventh to all the Laity in his See. An eighth to all that held Lands of it, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as Arch-bishop. All these bear date the 21*st.* of *February*, 153$\frac{3}{4}$. By a ninth Bull dated the 22*d.* of *February*, he was ordained to be consecrated, taking the Oath that was in the *Pontifical*. By a tenth Bull dated the second of *March*, the Pall was sent him. And by an eleventh of the same Date, the Arch-bishop of *York* and the Bishop of *London* were required to put it on him. These were the several Artifices to make Compositions high, and to enrich the Apostolical Chamber; for now that about which St. *Peter* gloried, that he had none of it (*neither Silver nor Gold*) was the Thing in the World for which his Successors were most careful.

When these Bulls were brought into *England*, *Thomas Cranmer* was on the 13*th.* of *March* consecrated by the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, and St. *Asaph*. But here a great Scruple was moved by him concerning the Oath that he was to swear to the Pope, which he had no mind to take; and Writers near that time say, the dislike of that Oath was one of the motives that made him so unwillingly accept of that Dignity. He declared, that he thought there were many things setled by the Laws of the Popes, which ought to be reformed, and that the Obligation

tion which that Oath brought upon him, would bind him up from doing his Duty, both to God, the King, and the Church. But this being communicated to ſome of the Canoniſts and Caſuiſts, they found a temper that agreed better with their Maxims, than *Cranmers* ſincerity; which was, that before he ſhould take the Oath, he ſhould make a good and formal Proteſtation, That he did not intend thereby to reſtrain himſelf from any thing that he was bound to, either by his Duty to God, or the King, or the Country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of theſe. This Proteſtation he made in St. *Stephens* Chappel at *Weſtminſter*, in the hands of ſome Doctors of the Canon Law before he was conſecrated, and he afterwards repeated it when he took the Oath to the Pope; by which if he did not wholly ſave his Integrity, yet it was plain he intended no Cheat, but to act fairly and above board. 1533. His Proteſtation about his Oath to the Pope.

As ſoon as he was conſecrated, and had performed every thing that was neceſſary for his Inveſtiture, he came and ſate in the upper Houſe of Convocation. There were there at that time hot and earneſt Debates upon theſe two Queſtions; whether it was againſt the Law of God, and indiſpenſable by the Pope, for a man to marry his Brothers Wife, he being dead without Iſſue, but having conſummated the Marriage? And whether Prince *Arthur* had conſummated his Marriage with the Queen? As for the firſt, it was brought firſt into the Lower Houſe of Convocation, and when it was put to the Vote, 14 were for the Affirmative, 7 for the Negative; one was not clear, and another voted the Prohibition to be Moral, but yet diſpenſable by the Pope. In the Upper Houſe it was long debated, *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London* arguing for the Affirmative, and *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* for the Negative. The Opinions of 19 Univerſities were read for it, and the one Houſe being as full as the other was empty, 216 being preſent either in perſon or by Proxy, it was carried in the Affirmative *Nemine Contradicente*; thoſe few of the Queens Party that were there it ſeems going out. For the other Queſtion about the Matter of Fact, it was remitted to the Faculty of the Canon Law (it being a matter that lay within their Studies) whether the Preſumptions were violent, and ſuch as in the courſe of Law muſt be look'd on as good Evidences of a thing that was ſecret, and was not capable of formal proof? They all except five or ſix were for the Affirmative, and all the Upper Houſe confirmed this, the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* only excepted. *Antiq. Brit. in vita Cranmer.*

In this account it may ſeem ſtrange, that there were but 23 perſons in the Lower Houſe of Convocation, and 216 in the Upper Houſe. It is taken from an unqueſtioned Authority, ſo the matter of Fact is not to be doubted. The moſt Learned Sir *Henry Spelman* has in no place of his Collection of our Councils, conſidered the Conſtitution of the two Houſes of Convocation; and in none of our Records have I been able to diſcover of what perſons they were made up in the Times of Popery: and therefore ſince we are left to conjecture, I ſhall offer mine to the Learned Reader. It is, that none ſate in the Lower Houſe, but thoſe who were deputed by the Inferior Clergy; and that Biſhops, Abbots Mitred and not Mitred, and Priors, Deans and Arch-deacons ſate then in the Upper Houſe of Convocation. To which I am induced by theſe two Reaſons: It is probable that all who were declared *Prelates* by the

1532. the Pope, and had their Writ to sit in a General Council, had likewise a right to come to the Upper House of Convocation, and sit with the other Prelates. And we find in the Tomes of the Councils, that not only Abbots and Priors, but Deans and Arch-deacons were summoned to the fourth Council in the *Lateran*, and to that at *Vienna*. Another Reason is, that their sitting in two Houses (for in all other Nations they sit together) looks as if it had been taken from the Constitution of our Parliament, in which all that have Writs personally sit in the Lords House; and those who come upon an Election sit in the Lower House. So it is not improbable, that all who were summoned personally sate in the Upper House, and those who were returned with an Election, sate in the Lower House of Convocation.

This Account of that Convocation I take from that Collection of the *British* Antiquities, which is believed to have been made by *Matthew Parker*, who lived at that time, and was afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. But the Convocation Books being burnt, there are no Records to be appealed to; yet it is not to be supposed, that in a Matter of Fact that was so publick and well known, any man (especially one of that high Rank) would have delivered Falshoods, while the Books were yet extant that would have disproved them.

New Endeavours to make the Queen submit.

The Church of *England* having in her Representative made such a full Decision, nothing remained but to give Judgment, and to declare the Marriage Null. The thing was already determined, only the Formality of a Sentence Delarative was wanting. But before they proceeded to that, a new Message was sent to the Queen, to lay all that had passed before her, and to desire her to acquiesce in the Opinions of so many Universities and Learned Men. But she still persisted in her Resolution to own her Marriage, and to adhere to her Appeal till the Pope should judge in it. And when it was told her, that the King would settle the Joynture that she was to have by his Brother, and that the Honour of Princess of *Wales* should still be paid her, she rejected it. But the new Queen was now with Child, and brought forth Queen *Elizabeth* the 7th of *September* this year; from which looking backwards nine months, to the beginning of *December*, it shews that she must have been married in or before that time: for all the Writers of both sides agree, that she was married before she conceived with Child. The King therefore thought not fit to conceal it much longer, so on *Easter* Eve she was declared Queen of *England*. It seems it was not thought needful at that time to proceed to any further Sentence about the former Marriage, otherwise I cannot see what made it be so long delayed, since the thing was in their power now, as well as after. And it was certainly a preposterous Method to judge the first Marriage Null, after the second was published. So that it seems more probable, they did not intend any Sentence at all, till afterwards perhaps upon Advertisements from beyond Sea, they went on to a formal Process. Nor is it unlikely that the King remembring the old Advice that the Pope sent him, once to marry a second Wife, and then to send for a Commission to try the matter, which the Pope was willing to confirm, though he would not seem to allow it originally, resolved to follow this Method; for the Pope was now closing with *Francis*, from which Union the King had reason to expect great Advantages.

But in vain.

What

Whatſoever were the Reaſons of the Delay, the Proceſs was framed in this Method. Firſt, *Cranmer* wrote to the King, that the World had been long ſcandalized with his Marriage, and that it lay on him as his Duty to ſee it tryed and determined; therefore craved his Royal Leave to proceed in it. Which being obtained, both the King and Queen were cited to appear before the Arch-biſhop, at *Dunſtable* the 20*th.* of *May*, and the Arch-biſhop went thither with the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter* (*Gardiner*,) *Bath and Wells*, and *Lincoln*, and many Divines and Canoniſts. That place was choſen becauſe the Queen lay then very near it at *Ampthill*, and ſo ſhe could not pretend ignorance of what was done; and they needed not put many days in the Citation, but might end the Proceſs ſo much the ſooner. On the 10*th.* of *May* the Arch-biſhop ſate in Court, and the King appeared by Proxy, but the Queen appeared not. Upon which ſhe was declared *Contumax*, and a ſecond Citation was iſſued out, and after that a third: But ſhe intended not to appear, and ſo ſhe was finally declared *Contumax*. Then the Evidences that had been brought before the Legates, of the Conſummation of the Marriage with Prince *Arthur*, were read. After that the Determinations of the Univerſities, and Divines, and Canoniſts, were alſo produced and read. Then the Judgments of the Convocations of both Provinces were alſo read, with many other Inſtruments, and the whole merits of the Cauſe were opened. Upon which after many Seſſions, on the 23*d* of *May* Sentence was given with the Advice of all that were there preſent, declaring it only to have been a Marriage *de facto*, but not *de jure*, pronouncing it Null from the beginning. One thing is to be obſerved, That the Arch-biſhop in the Sentence is called, *The Legate of the Apoſtolick See*. Whether this went of Courſe as one of his Titles, or was put in to make the Sentence firmer, the Reader may judge. Sentence being given, the Arch-biſhop with all the reſt returned to *London*; and five days after on the 28*th.* of *May*, at *Lambeth*, by another Judgment he in general words (no reaſons being given in the Sentence) confirmed the Kings Marriage with the new Queen *Anne*, and the firſt of *June* ſhe was crowned Queen.

1533.

Cranmer proceeds to a Sentence of Divorce taken from the Originals. *Cot. lib. Otho. C.* 10.

Collect. *Numb.* 47.

When this great buſineſs, which had been ſo long in agitation, was thus concluded, it was variouſly cenſured as men ſtood affected. Some approved the Kings Proceedings as Canonical and Juſt, ſince ſo many Authorities, which in the intervall of a general Council were all that could be had, (except the Pope be believed *Infallible*) had concurred to ſtrengthen the Cauſe; and his own Clergy had upon a full and long examination judged it on his ſide. Others, who in the main agreed to the Divorce, did very much diſlike the Kings ſecond Marriage before the firſt was diſſolved; for they thought it againſt the common courſe of Law, to break a Marriage without any publick Sentence; and ſince one of the chief politick Reaſons that was made uſe of in this Suit, was to ſettle the Succeſſion of the Crown, this did embroil it more, ſince there was a fair colour given to except to the Validity of the ſecond Marriage; becauſe it was contracted before the firſt was annulled. But to this others anſwered, That the firſt Marriage being judged by the Interpreters of the Doctrine of the Church, to have been Null from the beginning, there was no need of any Sentence, but only for Form. And all concluded, it had been better there had been no Sentence at all, than one ſo late.

The cenſures paſt at that time.

1533. Some excepted to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s being Judge, who by his former Writings and Disputes had declared himself partial. But to this it was answered, that when a Man changes his Character, all that he did in another Figure is no just Exception: so Judges decide Causes in which they formerly gave Counsel; and Popes are not bound to the Opinions they held when they were Divines or Canonists. It was also said, That the Archbishop did only declare in Legal Form, that which was already judged by the whole Convocation of both Provinces. Some wondered at the Popes stifness, that would put so much to hazard, when there wanted not as good Colours to justifie a Bull, as they had made use of to excuse many other things. But the Emperors Greatness, and the fear of giving the *Lutherans advantages* in disputing the Popes Authority, were on the other hand so prevalent Considerations, that no wonder they wrought much on a Pope, who pretended to no other knowledge but that of Policy; for he had often said, *He understood not the matter*, and therefore left it in other Mens Hands. All Persons excused Queen *Katharine* for standing so stifly to her ground; only her denying so confidently that Prince *Arthur* consummated the Marriage, seems not capable of an excuse. Every body admired Queen *Annes* Conduct, who had managed such a Kings Spirit so long, and had neither surfeited him with great freedom, nor provoked him by the other Extreme: for the King, who was extremely nice in these matters, conceived still an higher Opinion of her; and her being so soon with child after the Marriage, as it made people conclude she had been chaste till then, so they hoped for a Blessing upon it, since there were such early appearances of Issue. Those that favoured the Reformation expected better days under her protection, for they knew she favoured them: But those who were in their hearts for the established Religion did much dislike it; and many of the Clergy, especially the Orders of Monks and Friers, condemned it both in their Sermons and Discourses.

But the King little regarding the Censures of the Vulgar, sent Embassadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, to give notice of his new Marriage, and to justifie it by some of those Reasons, which have been opened in the former parts of this History. He also sent the Lord *Mountjoy* to the Divorced Queen, to let her know what was done, and that she was no more to be treated as *Queen*, but as *Princess Dowager*. He was to mix Promises with Threatnings, particularly concerning her Daughters being put next the Queens Issue in the Succession. But the afflicted Queen would not yield, and said she would not damn her Soul, nor submit to such an Infamy: That she was his Wife, and would never call her self by any other Name, whatever might follow on it, since the Process still depended at *Rome*. That Lord having written a Relation of what had passed between him and her, shewed it to her; but she dashed with a Pen all those places in which she was called Princess Dowager; and would receive no Service at any ones hands, but of those who called her Queen: and she continued to be still served as Queen by all about her. Against which though the King used all the Endeavours he could, not without both threatning and violence to some of the Servants, yet he could never drive her from it: and what he did in that, was thought far below that Height of Mind which appeared in his other Actings; for since he had stript her of the real

Cot. lib. Otho C. 10.

Great-

Greatneſs of a Queen, it ſeemed too much, to vex her for keeping up the Pageantry of it. 1533.

But the news of this made great impreſſions elſewhere. The Emperor received the Kings juſtification very coldly, and ſaid he would conſider what he was to do upon it, which was looked on as a Declaration of War. The *French* King, though he expreſſed ſtill great Friendſhip to the King, yet was now reſolved to link himſelf to the Pope; for the crafty Pope apprehending that nothing made the King of *England* ſo confident, as that he knew his Friendſhip was neceſſary to the *French* King, and fearing they had reſolved to proceed at once to the putting down the Papal Authority in their Kingdoms, (which it appears they had once agreed to do) reſolved by all means to make ſure of the *French* King, which as it would preſerve that Kingdom in his obedience, ſo would perhaps frighten the King of *England* from proceeding to ſuch extremities; ſince that Prince, in whoſe conjunction he truſted ſo much, had forſaken him: Therefore the Pope did ſo vigorouſly purſue the Treaty with *Francis*, that it was as good as ended at this time, and an Interview was projected between them at *Marſeilles*. The Pope did alſo grant him ſo great Power over his own Clergy, that he could ſcarce have expected more, if he had ſet up a Patriarch in *France*; ſo that *Francis* did reſolve to go on in the deſigns, which had been concerted between him and the King of *England*, no further; but ſtill he conſidered his alliance ſo much, that he promiſed to uſe his moſt effectual interceſſion with the Pope to prevent all Cenſures and Bulls againſt the King; and if it were poſſible to bring the matter to an amicable Concluſion. And the Emperour was not ill pleaſed to ſee *France* and *England* divided. Therefore though he had at firſt oppoſed the Treaty between the Pope and *Francis*; yet afterwards he was not troubled that it took effect, hoping that it would diſ-unite thoſe two Kings, whoſe conjunction had been ſo troubleſom to him.

The Pope unites himſelf to the *French* King.

But when the news was brought to *Rome* of what was done in *England* with which it was alſo related that Books were coming out againſt the *Popes Supremacy*, all the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction preſſed the Pope to give a definitive Sentence, and to preceed to Cenſures againſt the King. But the more moderate Cardinals thought, *England* was not to be thrown away with ſuch precipitation: And therefore a Temper was found, that a Sentence ſhould be given upon what had been attempted in *England*, by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* (which in the Stile of the Canon-Law were called the *Attentates*,) for it was pretended that the matter depending in the Court of *Rome*, by the Queens Appeal and the other ſteps that had been made, it was not in the Arch-biſhop's Power to proceed to any Sentence. Therefore in general it was declared, that all that had been attempted or done in *England* about the Kings Suit of Divorce was null, and that the King by ſuch attempts was liable to Excommunication, unleſs he put things again in the State they were in, and that before *September* next, and that then they would proceed further; and this Sentence was affixed in *Dunkirk* ſoon after.

And condemns the Kings proceedings in *England*.

The King reſolving to follow the thing as far as it was poſſible, ſent a great Embaſſy to *Francis*, who was then on his Journey to *Marſeilles*, to diſſwade the Interview and Marriage, till the Pope gave the King ſatisfaction. But the *French* King was engaged in honour to go forward; yet he pro-

1533. teſted he would do all that lay in his Power to compoſe the matter, and that he would take any injury that were done to the King as highly, as if it were done to himſelf; and he deſired the King would ſend ſome to *Marſeilles*, who thereupon ſent *Gardiner* and Sir *Francis Brian*.

Queen *Elizabeth* Born, *Sep.* 7.

But at this time the Queen brought forth a Daughter who was Chriſtened *Elizabeth* (the renowned Queen of *England*) the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* being her God-Father. She was ſoon after declared Princeſs of *Wales*; though Lawyers thought that againſt Law, for ſhe was only *Heir preſumptive*, but not *apparent* to the Crown, ſince a Son coming after, he muſt be preferred. Yet the King would juſtifie what he had done in his Marriage with all poſſible reſpect, and having before declared the Lady *Mary* Princeſs of *Wales*, he did now the ſame in favour of the Lady *Elizabeth*.

An Interview between the Pope and *French* King at *Marſeilles*.

The Interview between the Pope and the *French* King was at *Marſeilles* in *October*, where the Marriage was made up between the Duke of *Orleance* and *Katherine de Medici*; to whom beſides 100000 Crowns Portion, the Principality of many Towns in *Italy*, as *Milan*, *Reggio*, *Piſa*, *Legorn*, *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, and the Dutchy of *Urbio* were given. To the former, the Pope pretended in the Right of the Popedom, and to the laſt in the Right of the Houſe of *Medici*. But the *French* King was to clear all thoſe Titles by his Sword. As for the Kings buſineſs the Pope referred it to the Conſiſtory. But it ſeems there was a ſecret Tranſaction between him and *Francis*, that if the King would in all other things return to his wonted obedience to the Apoſtolick See, and ſubmit the matter to the judgment of the Conſiſtory, (excepting only to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction as partial and incompetent Judges) the Deciſion ſhould be made to his hearts content. This I collect from what will afterwards appear. The King upon the Sentence that was paſſed againſt him, ſent *Bonner* to *Marſeilles*, who procuring an Audience of the Pope, delivered to him the Authentick Inſtrument of the Kings Appeal from him to the next general Council lawfully called. At this the Pope was much incenſed, but ſaid he would conſider of it in Conſiſtory; and having conſulted about it there, he anſwered that the Appeal was unlawful, and therefore he rejected it; and for a general Council, the calling of it belonged to him, and not to the King. About the ſame time the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* being threatned with a Proceſs from *Rome*, put in alſo his Appeal to the next general Council. Upon which *Bonner* delivered the threatnings which he was ordered to make, with ſo much vehemency and fury, that the Pope talked of throwing him in a Cauldron of melted Lead, or of Burning him alive; and he apprehending ſome danger made his eſcape. About the middle of *November* the Interview ended, the Pope returning to *Rome*, and the *French* King to *Paris*, a firm Alliance being eſtabliſhed between them. But upon the Duke of *Orleance* his Marrying the Pope's Neece, I ſhall add one obſervation, that will neither be unpleaſant and impertinent. The Duke of *Orleance* was then but Fourteen Years and Nine Months old, being born on the laſt of *March*, 1518. and yet was believed to have conſummated his Marriage the very firſt night after: ſo the Popes Hiſtorians tell us with much Triumph; though they repreſented that improbable, if not impoſſible in Prince *Arthur*, who was nine Months elder when he died.

The Pope promiſes to give Sentence for the King of *England*'s Divorce.

Fidel. ſerv. Infidt. ſubdit. Reſponſio.

Brevius.

The *French* King prevalls with the King of *England* to ſubmit to the Pope.

Upon the *French* Kings return from *Marſeilles*, the Biſhop of *Paris* was

was ſent over to the King; which (as may be reaſonably collected) followed upon ſome Agreement made at *Marſeilles*, and he prevailed with the King to ſubmit the whole matter to the Pope and the Conſiſtory, on ſuch terms that the Imperialiſts ſhould not be allowed a Voice, becauſe they were Parties, being in the Emperor's Power. None that has obſerved the genius of this King, can think that after he had proceeded ſo far, he would have made this Submiſſion without very good aſſurances; and if there had not been great grounds to expect good effects from it, the Biſhop of *Paris* would not in the middle of Winter have undertaken a Journey from *England* to *Rome*. But the King, it ſeems, would not abaſe himſelf ſo far as to ſend any Submiſſion in writing, till he had fuller aſſurances. The Lord *Herbert* has publiſhed a Letter (which he tranſcribed from the Original, written by the Arch-biſhop of *York* and the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, to the King the 11*th* of *May*, 1534.) giving an account of a Conference they had with a Queen *Katharine*; in which, among other motives they uſed, this was one, to perſwade her to comply with what the King had done: *That the Pope had ſaid at* Marſeilles, *that if the King would ſend a Proxy to* Rome, *he would give the Cauſe for him againſt the Queen, becauſe he knew his Cauſe was good and juſt.* Which is a great preſumption, that the Pope did really give ſome engagements to the *French* King about the Kings buſineſs. 1533.

When the Biſhop of *Paris* came to *Rome*, the Motion was liked, and it was promiſed, that if the King ſent a promiſe of that under his Hand, with an order to his Proxies to appear in Court, there ſhould be Judges ſent to *Cambray* to form the Proceſs, and then the matter ſhould be Determined for him at *Rome*. This was ſent to the King, with the Notice of the day that was prefixed for the return of his Anſwer, and with other Motives which muſt have been very great, ſince they prevailed ſo much. For in anſwer there was a Courier diſpatcht from the King, with a formal promiſe under his hand. And now the matter ſeemed at a point, the *French* Intereſt was great in the Court of *Rome*; four new Cardinals had been made at *Marſeilles*, and there were ſix of that Faction before, which with the Popes Creatures, and the indifferent or venal Voices, ballanced the Imperial Faction, ſo that a wound that was looked on as fatal, was now almoſt healed. But God in his wiſe and unſearchable Providence had deſigned to draw other great ends out of this Rupture, and therefore ſuffered them that were the moſt concerned to hinder it, to be the chief Inſtruments of driving it on. For the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction were now very active, they liked not the Precedent of excluding the Cardinals of the Nation concern'd, out of any buſineſs. But above all things they were to hinder a Conjunction between the Pope and the King of *England*; for the Pope being then allied to *France*, there was nothing the Emperor feared more than the cloſing the Breach with *England*, which would make the union againſt him ſo much ſtronger. Therefore when the day that had been prefixed for the return of the Courier from *England*, was elapſed, they all preſſed the Pope to proceed to a Sentence Definitive and to Cenſures. *Bellay* the Biſhop of *Paris* repreſented the injuſtice of proceeding with ſo much Precipitation, ſince, where there were Seas to croſs, in ſuch a Seaſon, many accidents might occaſion the delay of the Expreſs. The King of *England* had followed this Suit ſix years, and had patience ſo long; therefore he deſired the delay of ſix days,

Which was well received at *Rome*.

Hiſt. Council of *Trent* by *Padre Paulo*.

But the Imperialiſts oppoſed it.

1531. days, and if in that time no return came, they might proceed. But the Imperialists represented, that those were only delays to gain time; and that the King of *England* was still proceeding in his contempt of the Apostolick See, and of the Cardinals, and publishing Books and Libels against them. This so wrought on the angry Pope, that without consulting his ordinary prudence, he brought the business into the Consistory, where the Plurality of voices carried it to proceed to a Sentence. And though the Process had been carryed on all that Winter in their usual Forms, yet it was not so ripe, but by the Rules of the Consistory, there ought to have been three Sessions before Sentence was given. But they concluded all in one day, and so on the 23*d* of *March*, the Marriage between the King and Queen *Katherine* was declared good, and the King required to take her as his Wife; otherwise Censures were to be denounced against him.

And with great preparation procure a Sentence against the King.

Two days after that, the Courier arrived from *England* with the Kings Submission under his hand in due Form, and earnest Letters from the *French* King to have it accepted, that so the business might be composed. When this was known at *Rome*, all the indifferent and wise Cardinals (among whom was *Farnese*, that was afterwards Pope *Paul* the 3*d*) came to the Pope, and desired that it might be again considered before it went further. So it was brought again into the Consistory. But the secret reason of the Imperialists opposing it, was now more pressing, since there was such an appearance of a settlement, if the former Sentence were once recalled. Therefore they so managed the matter, that it was confirmed a-new by the Pope and the Consistory, and they ordered the Emperour to execute the Sentence.

The King resolves to abolish the Popes Power in *England*.

The King was now in so good hope of his business, that he sent Sir *Edward Karne* to *Rome* to prosecute his Suit; who on his way thither, met the Bishop of *Paris*, coming back with his Melancholick account of his unprosperous Negotiation. When the King heard it and understood that he was was used with so much Scorn and contempt at *Rome*, being also the more vexed, because he had come to such a submission, he resolved then to break totally from *Rome*. And in this he was before-hand with that Court. For judging it the best way to procure a peace, to manage the War vigorously, he had held a Session of Parliament from the 15*th* of *January*, till the 30*th* of *March*, in which he had procured a great change of the whole constitution of the Government of the Church. But before I give an account of that, I shall first open all the Arguments and Reasons, upon which I find they proceeded in this Matter.

Which had been much disputed there

The Popes Power had been then for four years together much examined and disputed in *England*; in which they went by these steps, one leading to another. They first controverted his Power of Dispensing with the Law of God. From that they went to examine what Jurisdiction he had in *England*, upon which followed the Convicting the Clergy of a *Præmunire* with their Submission to the King. And that led them to controvert the Popes right to *Annates*, and other Exactions, which they also condemned. The Condemning all Appeals to *Rome* followed that naturally. And now so many Branches of that Power were cut off, the Root was next struck at, and the Foundations

Foundations of the Papal Authority were examined. For near a year together there had been many publick debates about it; and both in the Parliament and Convocation the thing was long disputed, and all that could be alledged on both sides was considered. The Reader will be best able to judge of their reasons, (and thereby of the ripeness of their judgments, when they Enacted the Laws that passed in this Parliament,) when he sees a full account of them; which I shall next set down; not drawn from the Writings and Apologies that have been published since, but from these that came out about that time. For then were written the *The Institution for the necessary Erudition of a Christian Man*, Concluded in the Convocation, and published by Authority; And Another Book, *De Differentia Regiæ & Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis*. The former of these was called the Bishops, and the latter the Kings Book. *Gardiner* also wrote a Book, *De vera Obedientia*, to which *Bonner* prefixed a Preface upon the same Subject. *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, and *Tonstal* Bishop of *Duresme*, wrote a long Letter in defence of the Kings proceedings in this matter to *Reginald* (soon after, Cardinal) *Pool*: from these Writings, and the Sermons preached by some Bishops at this time, with other Authentick pieces, I have extracted the Substance of the Arguments upon which they grounded their Laws, which I shall divide in two heads. The one of the reasons for rejecting the Popes pretended Power. The other for setting up the Kings Supremacy with the Explanations and Limitations of it. 1532. *Pelerine Inglese.* *Hall.*

"First, of the Popes Power, they declared that they found no ground "for it in the Scripture. All the Apostles were made equal by Christ, "when he committed the Church to their care in Common. And "he did often declare, there was no Superiority of one above another. "St. *Paul* claimed an equality with the chief Apostles both *Peter*, "*James*, and *John*; and when he thought St. *Peter* blame-worthy, "he *withstood him to his Face*. But whatsoever Preheminence St. *Peter* "might have, that was only Personal, and there was no reason to af- "fix it to his Chair at *Rome*, more than at *Antioch*. But if any See be to "be preferred before another, it should be *Jerusalem* where *Christ* di- "ed, and out of which the Faith was propagated over all Nations, Christ "Commanding his Disciples to begin their Preaching in it; so that "it was truly the *Mother Church*, and is so called by St. *Paul*, where- "as in the Scripture, *Rome* is called *Babylon*, according to *Tertullian* and "St. *Jerome*. The Arguments upon which it was rejected.

"For the places brought from Scripture in favour of the Papacy, "they jndged that they did not prove any thing for it. That *Thou "art Peter*, and *upon this Rock I will build my Church*, if it prove any "thing in this matter, would prove too much; even that the Church "was founded on St. *Peter*, as he was a private Person, and so on "the Popes in their Personal Capacity. But both St. *Ambrose*, St. "*Jerome*, and St. *Austin*, think, that by the *Rock*, the Confession he "had made was only to be meant. Others of the Fathers thought "by the *Rock*, *Christ* himself was meant, who is the only true Foun- "dation of the Church; though in another Sense all the Apostles are "also called Foundations by St. *Paul*. That, *Tell the Church*, is thought "by *Gerson* and *Æneas Silvius*, (afterwards Pope *Pius* the 2*d*.) ra-

"ther

1533. "ther to make againſt the Pope and for a general Council. And "the Fathers have generally followed St. *Chryſoſtom* and St. *Auſtin*, "who thought that, *the giving of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, "and the Charge, *Feed my Sheep*, were addreſſed to St. *Peter*, in "behalf of all the reſt of the Apoſtles. And that, *I have prayed for* "*thee, that thy Faith fail not*, was only perſonal, and related to his "Fall, which was then Imminent. It is alſo clear by St. *Paul*, that "every Apoſtle had his peculiar Province, beyond which he was not "to ſtretch himſelf; and St. *Peters* Province was the Circumciſion, and "his, the Uncircumciſion, in which he plainly declares his equality with "him.

"This was alſo clear from the conſtant Tradition of the Church "St. *Cyprian* was againſt Appeals to *Rome*, and would not ſubmit to "P. *Stephens* definition in the point of Re-baptizing of Hereticks; and "expreſly ſays, *That all the Apoſtles were equal in Power and that all* "*the Biſhops were alſo equal, ſince the whole Office and Epiſcopate was* "*one entire thing, of which every Biſhop had a compleat and equal ſhare.* "And though ſome places are brought out of him concerning the "Unity of the Roman Church, and of other Churches with it; yet "thoſe places have no relation to any Authority that the *Roman* "Church had over other Churches, but were occaſioned by a Schiſm "that *Novation* had made there at *Rome*, being Elected in oppoſition "to the Biſhop that was rightly choſen; and of that unity only St. "*Cyprian* writes in thoſe place. But from all his Epiſtles to the Bi- "ſhops of *Rome*, it is viſible he look't on himſelf as their Equal, "ſince he calls them *Brother*, *Collegue*, and *Fellow-Biſhop*. And what- "ſoever is ſaid by any Ancient Writer of St. *Peters* Chair, is to be "underſtood of the pure Goſpel, which he delivered, as St. *Auſtin* "obſerves, that by *Moſes Chair*, is to be underſtood *The delivering of* "*Moſes Law*. But though St. *Peter* ſate there, the ſucceeding Popes "have no more right to pretend to ſuch Authority, than the Kings "of *Spain* to claim the *Roman* Empire, becauſe he that is now their "King, is Emperor. When *Conſtantine* turned Chriſtian, the Digni- "ty of the chief City of the Empire made *Rome* to be accounted "the firſt See, but by the General Council of *Nice* it was declared, "that the Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* had the ſame Autho- "rity over the Countries round about them, that he of *Rome* had "over thoſe that lay about that City. It is true, at that time the "*Arrian* Hereſie, having ſpread Generally over the *Eaſtern* Churches, "from which the *Weſtern* were free; the oppreſſed Catholick Biſhops "of the *Eaſt* made appeals to *Rome*, and extolled that See by a na- "tural Maxim in all Men, who magnifie that from which they have "Protection. But the Second General Council took care, that that "ſhould not grow a Preſident, for they decreed that every Province, "ſhould be governed by its own Synod, and that Biſhops when they "were accuſed, muſt firſt be judged by the Biſhops of their own Pro- "vince, and from them they might appeal to the Biſhops of the Dio- "ceſs, but no higher appeal was allowed: and by that Council it ap- "pears, what was the Foundation of the greatneſs of the Biſhop of "*Rome*; for when *Conſtantinople* was made the Seat of the Empire "and *New Rome*, it had the ſame Priviledges that *Old Rome* had, and

"was

" was ſet next to it in order and dignity. In a Council at *Milevi*, in 1534.
" which St. *Auſtin* ſate, they appointed that every Clerk, that ſhould
" appeal to any Biſhop beyond the Sea, ſhould be excommunicated.
" And when *Fauſtianus* was ſent by the Pope to the *African* Churches,
" to claim the Right of receiving Appeals, and pretended a Canon of
" the Council of *Nice* for it, the Pretenſion was rejected by the *African*
" Fathers, who acknowledged no ſuch Right, and had never heard of
" that Canon. Upon which they ſent to the *Eaſtern* Churches, and
" ſearch was every where made for the Copies of the Canons of that
" Council, but it was found that it was a Forgery. From whence two
" things were obſervable: The one, that the Church in that Age had
" no Tradition of any Divine Inſtitution for the Authority of that See,
" ſince as the Popes, who claimed it, never pretended to any ſuch
" thing; ſo the *African* Biſhops by their rejecting that Power, ſhew,
" that they knew nothing of any Divine Warrant; all the Conteſt being
" only about a Canon of the Church. It alſo appeared how early the
" Church of *Rome* aſpired to Power, and did not ſtick at making uſe
" of Forged Writings to ſupport it. But Pope *Agatho* more modeſtly
" writing to the Emperor in his own Name, and in the Name of all the
" Synods that were Subject to his See, calls them *a few Biſhops in the*
" *Northern and Weſtern Parts.* When afterwards the Patriarch of *Con-*
" *ſtantinople* was declared by the Emperor *Mauritius*, *The Univerſal Bi-*
" *ſhop*, *Gregory the Great* did exclaim againſt the Ambition of that Ti-
" tle, as being equal to the Pride of *Lucifer*, and declared, that he who
" aſſumed it was the Fore-runner of *Antichriſt*; ſaying that none of his
" Predeceſſors had ever claimed ſuch a Power. And this was the more
" obſervable, ſince the *Engliſh* were converted by thoſe whom he ſent
" over; ſo that this was the Doctrine of that See, when this Church re-
" ceived the Faith from it.

" But it did not continue long within thoſe limits; for *Boniface*
" the Third aſſumed that Title, upon the Grant of *Phocas*. And as
" that *Boniface* got the Spiritual Sword put in his hand, ſo the Eighth
" of that Name pretended alſo to the Temporal Sword; but they owe
" theſe Powers to the Induſtry of thoſe Popes, and not to any Do-
" nation of *Chriſts*. The Popes when they are Conſecrated promiſe
" to obey the Canons of the Eight firſt General Councils, which if
" they obſerve, they will receive no Appeals, nor pretend to any higher
" Juriſdiction than theſe give to them, and the other Patriarchs e-
" qually.

" As for the Decrees of Latter Councils, they are of leſs Authori-
" ty. For thoſe Councils conſiſted of Monks and Friers in great part,
" whoſe exemptions obtained from *Rome* obliged them to ſupport the
" Authority of that Court, and thoſe who ſate in them knew little of
" the Scriptures, Fathers, or the Tradition of the Church, being only
" converſant in the Diſputes and Learning of the Schools. And for the
" *Florentine* Council, the *Eaſtern* Churches, who ſent the *Greek* Biſhops
" that ſate there, never received their Determination, neither then, nor
" at any time ſince.

" Many places were alſo brought out of the Fathers to ſhow, that they
" did not look on the Biſhops of *Rome* as ſuperior to other Biſhops;
" and that they underſtood not thoſe places of Scripture, which were

1534. " afterwards brought for the Popes Supremacy, in that ſenſe; ſo that if " Tradition be the beſt Expounder of Scripture, thoſe latter gloſſes muſt " give place to the more ancient. But that paſſage of St. *Jerome*, in " which he equals the Biſhops of *Eugubium* and *Conſtantinople* to the " Biſhop of *Rome*, was much made uſe of, ſince he was a Preſbyter of " *Rome*, and ſo likely to underſtand the Dignity of his own Church " beſt. There were many things brought from the Conteſts that other " Sees had with *Rome*, to ſhow, that all the Privileges of that and o- " ther Sees, were only founded on the practice and Canons of the Church, " but not upon any Divine Warrant. *Conſtantinople* pretended to equal " Priviledges. *Ravenna*, *Milan*, and *Aquileia*, pretended to a Patriar- " chal Dignity and Exemption. Some Arch-biſhops of *Canterbury* con- " tended, that Popes could do nothing againſt the Laws of the Church; " ſo *Laurence* and *Dunſtan*. *Robert Groſteſt* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, aſſert- " ed the ſame, and many Popes confeſſed it. And to this day no Con- " ſtitution of the Popes is binding in any Church, except it be recei- " ved by it; and in the daily practice of the Canon-Law, the Cuſtoms " of Churches are pleaded againſt Papal Conſtitutions; which ſhows " their Authority cannot be from God; otherwiſe all muſt ſubmit to their " Laws. And from the latter Conteſts up and down *Europe*, about giv- " ing Inveſtitures, receiving Appeals, admitting of Legates, and Papal " Conſtitutions, it was apparent, that the Papal Authority was a Ty- " ranny, which had been managed by cruel and fraudulent Arts, but was " never otherwiſe received in the Church, than as a Conqueſt to which " they were conſtrained to yield. And this was more fully made out in " *England*, from what paſſed in *William* the Conqueror, and *Henry* " the Second's time, and by the Statutes of *Proviſors* in many King " Reigns, which were ſtill renewed, till within an hundred years of the " preſent time.

Upon theſe Grounds they Concluded, that the Popes Power in *England* had no Foundation, neither in the Law of God, nor in the Law of the Church, or of the Land.

The Arguments for the Kings Supremacy. From the old Teſtament.

" As for the Kings Power over Spiritual Perſons, and in Spiritual Cau- " ſes, they proved it from the Scriptures. In the old Teſtament they " found the Kings of *Iſrael* intermedled in all matters Eccleſiaſtical. *Sa-* " *muel*, though he had been Judge, yet acknowledged *Sauls* Authority: " So alſo did *Abimelech* the High-Prieſt, and appeared before him when " cited to anſwer upon an Accuſation. And *Samuel* (1 *Sam.* 15. 18.) " ſays, *he was made the Head of all the Tribes*. *Aaron*, in that, was an " Example to all the following High-Prieſts who ſubmitted to *Moſes*. " *David* made many Laws about Sacred things, ſuch as, the Order of " the Courſes of the Prieſts and their Worſhip; and when he was dying, " he declared to *Solomon* how far his Authority extended. He told him, " 1 *Chron.* 28. 21. *That the Courſes of the Prieſts and all the People were* " *to be wholly at his commandment:* purſuant to which *Solomon*. 2 *Chron.* " 8. 14, 15. did appoint them *their charges in the Service of God, and* " *both the Prieſts and Levites departed not from his commandment in any* " *matter:* and though he had turned out *Abiathar* from the High-Prieſt- " hood, yet they made no oppoſition. *Jehoſophat*, *Hezekiah* and *Joſias* " made likewiſe Laws about Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

" In

"In the New Teſtament, Chriſt himſelf was obedient, he payed Taxes, 1533.
"he declared that he pretended to no earthly Kingdom, he charged the
"People to *render to Cæſar the things that were Cæſars*, and his Diſciples And the New.
"not to affect temporal Dominion, as the Lords of the Nations did.
"And though the Magiſtrates were then Heathens, yet the Apoſtles
"wrote to the Churches to obey Magiſtrates, to ſubmit to them, to pay
"Taxes, they call the King *Supream*, and ſay he is Gods Miniſter to en-
"courage them that do well, and to puniſh the evil doers, which is ſaid
"of all perſons without exception, and every Soul is charged to be ſub-
"ject to the Higher Power.

"Many paſſages were cited out of the Writings of the Fathers, to
"ſhew, that they thought Church-men were included in theſe pla-
"ces as well as other perſons, ſo that the Tradition of the Church
"was for the Kings Supremacy: and by one place of Scripture the
"King is called *Supream*, by another he is called *Head*, and by a third
"*every Soul muſt be ſubject to him*, which laid together, make up this
"Concluſion, *That the King is the Supream Head over all perſons.* In
"the Primitive Church, the Biſhops in their Councils made Rules for
"ordering their Dioceſes, which they only called *Canons* or *Rules*, nor
"had they any compulſive Authority, but what was derived from the
"Civil Sanctions.

"After the Emperors were Chriſtians, they made many Laws about And the Pra-
"Sacred things, as may be ſeen in the *Codes*; and when *Juſtinian* dige- ctices of the Primitive
"ſted the *Roman* Law, he added many *Novel Conſtitutions* about Eccle- Church.
"ſiaſtical Perſons and Cauſes. The Emperors called General Councils,
"prefided in them, and confirmed them. And many Letters were cited
"of Popes to Emperors, to call Councils, and of the Councils to them
"to Confirm their Decrees. The Election of the Popes themſelves, was
"ſometimes made by the Emperors, and ſometimes confirmed by them.
"Pope *Hadrian* in a Synod decreed, that the Emperor ſhould chooſe
"the Pope: And it was a late and unheard of thing, before the days
"of *Gregory* the *7th*, for Popes to pretend to depoſe Princes, and give
"away their Dominions. This they compared to the pride of *Anti-*
"*Chriſt* and *Lucifer*.

"They alſo argued from Reaſon, that there muſt be but one Supream; And from
"and that the King being Supream over all his Subjects, Clergy-men muſt Reaſon.
"be included, for they are ſtill Subjects. Nor can their being in Orders,
"change that former relation, founded upon the Law of Nature and
"Nations, no more than Wives or Servants, by becoming Chriſtians,
"were not according to the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, diſcharged from
"the Duties of their former Relations.

"For the great Objection from thoſe Offices that are peculiar to their
"Functions, it was anſwered, That theſe notwithſtanding the King might
"well be Supream Head; for in the Natural Body, there were many
"vital motions that proceeded not from the Head, but from the Heart,
"and the other inward Parts and Veſſels; and yet the Head was ſtill
"the chief Seat and Root of Life: So though there be peculiar Fun-
"ctions appropriated to Church-men, yet the King is ſtill Head, having
"Authority over them, and a Power to direct and coerce them in
"theſe.

"From that, they proceeded to ſhow, that in *England*, the Kings And from the Laws of *Eng-land.*

1534. "have always assumed a Supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters. They "began with the most Ancient Writing that relates to the Christian "Religion in *England* then extant, Pope *Eleutherius*'s Letter to King "*Lucius*, in which he is twice called by him *Gods Vicar in his King-* "*dom*, and he writ in it, *that it belong'd to his Office, to bring his Sub-* "*jects to the Holy Church*, and to maintain, protect, and govern them "in it. Many Laws were cited, which *Canutus*, *Ethelred*, *Edgar*, "*Edmond*, *Athelstan* and *Ina* had Enacted concerning Church-men, "many more Laws since the Conquest were also made, both against "Appeals to *Rome*, and Bishops going out of the Kingdom without the "Kings leave.

"The whole business of the Articles of *Clarendon*, and the Contests "that followed between King *Henry* the second, and *Thomas Becket*, were "also opened. And though a Bishops Pastoral care be of Divine In- "stitution, yet as the Kings of *England* had divided Bishopricks as they "pleased, so they also converted Benefices from the Institution of the "Founders, and gave them to Cloisters and Monasteries as King *Edgar* "did; all which was done by the Consent of their Clergy and Nobi- "lity, without dependance on *Rome*; They had also granted these "Houses Exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction, so *Ina* exempted Gla- "*stenbury*, and *Offa* St. *Albans*, from their Bishops Visitation: and "this continued even till the days of *William* the Conqueror, for he to "perpetuate the Memory of the Victory he obtained over *Harald*, and "to endear himself to the Clergy, founded an Abbey in the Field where "the Battel was fought, and called it *Battel-Abbey*, and in the Charter "he granted them, these words are to be found. *It shall be also free* "*and quiet for ever, from all subjection to Bishops, or the Dominion of* "*any other Persons, as Christs Church in* Canterbury *is*, Many other "things were brought out of King *Alfreds* Laws, and a Speech of King "*Edgars*, with several Letters written to the Popes from the Kings, the "Parliaments, and the Clergy of *England*, to show, that their Kings "did always make Laws about Sacred matters, and that their Power "reach'd to that, and to the Persons of Church-men, as well as to their "other Subjects.

The Qualification of that Supremacy.

But at the same time that they pleaded so much for the Kings Supremacy, and Power of making Laws for Restraining and Coercing his Subjects, it appeared that they were far from vesting him with such an absolute Power, as the Popes had pretended to, for they thus defined the extent of the Kings Power. *To them specially and principally, it pertaineth to defend the Faith of Christ and his Religion, to conserve and maintain the true Doctrine of Christ, and all such as be true Preachers and setters forth thereof; and to abolish Abuses, Heresies, and Idolatries, and to punish with corporal pains such as of Malice be the occasion of the same. And finally to oversee and cause that the said Bishops and Priests do execute their Pastoral Office truly and faithfully, and specially in these Points, which by Christ and his Apostles was given and committed to them; and in case they shall be negligent in any part thereof, or would not diligently execute the same, to cause them to redouble and supply their lack: and if they obstinately withstand their Princes kind monition, and will not amend their faults, then and in such case to put others in their rooms and places. And God hath also commanded the said Bi-*

Necessary Erudition upon the Sacrament of Orders.

shops

ſhops and Prieſts to obey with all humbleneſs and Reverence, both Kings, and Princes, and Governours, and all their Laws, not being contrary to the Laws of God, whatſoever they be: and that not only propter Iram, *but alſo* propter Conſcientiam, *that is to ſay, not only for fear of puniſhment, but alſo for diſcharge of Conſcience.* 1534.

Thus it appears, that they both limited obedience to the Kings Laws, with the due Caution of their not being contrary to the Law of God, and acknowledged the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the diſcharge of the Paſtoral Office, committed to the Paſtors of the Church by Chriſt and his Apoſtles; and that the Supremacy then pretended to, was no ſuch Extravagant Power as ſome imagine.

"Upon the whole matter, it was Concluded, that the Popes Pow- "er in *England* had no good Foundation, and had been managed "with as much Tyranny, as it had begun with Uſurpation; the Ex- "actions of their Courts were every where heavy, but in no Place ſo "intolerable as in *England*: and though many complaints were made "of them in theſe laſt 300 years, yet they got no eaſe, and all "the Laws about Proviſors were ſtill defeated and made ineffectual; "Therefore they ſaw it was impoſſible to moderate their proceedings; "ſo that there was no other Remedy, but to extirpate their pre- "tended Authority, and thenceforth to acknowledge the Pope only "Biſhop of *Rome*, with the Juriſdiction about it, defined by the An- "cient Canons: and for the King to re-aſſume his own Authority, and "the Prerogatives of his Crown, from which the Kings of *England* had "never formally departed, though they had for this laſt Hundred years "connived at an Invaſion and Uſurpation upon them, which was no "longer to be endured. The neceſſity of extirpating the Popes Power.

Theſe were the Grounds of caſting off the Popes Power, that had been for two or three years ſtudied and enquired into by all the Learned men in *England*, and had been debated both in Convocation and Parliament; and except *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, I do not find that any Biſhop appeared for the Popes Power: and for the Abbots and Priors, as they were generally very ignorant, ſo what the Cardinal had done in ſuppreſſing ſome Monaſteries, and what they now heard, that the Court had an eye on their Lands, made them to be as complyant as could be. But *Fiſher* was a man of great reputation, and very ancient, ſo that much pains was taken to ſatisfie him. A week before the Parliament ſate down, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* propoſed to him, that he and any Five Doctors, ſuch as he ſhould chooſe, and the Biſhop of *London*, and Five Doctors with him might confer about it, and examine the Authorities of both ſides, that ſo there might be an Agreement among them, by which the ſcandal might be removed, which otherwiſe would be taken from their Janglings and Conteſts among themſelves. *Fiſher* accepted of this, and *Stokeſley* wrote to him on the eighth of *January*, that he was ready whenever the other pleaſed, and deſired him to name time and place; and if they could not agree the matter among themſelves, he moved to refer it to two Learned men whom they ſhould chooſe, in whoſe determination they would both acquieſce. How far this Overture went, I cannot diſcover, and perhaps *Fiſhers* ſickneſs hindred the progreſs of it. But now on the 15*th* of *January*, the Parliament ſate down: by the Journals I find no Pains taken to ſatisfie *Fiſher* about it. The Original is in the *Cott.* lib. *Otho* C. 10.

1534. no other Biſhops preſent but the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Landaffe* and *Carliſle*. There were alſo twelve Abbots preſent, but upon what pretences the reſt excuſed their attendance, I do not know; perhaps ſome made a difference between ſubmitting to what was done, and being active and concurring to make the Change. During the Seſſion a Biſhop preached every *Sunday* at *Pauls*-Croſs, and declared to the People, That the Pope had no Authority at all in *England*. In the two former Seſſions the Biſhops had preached, that the General Council was above the Pope, but now they ſtruck a Note higher. This was done to let the People ſee, what juſtice and reaſon was in the Acts that were then paſſing, to which I now turn, and ſhall next give an account of this great Seſſion of Parliament, which I ſhall put rather in the natural Method according to the matter of the Acts, than in the order of time as they paſſed.

On the 9*th* of *March* a Bill came up from the Commons for diſcharging the Subjects of all dependance on the Court of *Rome*; it was read the
Journal, Procer. firſt time in the Houſe of Lords the 13*th* of *March*, and on the 14*th* was read the ſecond time, and Committed. The Committee reported it on the 19*th*, by which it appears there was no ſtiff nor long oppoſition, and he that was likeſt to make it, was both obnoxious and abſent, as will afterwards appear. On the 19*th* it was read the third time, and on the 20*th* the fourth time, and then paſſed without any proteſtation. Some Proviſo's were added to it by the Lords, to which the Commons agreed, and ſo it was made ready for the Royal Aſſent.

" In the Preamble the intolerable exactions for *Peter*-pence, Proviſ-
" ons, Penſions, and Bulls of all ſorts are complained of, which were
The Act for taking away the Popes Power. " contrary to all Laws, and grounded only on the Popes Power of Diſ-
" penſing, which was uſurped. But the King and the Lords and Com-
" mons within his own Realm had only power to conſider, how any of
" the Laws were to be Diſpenſed with or Abrogated; and ſince the King
It is the Act 21 in the Statute Book, 27 in the Record, and 8 in the Journal. " was acknowledged the Supream Head of the Church of *England* by
" the Prelates and Clergy, in their Covocations, Therefore it was Ena-
" acted that all Payments made to the Apoſtolick Chamber, and all Pro-
" viſions, Bulls, or Diſpenſations ſhould from thenceforth ceaſe. But
" that all Diſpenſations or Licences for things that were not contrary
" to the Law of God, but only to the Law of the Land, ſhould be
" granted within the Kingdom, by, and under the Seals of the two Arch-
" biſhops in their ſeveral Provinces; who ſhould not preſume to grant
" any contrary to the Laws of Almighty God, and ſhould only grant
" ſuch Licences as had been formerly in uſe to be granted, but give no
" Licence for any new thing till it were firſt examined by the King and
" his Council whether ſuch things might be diſpenſed with; and that
" all Diſpenſations which were formerly taxed at, or above 4 *l.* ſhould
" be alſo confirmed under the Great Seal. Then many Clauſes follow
" about the Rates of Licences, and the ways of procuring them. It was
" alſo declared, That they did not hereby intend to vary from Chriſts
" Church about the Articles of the Catholick Faith of Chriſtendom, or
" in any other things declared by the Scriptures, and the Word of God
" neceſſary for their Salvation; confirming withall the exemptions of
" Monaſteries formerly granted by the Biſhop of *Rome*, exempting them
" ſtill from the Arch-biſhops Viſitations; declaring that ſuch Abbeys

" whoſe

" whoſe Elections were formerly confirmed by the Pope, ſhall be now " confirmed by the King; who likewiſe ſhall give Commiſſion under " his Great Seal for viſiting them, providing alſo that Licences and o- " ther Writs obtained from *Rome* before the 12*th* of *March* in that year " ſhould be valid and in force, except they were contrary to the Laws " of the Realm; giving alſo to the King and his Council power to or- " der and reform all Indulgences and Priviledges (or the abuſes of them) " which had been granted by the See of *Rome*. The offenders againſt " this Act were to be puniſhed according to the Statutes of *Proviſors* " and *Præmunire*. 1534.

This Act, as it gave great eaſe to the Subject, ſo it cut off that baſe trade of Indulgences about Divine Laws, which had been ſo gainful to the Church of *Rome*, but was of late fatal to it. All in the Religious Houſes ſaw their Priviledges now ſtruck at, ſince they were to be reformed as the King ſaw cauſe, which put them in no ſmall confuſion. Thoſe that favoured the Reformation rejoyced at this Act, not only becauſe the Popes Power was rooted out, but becauſe the Faith that was to be adhered to, was to be taken from thoſe things, which the Scriptures declared neceſſary to Salvation; ſo that all their fears were now much qualified, ſince the Scripture was to be the Standard of the Catholick Faith. On the ſame day that this Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, another Bill was read for confirming the Succeſſion to the Crown in the Iſſue of the Kings preſent Marriage with Queen *Anne*. It was read the ſecond time on the 21*ſt* of *March*, and Committed. It was reported on the 23*d*, and read the third time and paſſed, and ſent down to the Commons, who ſent it back again to them on the 26*th*; ſo ſpeedily did this Bill go through both Houſes without any oppoſition. The Judgments paſt on that Act.

The Preamble of it was, " The diſtractions that had been in *England* " about the Succeſſion to the Crown, which had occaſioned the effuſi- " on of much Blood, with many other miſchiefs, all which flowed from " the want of a clear Deciſion of the true Title, from which the Popes " had Uſurped a Power of inveſting ſuch as pleaſed them in other Prin- " ces Kingdoms, and Princes had often maintained ſuch Donations for " their other ends; therefore to avoid the like Inconveniences, the " Kings former Marriage with the Princeſs *Katharine*, is judged con- " trary to the Laws of God, and void and of no effect, and the Sentence " paſſed by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* annulling it, is confirmed, and " the Lady *Katharine* is thenceforth to be reputed only Princeſs Dow- " ager, and not Queen, and the Marriage with Queen *Anne* is eſtabliſh- " ed and confirmed: and Marriages within the degrees prohibited by " *Moſes* (which are enumerated in the Statute) are declared to be un- " lawful, according to the Judgment of the Convocations of this Realm, " and of the moſt famous Univerſities and Learned men abroad, any Diſ- " penſations to the contrary notwithſtanding, which are alſo declared " null, ſince contrary to the Laws of God; and all that were Married " within theſe degrees are appointed to be Divorced, and the Children " begotten in ſuch Marriages were declared Illegitimate: And all the " Iſſue that ſhould be between the King and the preſent Queen is de- " clared Lawful, and the Crown was to deſcend on his Iſſue Male by " her, or any other Wife; or in default of Iſſue Male, to the Iſſue Female " by the Queen; and in default of any ſuch, to the right Heirs of the " Kings An Act about the Succeſſion to the Crown; 22 in the Statute Books, 34 in the Record, 26 in the Journal.

1534. " Kings Highneſs for ever: and any that after the firſt of *May* ſhould malici-
" ouſly divulge any thing to the ſlander of the Kings Marriage, or of the
" Iſſue begotten in it, were to be adjudged for miſpriſion of Treaſon, and
" to ſuffer Impriſonment at the Kings Will, and forfeit all their Goods and
" Chattels to him: And if the Queen out-lived the King, ſhe is declared
" Regent till the Iſſue by her were of Age, if a Son 18, and if a Daugh-
" ter 16 years of Age; and all the Kings Subjects were to ſwear that they
" would maintain the Contents of this Act, and whoever being required,
" did refuſe it, was to be judged guilty of miſpriſion of Treaſon, and pu-
" niſhed accordingly. The Oath it ſeems was likewiſe agreed on in the
Houſe of Lords, for the Form of it is ſet down in their Journal as follows.

The Oath about the Succeſſion. " Ye ſhall Swear to bear Faith, Truth, and Obedience alonely to the
" Kings Majeſty, and to his Heirs of his Body of his moſt dear and en-
" tirely beloved lawful Wife Queen *Anne*, begotten and to be begotten.
" And further, to the Heirs of our ſaid Soveraign Lord according to the
" limitation in the Statute made for ſurety of his Succeſſion in the
" Crown of this Realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other
" within this Realm, nor Foreign Authority or Potentate. And in caſe
" any Oath be made, or hath been made, by you to any Perſon or Per-
" ſons, that then ye to repute the ſame as vain and annihilate. And that
" to your cunning, wit, and uttermoſt of your Power, without guile,
" fraud, or other undue means, ye ſhall obſerve, keep, maintain, and
" defend the ſaid Act of Succeſſion, and all the whole Effects and Con-
" tents thereof, and all other Acts and Statutes made in Confirmation, or
" for Execution of the ſame, or of any thing therein contained. And
" this ye ſhall do againſt all manner of Perſons of what Eſtate, Dignity,
" Degree, or Condition ſoever they be; and in no wiſe to do or attempt,
" nor to your power ſuffer to be done or attempted, directly or indi-
" rectly, any thing or things, privily or apartly, to the let, hindrance, da-
" mage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the ſame, by any man-
" ner of means, or for any manner of pretence. So help you God, and
" all Saints, and the holy Evangeliſts.

And thus was the Kings Marriage confirmed. But when the Commons returned this Bill to the Lords, they ſent them another with it, concerning the proceedings againſt Hereticks. There had been complaints made formerly, as was told before, of the ſevere and intolerable proceedings in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts againſt Hereticks: And on the 4*th* of *February*, the Commons ſent up a Complaint made by one *Thomas Philips* againſt the Biſhop of *London*, for uſing him cruelly in Priſon, upon the ſuſpition of Hereſie; but the Lords doing nothing in it, on the firſt of *March* the Houſe of Commons ſent ſome of their number to the Biſhop, requiring him to make anſwer to the Complaints exhibited againſt him, who acquainted the Houſe of Lords with it the next day: but as they had formerly laid aſide the Complaint as not worthy of their time, ſo they all with one conſent anſwered, That it was not fit for any of the Peers to appear or anſwer at the Barr of the Houſe of Commons. Upon this the Houſe of Commons finding they could do nothing in that particular caſe, reſolved to provide an effectual remedy for ſuch abuſes for the future: And therefore ſent up a Bill about the puniſhment of Hereticks, which was read that day for the firſt time, and the ſecond and third time on the 27*th* and 28, in which it paſſed.

Journal Procer.

" The

"The Acts was a Repeal of the Statute of 2*d* of *Henry* the 4*th* by "which Bishops upon suspicion of Heresy might commit any to Prison, "*as was before told*, but in that Act there was no Declaration made, "what was Heresie, except in the general words of what was contrary "to Scriptures, or *Canonical Sanctions*. This was liable to great Ambi- "guity, by which Men were in much danger, and not sufficiently in- "structed what was Heresie. They also complained of their proceedings "without Presentment or Accusation, contrary to what was practised "in all other Cases, even of Treason it self; and many *Canonical Sanctions* had been established only by Popes without any Divine Precept, therefore they repealed the Act of *Henry* the 4*th*, but left the "Statutes of *Richard* the 2*d* and *Henry* the 5*th* still in force, with the following Regulation: That Hereticks should be proceeded against upon "Presentments, by two Witnesses at least, and then be committed, but "brought to answer to their Enditements in open Court; and if they "were found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapse, to be adjudged to death; the King's Writ *De Haretico comburendo* being first "obtained. It was also declared, that none should be troubled upon "any of the Popes Canons or Laws, or for speaking or doing against "them. It was likewise provided that Men committed for Heresie "might be bailed. 1534. Act about punishing Hereticks, 14 in the Statute Book. 33 in the Record, 31 in the Journal.

It may easily be imagined how acceptable this Act was to the whole Nation, since it was such an effectual limitation of the Ecclesiastical Power, in one of the uneasiest parts of it; and this Regulation of the Arbitrary Proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, was a particular Blessing to all that favoured Reformation. But as the Parliament was going on with these good Laws, there came a Submission from the Clergy then sitting in Convocation, to be passed in Parliament. With what opposition it went through the two Houses of Convotion, and the House of Commons, is not known; for as the Registers of the Convocation are burnt, so it does not appear that there were any Journals kept in the House of Commons at that time. On the 27*th* of *March* it was sent up to the Lords, and since the Spiritual Lords had already consented to it, there was no reason to apprehend any opposition from the Temporal Lords. The Session was now near an end, so they made haste and read it twice that day, and the third time the next day, and passed it. The Contents of it were: "The Clergy acknowledged that all Convocati- "ons had been and ought to be assembled by the King's Writ; and pro- "mised *in verbo Sacerdotii*, that they would never make nor execute "any new Canons or Constitutions, without the Royal Assent to them; "and since many Canons had been received that were found prejudicial "to the King's Prerogative, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and hea- "vy to the Subjects, That therefore there should be a Committee of "thirty two Persons, sixteen of the two Houses of Parliament, and as "many of the Clergy to be named by the King, who should have full "power to abrogate or confirm Canons as they found it expedient; the "King's Assent being obtained. This was confirmed by Act of Parliament, "and by the same Act all Appeals to *Rome* were again condemned. If "any party found themselves agrieved in the the Arch-bishops Courts, an "Appeal might be made to the King in the Court of *Chancery*; and "the Lord Chancellor was to grant a Commission under the Great The Submission made by the Clergy to the King, 19 in the Statute Book, 25 in the Record.

1534. "Seal for ſome Delegates, in whoſe determination all muſt acquieſce.
"All exempted Abbots were alſo to appeal to the King; and it concluded with a Proviſo, that till ſuch Correction of the Canons was made, "all thoſe which were then received ſhould ſtill remain in force, except "ſuch as were contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realms, or "were to the damage or hurt of the King's Prerogative.

This Proviſo ſeemed to have a fair colour, that there might ſtill be ſome Canons in force to govern the Church by; but ſince there was no day prefixed to the Determination of the Commiſſion, this Proviſo made that the Act never took effect; for now it lay in the Prerogative, and in the Judges Breaſt, to declare what Canons were contrary to the Laws, or the Rights of the Crown: and it was judged more for the King's Greatneſs to keep the matter undetermined, than to make ſuch a Collection of Eccleſiaſtical Laws as ſhould be fixed and unmoveable. The laſt of the publick Acts of this Seſſion that related to the Church, was about the Election and Conſecration of Biſhops. On the fourth of *February* the Commons ſent up a Bill to the Lords about the Conſecration of Biſhops; it lay on the Table till the 27*th* of *February*, and was then caſt out, and a new one drawn. On what reaſon it was caſt out, is not mentioned, and the Journal does not ſo much as ſay that it was once read. The new Bill had its ſecond reading the third of *March*, and on the fifth it was ordered to be engroſſed; and on the ninth it was read the third time, and agreed to, and ſent down to the Commons, who returned it to the Lords on the 16*th* of *March*. "The firſt part of it is "a confirmation of their former Act againſt *Annates*, to which they add- "ded, that Biſhops ſhould not be any more preſented to the Biſhop of "*Rome*, or ſue out any Bulls there, but that all Biſhops ſhould be pre- "ſented to the Arch-biſhop, and Arch-biſhops to any Arch-biſhop in "the King's Dominions, or to any four Biſhops whom the King ſhould "name; and that when any See was vacant, the King was to grant a "Licence for a new Election, with a Letter miſſive, bearing the name "of the Perſon that was to be choſen: and twelve days after theſe were "delivered, an Election was to be returned by the Dean and Chapter, "or Prior and Convent, under their Seals. Then the Perſon elected "was to ſwear Fealty to the King, upon which a Commiſſion was to "be iſſued out, for conſecrating and inveſting him with the uſual Ce- "remonies; after which he was to do Homage to the King, and be re- "ſtored both to the Spiritualities and Temporalities of his See, for "which the King granted Commiſſions during the vacancy: and whoſo- "ever refuſed to obey the Contents of the Act, or acted contrary to it, "were declared within the Statute of *Premunire*. There paſſed a pri- vate Act for depriving the Biſhops of *Saliſbury* and *Worceſter*, who were Cardinal *Campegio* and *Jerome de Ghinuccii*; the former deſerved greater Severities at the King's hand, but the latter ſeems to have ſerved him faithfully, and was recommended both by the King and the *French* King about a year before to a Cardinals Hat. "The Preamble of the Act "bears, That Perſons promoted to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices ought to re- "ſide within the Kingdom for preaching the Laws of Almighty God, "and for keeping Hoſpitality; and ſince theſe Prelates did not that, but "lived at the Court of *Rome*, and neglected their Dioceſſes, and made "the Revenues of them be carried out of the Kingdoms, contrary to the "in

Journal Procer.

Acts about Election of Biſhops 20 in Statute-Book, 26 in the Record.

Collection Number 48.

"intentions of the Founders, and to the prejudice of the Realm, 3000 *l.* 1534.
"being at leaſt carried yearly out of the Kingdom; therefore their Di-
"oceſſes were declared vacant.

But now I come to the Act of the Attainder of *Elizabeth Barton*, and her Complices, which I ſhall open fully, ſince it was the firſt ſtep that was made to Rebellion, and the firſt occaſion of putting any to death upon this Quarel; and from it one will clearly ſee, the *Genius* of that part of the Clergy that adhered to the Intereſts of the Court of *Rome*. On the 21*ſt* of *February* the Bill was ſent up to the Lords, and read the firſt time; on the 26*th* it was read the ſecond time, and committed; then the Witneſſes and other Evidences were brought before them, but chiefly ſhe with all her Complices, who confeſſed the Crimes charged on her. It was reported and read the ſixth of *March* the third time, and then the Lords addreſſed to the King to know his pleaſure, whether Sir *Thomas More*, and othes mentioned in the Act as *Complices*, or at leaſt *Concealers*, might not be heard to ſpeak for themſelves in the Star-Chamber: As for the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* he was ſick, but he had written to the Houſe all that he had to ſay for his own excuſe. What preſumptions lay againſt Sir *Thomas More*, I have not been able to find out, only that he wrote a Letter to the Nun, at which the King took great Exceptions; yet it appears he had a mean opinion of her, for in diſcourſe with his beloved Daughter Miſtreſs *Roper*, he called her commonly the ſilly Nun. But for juſtifying himſelf, he wrote a full acount of all the entercourſe he had with the Nun and her Complices to *Cromwell*; but tho by his other printed Letters, both to *Cromwell* and the King, it ſeems ſome ill Impreſſions remained in the King's Mind about it, he ſtill continued to juſtifie not only his Intentions, but his Actions in that particular. One thing is not unworthy of obſervation, that *Raſtal*, who publiſhed his Works in Queen *Maries* time, printed the ſecond Letter he wrote to *Cromwell*, yet did not publiſh that account which he ſent firſt to him concerning it, to which *More* refers himſelf in all his following Letters; though it is more like a Copy of that would have been perſerved, than of thoſe other Letters that refer to it. But perhaps it was kept up on deſign; for in Queen *Maries* time they had a Mind to magnify that ſtory of the Nun's, ſince ſhe was thought to have ſuffered on her Mothers account: and among the other things ſhe talked, one was that the Lady *Mary* ſhould one day Reign in *England*, for which *Sanders* has ſince thought fit to make a Propheteſs of her. And it is certain, *More* had a low opinion of her, which appears in many places of his printed Letters; but that would have been much plainer, if that full account he wrote of that Affair had been publiſhed; and therefore that one of their Martyrs might not leſſen the eſteem of another, it was fit to ſuppreſs it. Whether my Conjectures in this be well grounded or not, is left to the Readers Judgment. In Concluſion, *More*'s Juſtifications ſeconded with the good Offices that the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, and *Cromwell* did him, (who, as appears by his Letters, ſtood his Friends in that matter) did ſo work on the King, that his Name was put out of the Bill, and ſo the Act was agreed on by both Houſes, and the Royal Aſſent followed. The matter was this, "*Elizabeth Barton* of *Kent*, in the Pariſh of *Aldington*, "being ſick and diſtempered in her Brain, fell in ſome Trances, (It

The Act about the Maid of *Kent*, and her Complices.

12 in Statute Book, 31 in the Record, 7 in the Journal.

See his Works, *Pag.* 1435.

1534. "seems by the Symptoms they were Hysterical Fits) and spoke many "words that made great Impressions on some about her, who thought "her inspired of God, and *Richard Master*, Parson of the Parish, "hoping to draw great advantages from this, went to *Warham* "Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and gave him a large account of her "Speeches, who ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring "him a further report of any new Trances, she might afterwards fall in. "But she had forgot all she had said in her Fits, yet the crafty Priest "would not let it go so, but perswaded her, that what she had said, "was by the Inspiration of the *Holy Ghost*, and that she ought to "own that it was so. Upon which he taught her to counterfeit such "Trances, and to utter such Speeches as she had done before; so "that after a whiles Practice, she became very ready at it. The "thing was much noised abroad, and many came to see her, but the "Priest had a mind to raise the reputation of an Image of the Blessed "*Virgin*, that was in a Chappel within his Parish, that so Pilgrim-"ges being made to it, he might draw these advantages from it, that "others made from their famed Images, but chose for his Associ-"ate one Doctor *Bocking*, a Canon of Christ-Church in *Canterbury*: "Upon which they instructed her to say in her counterfeited Tran-"ces, that the Blessed Virgin had appeared to her, and told her she "could never recover, till she went and visited her Image in the "Chappel. They had also taught her in her Fits to make strange "motions with her Body, by which she was much disfigured, and "to speak many Godly Words against Sin, and the new Doctrine, "which were called Heresies, as also against the King's Suit of Divorce. "It was also noised abroad, on what day she intended to go and visit "the Image of the Virgin, so that about 2000 People were gather-"ed together, and she being brought to the Chappel, fell into her "Fits, and made many strange Grimaces and Alterations of her Body, "and spake many words of great Piety, saying, that by the Inspi-"ration of God, she was called to be a Religious Woman, and that "*Bocking* was to be her Ghostly Father. And within a little while "she seemed by the intercession of our Lady, to be perfectly recon-"red of her former Distempers, and she afterwards professed a Relig-"ous Life. There were also violent suspicions of her Incontinency, "and that *Bocking* was a Carnal, as well as a Spiritual Father. She "fell in many raptures and pretended she saw strange Visions, heard "Heavenly Melady, and had the Revelation of many things that "were to come, so that great credit was given to what she said, and "People generally looked on her as a Propheteſs, and among those "the late Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* was led away with the rest. "A Book was writ of her Revelations and Prophecies by one *Dering* "another Monk, who was taken in to the Conspiracy with many "others. It was also given out that *Mary Magdalen* gave her a Let-"ter that was writ in Heaven, which was shewed to many, being all "writ in Golden Letters. She pretended when the King was last at "*Calais*, that he being at Mass, an Angel brought away the Sacra-"ment and gave it to her, being then invisibly present, and that she "was presently brought over the Sea to her Monastery again. But "the design of all these Trances was to alienate the People from their

"Duty

" Duty to the King, for the Maid gave it out, that God revealed to 1534.
" her, that if the King went on in the Divorce and married another
" Wife, *he ſhould not be King a Month longer, and in the reputation of*
" *Almighty God not one hour longer, but ſhould die a Villains Death.*
" This, ſhe ſaid was revealed to her in anſwer to the Prayers ſhe had
" put up to God, to know whether he approved of the King's Proceed-
" ings or not? Which coming to the knowledg of the Biſhop of *Roche-*
" *ſter* and ſome others, who adhered to the Queens Intereſts, they had
" frequent meetings with the Maid, and concealed what ſhe ſpake
" concerning the King, and ſome of them gave ſuch credit to what ſhe
" ſaid, that they practiſed on many others to draw them from their
" Allegiance, and prevailed with ſeveral of the Fathers and Nuns of
" *Sion*, of the *Charter-Houſe* in *London* and *Shene*, and of the Obſer-
" vants of *Richmont*, *Greenwich* and *Canterbury*, with a great many o-
" ther Perſons.

The Inſolence of ſome of the Friars.

This appeared moſt ſignally at *Greenwich*, where the King lived moſt in Summer, for one *Peto* being to preach in the King's Chappel, denounced heavy Judgments upon him to his face, and told him, *that many lying Prophets had deceived him, but he as a true* Michajah *warned him that the Dogs ſhould lick his Blood as they had done* Ahabs (for that Prophecy about *Ahab* was his Text) with many other bitter words, and concluded, *that it was the greateſt miſery of Princes, to be daily ſo abuſed by Flatterers as they were.* The King bore it patiently, and expreſſed no ſigns any of Commotion, but to undeceive the People, he took care that Dr. *Corren* or *Curwin* ſhould preach next *Sunday*, who juſtified the King's Proceedings, and condemned *Peto* as a Rebel, a Slanderer, a Dog, and a Traytor. *Peto* was gone to *Canterbury*, but another obſervant Frier of the ſame Houſe, *Elſton* interrupted him: and ſaid he was one of the lying Prophets, that ſought by Adultery to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion to the Crown, and that he would juſtify all that *Peto* had ſaid, and ſpake many other things with great vehemency, nor could they ſilence him, till the King himſelf commanded him to hold his Peace. And yet all that was done either to him, or *Peto*, was, that being called before the Privy Council, they were rebuked for their inſolence, by which it appears, that King *Henry* was not very eaſily inflamed againſt them, when a Crime of ſo high a Nature was ſo ſlightly paſſed over. *Stow.*

" Nor was this all, but the Fathers that were in the Conſpiracy,
" had confederated to publiſh theſe Revelations in their Sermons, up
" and down the Kingdom. They had alſo given notice of them to the
" Popes Ambaſſadors, and had brought the Maid to declare her Reve-
" lations to them, they had alſo ſent an account to Queen *Katherine*
" for encouraging her to ſtand out and not ſubmit to the Laws, of
" which Confederacy *Thomas Abel* was likewiſe one. The thing that
was in ſo many hands could not be a Secret, therefore the King who had *Stow.*
deſpiſed it long, ordered that in *November* the former year the Maid and her Complices, *Richard Maſter*, Doctor *Bocking*, *Richard Deering*, *Henry Gold*, a Parſon in *London*, *Hugh Rich* an obſervant Frier, *Richard Risby*, *Thomas Gold* and *Edward Twaites* Gentlemen, and *Thomas Laurence* ſhould be brought into the Star-Chamber, where there was a great appearance of many Lords, they were examined upon

the

1534. the premiſes, and did all without any rack or torture confeſs the whole Conſpiracy, and were adjudged to ſtand in *Pauls* all the Sermon time; and after Sermon, the King's Officers were to give every one of them his Bill of Confeſſion to be openly read before the People, which was done next *Sunday*, the Biſhop of *Bangor* preaching, they being all ſet in a Scaffold before him. This publick manner was thought upon good grounds, to be the beſt way to ſatisfie the People of the Impoſture of the whole matter, and it did very much convince them, that the cauſe muſt needs be bad, where ſuch methods were uſed to ſupport it. From thence they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the Seſſion of Parliament, but when they lay there, ſome of their Complices ſent Meſſages to the Nun, to encourage her to deny all that ſhe had ſaid; and it is very probable, that the reports that went abroad of her being forced or cheated into a Confeſſion, made the King think it neceſſary to proceed more ſeverely againſt her. The thing being conſidered in Parliament, it was judged a Conſpiracy againſt the King's Life and Crown. So the *Nun* and *Maſter*, *Bocking*, *Deering*, *Rich*, *Risby*, and *Henry Gold*, were attainted of High Treaſon. And the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Gold*, *Thomas Laurence*, *Edward Twaites*, *John Addeſon*, and *Thomas Abel*, were judged guilty of miſpriſion of Treaſon, and to forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, and to be impriſoned during his Pleaſure, and all the Books that were written of her Revelations, were ordered to be ſent in, to ſome of the chief Officers of State, under the pains of Fine and Impriſonment. It had been alſo found, that the Letter which ſhe pretended to have got from *Mary Magdalen*, was written by one *Hankherſt* of *Canterbury*, and that the Door of the *Dormitorie*, which was given out to be made open by Miracle, that ſhe might go into the Chappel for Converſe with God, was opened by ſome of her Complices, for beaſtly and carnal Ends. But in the Concluſion of the Act, all others who had been corrupted in their Allegiance by theſe Impoſtures, except the Perſons before named, were at the earneſt interceſſion of Queen *Anne* pardoned.

The Two Houſes of Parliament (having ended their buſineſs) were prorogued on the 29*th* of *March*, to the third of *November*, and before they broke up, all the Members of both Houſes, that they might give a good example to the King's other Subjects, ſwore the Oath of Succeſſion, as appears from the Act made about it in the next Seſſion of Parliament. The Execution of theſe Perſons was delayed for ſome time, it is like, till the King had a return from *Rome*, of the Meſſenger he had ſent thither with his Submiſſion.

Soon after that, on the 20*th* of *April*, the *Nun* and *Bocking*, *Maſter*, *Deering*, *Risby* and *Gold* (*Rich* is not named, being perhaps either dead or pardoned) were brought to *Tiburn*. The *Nun* ſpake theſe words. *Hither I am come to die, and I have not been only the cauſe of mine own Death, which moſt juſtly I have deſerved, but alſo I am the cauſe of the Death of all thoſe Perſons, which at this time here ſuffer. And yet to ſay the truth, I am not ſo much to be blamed, conſidering that it was well known to theſe Learned Men, that I was a poor Wench without Learning, and therefore they might eaſily have perceived, that the things that were done by me, could not proceed in no ſuch ſort; but their Capacities*

The *Nuns* Speech at her Death.

Hall.

and

and Learning could right well judg, from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned; but because the thing which I feigned was profitable to them, therefore they much praised me, and bore me in hand, that it was the Holy Ghost and not I, that did them; and then I being puffed up with their Praises, fell into a certain pride and foolish Fantasie with my self, and thought I might feign what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case: and for the which now, I cry God and the Kings Highness most heartily Mercy, and desire you all good People, to pray to God to have Mercy on me, and on all them that here suffer with me. 1534.

On all this I have dwelt the longer, both because these are all called Martyrs by *Sanders*, and that this did first provoke the King against the Regular Clergy, and drew after it all the Severities that were done in the rest of his Reign. The foulness and the wicked designs of this Imposture, did much alienate People from the Interest of *Rome*, and made the other Acts both pass more easily, and the better received by the People. It was also generally believed, that what was now discovered was no new Practice, but that many of the Visions and Miracles, by which Religious Orders had raised their Credit so high, were of the same Nature: and it made way for the destroying of all the Monasteries in *England*, tho all the Severity which at this time followed on it, was, that the *Observant* Friers of *Richmont*, *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Newark*, and *Newcastle*, were removed out of their Houses, and put with the other *Gray-Friers*, and *Augustin-Friers* were put in their Houses. *Stow.*

But because of the great name of *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and since this was the first step to his ruin, it is necessary to give a fuller account of his Carriage in this matter. When the Cheat was first discovered, *Cromwell*, then Secretary of State, sent the Bishops Brother to him, with a sharp reproof for his Carriage in that business; but withal advised him to write to the *King*, and acknowledge his Offence, and desire his Pardon, which he knew the *King*, considering his Age and Sickness, would grant. But he wrote back, excusing himself, that all he did, was only to try whether her Revelations were true: He confessed, he conceived a great Opinion of her Holiness, both from common Fame, and her entring into Religion; from the report of her Ghostly Father, whom he esteemed Learned and Religious, and of many other Learned and Vertuous Priests; from the good opinion the late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had of her, and from what is in the Prophet *Amos*, *That God will do nothing without revealing it to his Servants.* That upon these grounds, he was induced to have a good opinion of her; and that to try the truth about her, he had sometimes spoken with her, and sent his Chaplains to her, but never discovered any Falshood in her. And for his concealing what she had told him about the King, which was laid to his charge, he thought it needless for him to speak of it to the King, since she had said to him, that she had told it to the King her self: She had named no Person who should kill the King, which by being known, might have been prevented. And as in Spiritual Things, every Church-man was not bound to denounce Judgments against those that could not bear it; so in Temporal Things, the case may be the same; and the King had on other occasions spoken so sharply to him that

Fisher gently dealt with.

But is obstinate and intractable.

1534. that he had reason to think, the King would have been offended with him for speaking of it, and would have suspected that he had a hand in it; therefore he desired for the passion of Christ to be no more troubled about that matter, otherwise he would speak his Conscience freely. To all which, *Cromwell* wrote a long Letter, which the Reader will find in the Collection, copied from the rude draught of it, written with his own hand. In which he charges the Matter upon him heavily, and shews him, that he had not proceeded as a grave *Prelate* ought to have done; for he had taken all that he had heard of her upon trust, and had examined nothing; that if every Person that pretends to Revelations were believed on their own word, all Government would be thereby destroyed. He had no reason to conclude from the Prophecy of *Amos*, that every thing that is to fall out, must be revealed to some Prophet, since many notable things had fallen out, of which there was no Revelation made before hand. But he told him the true reason that made him give credit to her, was the matter of her Prophecies: to which he was so addicted, as he was to every other thing in which he once entred, that nothing could come amiss that served to that end. And he appealed to his Conscience, whether if she had prophecied for the King, he would have given such easie credit to her, and not have examined the matter further. Then he shows how guilty he was, in not revealing what concerned the King's Life, and how frivolous all his excuses were. And after all, tells him, that though his excusing the matter had provoked the King, and that if it came to a Trial, he would certainly be found guilty; yet again he advises him to beg the King's Pardon for his Negligence, and Offence in that matter; and undertakes that the King would receive him into his favour, and that all matters of Displeasure past before that time, should be forgiven and forgotten. This shows that though *Fisher* had in the progress of the King's Cause, given him great Offence, yet he was ready to put it all over, and not to take the advantage which he now had against him. But *Fisher* was still obstinate, and made no submission, and so was included within the Act for misprision of Treason; and yet I do not find, that the King proceeded against him upon this Act, till by new provocations he drew a heavier storm of Indignation upon himself.

Collection Number 49. *Cott.* Lib. *Cleopat.* E. 4.

When the Session of Parliament was at an end, Commissioners were sent every where to offer the Oath of the Succession to the Crown, to all, according to the Act of Parliament, which was universally taken by all sorts of Persons. *Gardiner* wrote from *Winchester* the sixth of *May* to *Cromwell*, that in the presence of the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord *Audley*, and many other Gentlemen, all Abbots, Priors, Wardens, with the Curates of all Parishes and Chappels within the Shire, had appeared and taken the Oath very obediently; and had given in a List of all the Religious Persons in their Houses of 14 years of Age and above, for taking whose Oaths some Commissioners were appointed. The forms in which they took the Oath are not known, and it is no wonder, for though they were enrolled, yet in Queen *Maries* time there was a Commission given to *Bonner* and others, to examine the Records, and raze out of them all things that were

The Oath for the Succession generally sworn. *Orig. Cott.* Lib. *Otho.* C. 10.

were done either in contempt of the See of *Rome*, or to the defamation of Religious Houſes, purſuant to which, there are many things taken out of the Rolls, which I ſhall ſometimes have occaſion afterwards to take notice of; yet ſome Writings have eſcaped their Diligence, ſo there remains but two of the Subſcriptions of Religious Orders, both bearing date the 4th of *May* 1534. One is by the Prior and Convent of *Langley Regis*, that were Dominicans, the Franciſcans of *Ailesbury*, the Dominicans of *Dunſtable*, the Franciſcans of *Bedford*, the Carmelites of *Hecking*, and the Franciſcans *de Mare*. The other is by the Prioreſs and Convent of the Dominican Nuns at *Deptford*. 1534.

"In theſe, beſides the renewing their Allegiance to the King, they "ſwear the Lawfulneſs of his Marriage with Queen *Anne*, and that "they ſhall be true to the Iſſue begotten in it; that they ſhall al- "ways acknowledge the King, Head of the Church of *England*: "and that the Biſhop of *Rome* has no more Power than any other "Biſhop has in his own Dioceſs; and that they ſhould ſubmit to all "the King's Laws, notwithſtanding the Pope's Cenſures to the con- "trary. That in their Sermons they ſhould not pervert the Scrip "tures, but preach Chriſt and his Goſpel ſincerely according to the "Scriptures, and the Tradition of Orthodox and Catholick Doctors; "and in their Prayers, that they ſhould pray firſt for the King, as Su- "preme Head of the Church of *England*, then for the Queen and her "Iſſue, and then for the Arch biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other ranks "of the Clergy. To this theſe ſix Priors ſet their Hands with the Seals of their Convents, and in their Subſcriptions declared, that they did it freely and uncompelled, and in the name of all the Brethren in the Convent. Collect. *Numb.* 50. *Rot. Claus.*

Thoſe laſt Clauſes are not in the other Writing.

But Sir *Thomas More* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, refuſed to take the Oath as it was conceived: Whoſe Fall being ſo remarkable, I ſhall ſhew the ſteps of it. There was a meeting of the Privy Council at *Lambeth*, to which many were cited to appear, and take the Oath. Sir *Thomas More* was firſt called, and the Oath was tendred to him under the great Seal: then he called for the Act of Succeſſion, to which it related, which was alſo ſhewed him: having conſidered of them, he ſaid he would neither blame theſe that made the Act, nor thoſe that ſwore the Oath, but for his part, though he was willing to ſwear to the Succeſſion, if he might be ſuffered to draw an Oath concerning it, yet for the Oath that was offered him, his Conſcience ſo moved him, that he could not without hazarding his Soul take it. Upon this, the Lord Chancellour told him, that he was the firſt who had refuſed to ſwear it, and that the King would be highly offended with him for denying it, and ſo he was deſired to withdraw and conſider better of it. Several others were called upon, and did all take the Oath, except the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who anſwered upon the matter as *More* had done. When the Lords had diſpatched all the reſt, *More* was again brought before them: they ſhewed him how many had taken it: he anſwered, he judged no Man for doing it, only he could not do it himſelf. Then they asked the Reaſons why he refuſed it: He anſwered, he feared it might provoke the King more againſt him, if he ſhould offer Reaſons which would be called a diſputing againſt Law: but when he was further preſſed to give his Rea- *More* and *Fiſher* refuſe the Oath.

See his Works, *P.* 1428.

1534. sons, he said if the King would command him to do it, he would put them in Writing.

The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* urged him with this Argument, That since he said he blamed no other Person for taking it, it seemed he was not perswaded it was a Sin, but was doubtful in the matter: but he did certainly know, he ought to obey the King, and the Law, so there was a certainty on the one hand, and only a doubt on the other; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithstanding these his doubtings. This did shake him a little, especially (as himself writes,) *coming out of so Noble a Prelats Mouth:* but he answered, that, though he had examined the matter very carefully, yet his Conscience leaned positively to the other side; and he offered to purge himself by his Oath, that it was purely out of a Principle of Conscience, and out of no light Fantasie or Obstinacy that he thus refused it. The Abbot of *Westminster* pressed him, that however the matter appeared to him, he might see his Conscience was erronious, since the great Council of the Realm was of another mind; and therefore he ought to change his Conscience. (A Reasoning very fit for so rich an Abbot, which discovers of what temper his Conscience was.) But to this *More* answered, that if he were alone against the whole Parliament, he had reason to suspect his own Understanding; but he thought he had the whole Council of Christendom on his side, as well as the great Council of *England* was against him. Secretary *Cromwell*, who (as *More* writes) *tenderly favoured him*, seeing his Ruine was now inevitable, was much affected at it; and protested with an Oath, he had rather his own only Son had lost his Head, than that he should have refused the Oath. Thus both he and the Bishop of *Rochester* refused it, but both offered to swear another Oath for the Succession of the Crown to the Issue of the King's present Marriage, because that was in the Power of the Parliament to determine it. *Cranmer*, who was a moderate and wise Man, and foresaw well the ill effects that would follow on contending so much, with Persons so highly esteemed over the World, and of such a temper, that Severity would bend them to nothing, did by a earnest Letter to *Cromwell*, dated the 27*th* of *April*, move, that what they offered might be accepted; for if they once swore to the Succession, it would quiet the Kingdom, for they acknowledging it, all other Persons would acquiesce and submit to their Judgments. But this sage Advice was not accepted.

Weavers Monuments, page 504, and 506.

And are proceeded against.

This King was much irritated against them, and resolved to proceed with them according to Law, and therefore they were both indicted upon the Statute, and committed Prisoners to the Tower. And it being apprehended, that if they had Books and Paper given them, they would write against the King's Marriage or his Supremacy, these were denied them. The old Bishop was hardly used, his Bishoprick was seized on, and all his Goods taken from him, only some old Rags were left to cover him; and he was neither supplied well in Diet or other Necessaries, of which he made sad Complaints to *Cromwell*. But the remainder of the Tragical Business, which left one of the greatest blots on this Kingdom's Proceedings, falling within the limits of the next Book; I haste on to the Conclusion of this.

The

The Separation from *Rome* was made in the former Seſſion of Parliament, but the King's Supremacy was not yet fully ſetled. This was reſerved for the next Seſſion that ſate in *November* from the third of that month, to the 18th of *December*, about which we can have no light from the Journals, they being loſt. The firſt Act confirmed what had been already acknowledged by the Clergy, "That the King was "the Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of *England*, which was to "be annexed to his other Titles. It was alſo enacted that the King and "his Heirs and Succeſſors ſhould have Power to viſit and reform all "Hereſies, Errors, and other Abuſes, which in the Spiritual Juriſdicti-"on ought to be reformed. 1534. Another Seſſion of Parliament. The King's Supremacy declared.

By the ſecond Act they confirmed the Oath about the Succeſſion, concerning which ſome doubts had been made, becauſe there was no Oath ſpecified in the former Act, though both Houſes had taken it: it was now enacted, That all the Subjects were obliged to take it when offered to them, under the pains contained in the Act paſſed in the former Seſſion. By the third Act, the Firſt-Fruits and Tenths of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices were given to the King, as the Supreme Head of the Church. The Clergy were eaſily prevailed on, to conſent to the putting down of the *Annates*, payed to the Court of *Rome*; for all Men readily concur to take off any Impoſition: but at that time it had perhaps abated much of their heartineſs, if they had imagined that theſe Duties ſhould have been ſtill payed; therefore that was kept up till they had done all that was to be done againſt *Rome*. And now as the Commons and the Secular Lords would no doubt eaſily agree to lay a Tax on the Clergy; ſo the others having no foreign ſupport, were not in a condition to wreſtle againſt it. The Oath about the Succeſſion confirmed. The First-Fruits of Benefices given to the King.

In the thirteenth Act, among other things that were made Treaſon, one was the denying the King the Dignity, Title, or Name, of his Eſtate Royal; or the calling the King Heretick, Schiſmatick, Tyrant, Infidel, or Uſurper of the Crown. This was done to reſtrain the Inſolencies of ſome Friars; and all ſuch Offenders were to be denied the Priviledge of Sanctuaries. By the fourteenth Act, proviſion was made for Suffragan Biſhops, which, as is ſaid, *had been accuſtomed to be had within this Realm, for the more ſpeedy adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other good wholeſome and devout things, and laudable Ceremonies, to the encreaſe of God's Honour, and for the commodity of good and devout People:* therefore they appointed for Suffragans Sees, the Towns of *Thetford*, *Ipſwich*, *Colcheſter*, *Dover*, *Gilford*, *Southampton*, *Taunton*, *Shaftsbury*, *Molton*, *Marlborough*, *Bedford*, *Leiceſter*, *Gloceſter*, *Shrewsbury*, *Briſtol*, *Penreth*, *Bridgwater*, *Notingham*, *Grantham*, *Hull*, *Huntington*, *Cambridg*, and the Towns of *Pereth* and *Barwick*, St. *Germans* in *Cornwall*, and the Iſle of *Wight*. For theſe Sees, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs was to preſent two to the King, who might chooſe either of them, and preſent the Perſon ſo named, to the Arch-biſhop of the Province, to be conſecrated; after which, they might exerciſe ſuch Juriſdiction as the Biſhop of the Dioceſs ſhould give to them, or as Suffragans had been formerly uſed to do, but their Authority was to laſt no longer than the Biſhop continued his Commiſſion to them. But that the Reader may more clearly ſee how this Act was executed, he ſhall find in the Collection, a Writ for making Sundry things are declared Treaſon. An Act for Suffragan Biſhops. Collect. *Numb.* 51.

1534. a Suffragan Bishop. These were believed to be the same with the *Chorepiscopi* in the Primitive Church, which as they were begun before the first Council of *Nice*, so they continued in the Western Church till the Ninth Century, and then a Decretal of *Damascus* being forged, that condemned them, they were put down every-where by degrees, and now revived in *England*. Then followed the grant of a Subsidy to the King: it was now twelve years since there was any Subsidy granted. A Fifthteenth and a Tenth were given, to be paid in three Years, the final Payment being to be at Allhallowtide, in the Year 1537. The Bill began with a most glorious Preamble "of the King's high Wisdom and Policy in the Government of "the Kingdom these twenty four Years in great Wealth and Quiet- "ness, and the great Charges he had been at in the last War with "*Scotland*, in fortifying *Calais*, and in the War of *Ireland*, and that "he intended to bring the wilful, wild, and unreasonable, and savage "People of *Ireland*, to Order and Obedience, and intended to build "Forts on the Marches of *Scotland*, for the Security of the Nation, to "amend the Haven of *Calais*, and make a new one at *Dover*. By all "which they did perceive the entire Love and Zeal which the King bore "to his People, and that he sought not their Wealth and Quietness on- "ly for his own time, being a Mortal Man, but did provide for it in "all time coming: therefore they thought that of very Equity, Rea- "son, and good Conscience, they were bound to show like cor- "spondence of Zeal, Gratitude and Kindness. Upon this the King for a general Pardon with some exceptions, ordinary in such cases.

Act. 26. *Rot. Parl.* A Subsidy granted.

More and *Fisher* attainted. Act. 3. and 4. *Rot. Parl.*

Fisher and *More*, were not only excluded from this Pardon by general Clauses, but by two particular Acts they were attainted of misprision of Treason. By the third Act according to the Record, *John* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Christopher Plummer*, *Nicholas Wilson*, *Edward Powel*, *Richard Fetherstone*, and *Miles Willyr* Clerks, were attainted for refusing the Oath of Succession, and the Bishoprick of *Rochester*, with the Benefices of the other Clerks were declared void from the 2d of January next, yet it seems few were fond of succeeding him in the See; for *John Hilsey* the next Bishop of *Rochester* was not consecrated before the Year 1537. By the fourth Act, Sir *Thomas More* is by an invidious Preamble charged with Ingratitude, for the great Favours he had received from the King, and for studying to sow and make Sedition "among the King's Subjects, and refusing to take the Oath of Succession: "therefore they declared the King's Grants to him to be void, and at- "taint him of misprision of Treason.

The Proceedings against them variously censured.

This Severity though it was blamed by many, yet others thought it was necessary in so great a Change; since the Authority of these two Men was such, that if some signal notice had not been taken of them, many might by their Endeavours, especially encouraged by that Impunity, have been corrupted in their Affections to the King. Others thought the prosecuting them in such a manner, did rather raise their Reputation higher, and give them more Credit with the People, who are naturally inclined to pity those that suffer; and to think well of those Opinions, for which they see Men resolved to endure all Extremities. But others observed the Justice of God, in retaliating thus upon them their own Severities to others: for as *Fisher* did grievously

prosecute

proſecute the Preachers of *Luther*'s Doctrine; ſo *More*'s hand had been very heavy on them as long as he had Power, and he had ſhewed them no Mercy, but the extremity of the Law, which himſelf now felt to be very heavy. Thus ended the Seſſion of Parliament, with which this Book is alſo to conclude, for now I come to a third Period of the King's Reign, in which he did govern his Subjects without any Competitor: but I am to ſtop a little, and give an account of the Progreſs of the Reformation in theſe Years that I have paſt through. 1534.

The Progreſs of the Reformation.

The Cardinal was no great perſecutor of Hereticks, which was generally thought to flow from his hatred of the Clergy, and that he was not ill pleaſed to have them depreſſed. During the agitation of the King's Proceſs, there was no proſecution of the Preachers of *Luther*'s Doctrine: whether this flowed from any Intimation of the King's Pleaſure to the Biſhop or not, I cannot tell, but it is very probable it muſt have been ſo, for theſe Opinions were received by many, and the Popiſh Clergy were ſo inclined to Severity, that as they wanted not Occaſions, ſo they had a good mind to uſe thoſe Preachers cruelly, ſo that it is likely the King reſtrained them, and that was always mixed with the other Threatnings to work upon the Pope, that Hereſie would prevail in *England*, if the King got not Juſtice done him, ſo that till the Cardinal fell, they were put to no further trouble.

But as ſoon as *More* came into favour, he preſſed the King much, to put the Laws againſt Hereticks in execution, and ſuggeſted that the Court of *Rome* would be more wrought upon, by the King's ſupporting the Church, and defending the Faith vigorouſly, than by Threatnings: and therefore a long Proclamation was iſſued out againſt the Hereticks, many of their Books were prohibited, and all the Laws againſt them were appointed to be put in execution, and great care was taken to ſeize them as they came into *England*, but many eſcaped their Diligence. *Hall.*

Tindal and others at *Antwerp.*

There were ſome at *Antwerp*, *Tindal*, *Jove*, *Conſtantine*, with a few more, that were every year writing and printing new Books chiefly againſt the Corruptions of the Clergy, the Superſtition of Pilgrimages, of worſhipping Images, Saints, and Relicks; and againſt relying on theſe things, which were then called in the common ſtile, *Good Works*, in oppoſition to which they wrote much about Faith in Chriſt, with a true Evangelical Obedience, as the only means by which Men could be ſaved. The Book that had the greateſt Authority and Influence, was *Tindal*'s Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, of which the Biſhops made great Complaints, and ſaid, it was full of Errors. But *Tonſtall*, then Biſhop of *London*, being a Man of invincible Moderation, would do no body hurt, yet endeavoured as he could, to get their Books into his hands: So being at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1529, as he returned from his Embaſſie at the Treaty of *Cambray*, he ſent for one *Packington* an *Engliſh* Merchant there, and deſired him to ſee how many New Teſtaments of *Tindal*'s Tranſlation he might have for Money. *Packington*, who was a ſecret favourer of *Tindal*, told him, what the Biſhop propoſed. *Tindal* was very glad of it, for being convinced of ſome faults in his Works,

1534. Work, he was a designing a new and more correct Edition; but he was poor, and the former Impression not being sold off, he could not go about it: so he gave *Packington* all the Copies that lay in his hands, for which the Bishop payed the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publickly in *Cheapside*. This had such an hateful apperance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that People from thence concluded there must be a visible contrariety, between that Book and the Doctrines of those who so handled it; by which both their prejudice against the Clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament was encreased. So that next year when the second Edition was finished, many more were brought over, and *Constantine* being taken in *England*, the Lord Chancellor in a private examination, promised him that no hurt should be done him, if he would reveal who encouraged and supported them at *Antwerp*; which he accepted of, and told that the greatest Encouragement they had, was from the Bishop of *London*, who had bought up half the Impression. This made all that heard of it, laugh heartily, though more judicious Persons discerned the great temper of that Learned Bishop in it. When the Clergy condemned *Tindal*'s Translation of the New Testament, they declared they intended to set out a true Translation of it; which many thought was never truly designed by them, but only pretended, that they might restrain the Curiosity of seeing *Tindals* Work, with the hopes of one that should be authorized: and as they made no progress in it, so at length on the 24th of *May*, *Anno* 1530, there was a Paper drawn and agreed to by Arch-Bishop *Warham*, Chancellour *More*, Bishop *Tonstal*, and many Canonists and Divines, which every Incumbent was commanded to read to his Parish, as a warning to prevent the Contagion of Heresie. The Contents of which were, "That the King having called "together many of the Prelates, with other Learned Men out of "both Universities, to examine some Books lately set out in the *Eng*- "*lish* Tongue, they had agreed to condemn them, as containing se- "veral points of Heresie in them; and it being proposed to them "whether it was necessary to set forth the Scriptures in the vulgar "Tongue, they were of opinion, that tho it had been sometimes done, "yet it was not necessary, and that the King did well, not to set it out "at that time in the *English* Tongue. So by this all the hopes of a Translation of the Scriptures vanished.

The New Testament burnt.

The last Paper in Sir *Henry Spelman*'s 2d vol.

Supplication of the Beggars.

There came out another Book which took mightily, it was entituled, *The Supplication of the Beggars*, written by one *Simon Fish* of *Grayes-Inn*. In it the Beggars complained to the King, that they were reduced to great Misery, the Alms of the People being intercepted by companies of strong and idle Friars; for supposing that each of the five Mendicant Orders, had but a Peny a quarter from every household, it did rise to a vast Sum, of which the Indigent and truly Necessitous Beggars were defrauded. Their being unprofitable to the Common-wealth, with several other things, were also complained of. He also taxed the Pope for Cruelty and Covetousness, that did not deliver all persons out of Purgatory, and that none but the Rich, who payed well for it, could be discharged out of that Prison. This was written in a witty and taking style, and the King had it put in his

his Hands by *Anne Boleyn*, and lik'd it well, and would not ſuffer any thing to be done to the Author. 1534.

Chancellor *More* was the moſt zealous Champion the Clergy had, for I do not find that any of them wrote much, only the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* wrote for Purgatory; but the reſt left it wholly to him, either becauſe few of them could write well, or that he being much eſteemed, and a diſintereſſed Perſon, things would be better received from him, than from them who were look'd on as Parties. So he anſwered this Supplication by another, in the name of the Souls that were in Purgatory; repreſenting the Miſeries they were in, and the great Relief they found by the Maſſes the Friars ſaid for them, and brought in every Man's Anceſtors calling earneſtly upon him to befriend thoſe poor Friars now, when they had ſo many Enemies. He confidently aſſerted it had been the Doctrine of the Church for many Ages, and brought many places out of the Scriptures to prove it, beſides ſeveral reaſons that ſeemed to confirm it. This, being writ of a Subject that would allow of a great deal of popular and moving Eloquence, in which he was very eminent, took with many. *More* anſwers it.

But it diſcovered to others what was the Foundation of thoſe Religious Orders; and that if the belief of Purgatory were once rooted out, all that was built on that Foundation muſt needs fall with it. So *John Frith* wrote an Anſwer to *More's* Supplication, to ſhew, that there was no ground for Purgatory in Scripture; and that it was not believed in the Primitive Church. He alſo anſwered the Biſhop of *Rocheſter's* Book, and ſome Dialogues that were written on the ſame Subject, by *Raſtal* a Printer, and Kinſman of *Mores*: He diſcovered the Fallacy of their Reaſonings, which were built on the weakneſs, or defects of our Repentance in this Life; and that therefore there muſt be another State in which we muſt be further purified. To this he anſwered, That our Sins were not pardoned for our Repentance, or the Perfection of it, but only for the Merits and Sufferings of Chriſt; and that if our Repentance is ſincere, God accepts of it; and Sin being once pardoned, it could not be further puniſhed. He ſhewed the difference between the Puniſhments we may ſuffer in this Life, and thoſe in Purgatory; the one are either Medicinal Corrections for reforming us more and more, or for giving Warning to others: The other are terrible Puniſhments, without any of theſe ends in them: therefore the one might well conſiſt with the free Pardon of Sin, the other could not. So he argued from all theſe places of Scripture, in which we are ſaid to be freely pardoned our Sins by the Blood of Chriſt, that no Puniſhment in another State could conſiſt with it: He alſo argued from all thoſe places in which it is ſaid, that we ſhall at the day of Judgment receive according to what we have done in the Body, that there was no State of Purgatory beyond this Life. For the places brought out of the Old Teſtament, he ſhewed they could not be meant of Purgatory, ſince according to the Doctrine of the School-men, there was no going to Purgatory before Chriſt. For the places in the New Teſtament he appealed to *More's* great Friend, *Eraſmus*, whoſe Expoſition of theſe places differed much from his Gloſſes. That place in the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* about *the Fire*, that was to try every Man's Work, he ſaid, was plainly Allegorical; and ſince the Foundation, the Building of Gold, Silver, and precious Stone; of Wood, *Frith* replies.

Hay

1534. Hay and Stubble, were figuratively taken, there was no reason to take the *Fire* in a literal sense: therefore by *Fire* was to be understood the Persecution then near at hand; called in other places, *the fiery Trial*.

For the Ancient Doctors, he shewed, that in the fourth Century, St. *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, and St. *Austin*, the three great Doctors of that Age, did not believe it, and cited several Passages out of their Writings. It is true, St. *Austin* went farther than the rest, for though in some Passages he delivered his Opinion against it, yet in other places he spake of it more doubtfully as a thing that might be enquired into, but that it could not be certainly known; and indeed before *Gregory* the Great's time, it was not received in the Church, and then the *Benedictine* Monks were beginning to spread and grow numerous, and they to draw Advantages from it, told many Stories of Visions and Dreams, to possess the World with the belief of it; then the trade grew so profitable, that ever since it was kept up, and improved: and what succeeded so well with one Society and Order, to enrich themselves much by it, was an encouragement to others to follow their tract in the same way of Traffick. This Book was generally well received, and the Clergy were so offended at the Author, that they resolved to make him feel a real Fire whenever he was catched, for endeavouring to put out their imaginary one.

That from which *More* and others took greatest advantage, was that the new Preachers prevailed only on simple Tradesmen, and Women, and other illiterate Persons: but to this the others answered, That the *Pharisees* made the same objection to the Followers of *Christ*, who were Fisher-men, Women, and rude Mechanicks; but Christ told them *that to the Poor the Gospel was preached*; and when the Philosophers and Jews objected that to the Apostles: They said God's Glory did the more appear, since not many rich, wise, or noble, were called, but the poor and despised were chosen: that Men who had much to lose, had not that Simplicity of Mind, or that Disingagement from Worldly Things that was a necessary Disposition to fit them for a Doctrine, which was like to bring much Trouble and Persecution on them.

The cruel Proceedings against the Reformers.

Thus I have opened some of these things, which were at that time disputed by the Pen, in which Opposition new things were still started and examined. But this was too feeble a Weapon for the defence of the Clergy, therefore they sought out sharper Tools. So there were many brought into the Bishop's Courts, some for teaching their Children the *Lord's-Prayer* in English, some for reading the forbidden Books, some for harbouring the Preachers, some for speaking against Pilgrimages, or the worshipping and adorning of Images, some for not observing the Church Fasts, some for not coming to Confession and the Sacrament, and some for speaking against the Vices of the Clergy. Most of these were simple and illiterate Men, and the terrors of the Bishops Courts, and Prisons, and of a Faggot in the end wrought so much on their Fears and Weakness, that they generally abjured and were dismissed. But in the end of the year 1530, one *Thomas Hitton*, who had been Curate of *Maidstone*, and had left that place, going oft to *Antwerp*; he bringing over some of the Books that were printed there, was taken at *Gravesend*, and brought before *Warham* and *Fisher*, who, after he had suffered much by a long and cruel Imprisonment, condemned him to be burnt.

Mort.

Tindal.

The

The moſt eminent perſon that ſuffered about this time, was *Thomas Bilney*, of whoſe Abjuration an account was given in the firſt Book; he after that went to *Cambridge*, and was much troubled in his Conſcience for what he had done, ſo that the reſt of that Society at *Cambridge*, were in great apprehenſions of ſome violent effect, which that deſperation might produce, and ſometimes watched him whole nights. This continued about a year, but at length his mind was more quieted, and he reſolved to expiate his Abjuration, by as publick and ſolemn a Confeſſion of the truth: and to prepare himſelf the better both to defend and ſuffer for the Doctrines, which he had formerly through fear denied; he followed his ſtudies for two years. And when he found himſelf well fortified in this reſolution, he took leave of his Friends at *Cambridge*, and went to his own Country of *Norfolk*, to whom he thought he owed his firſt endeavours. 1534. *Bilney's* Trial. *Latimers* Sermons.

He preached up and down the Country, confeſſing his former ſin of denying the Faith, and taught the people to beware of Idolatry, or truſting to Pilgrimages, to the Cowle of St. *Francis*, to the prayers of Saints, or to Images; but exhorted them to ſtay at whom, to give much Alms, to believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and to offer up their Hearts, Wills, and Minds, to him in the Sacrament. This being noiſed about, he was ſeized on by the Biſhops Officers, and put in priſon at *Norwich*, and the Writ was ſent for to burn him as a Relapſe, he being firſt condemned and degraded from his Prieſthood: while he was in Priſon the Friars came oft about him to perſwade him to recant again, and it was given out that he did read a Bill of Abjuration. The things objected to him. *Fox.*

More not being ſatisfied to have ſent the Writ for his burning, ſtudied alſo to defame him, publiſhing this to the World; yet in that he was certainly abuſed, for if he had ſigned any ſuch Paper, it had been put in the Biſhops Regiſter, as all things of that nature were; but no ſuch writing was ever ſhewn, only ſome ſaid they heard him read it, and others who denied there was any ſuch thing, being queſtioned for it, ſubmitted and confeſſed their fault. But at ſuch a time it was no ſtrange thing, if a lye of that nature was vented with ſo much Authority, that men were afraid to contradict it; and when a man is a cloſe Priſoner, thoſe who only have acceſs to him, may ſpread what report of him they pleaſe, and when once ſuch a thing is ſaid, they never want officious Vouchers to lie and ſwear for it. But ſince nothing was ever ſhew'd under his hand, it is clear there was no truth in theſe reports, which were ſpread about to take away the honour of Martyrdom from the new Doctrines. It is true he had never enquired into all the other Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, and ſo did not differ from them about the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and ſome other things. But when men durſt ſpeak freely, there were ſeveral perſons, that witneſſed the Conſtancy and Sincerity of *Bilney* in theſe his laſt Conflicts; and among the reſt, *Matthew Parker*, afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was an eye-witneſs of his ſufferings, which from his relation were publiſhed afterwards: he took his death patiently and conſtantly, and in the little time that was allowed him to live after his Sentence, he was obſerved to be chearful; and the poor Victuals that were brought him, Bread and Ale, he eat up heartily, of which when one took notice, he ſaid he muſt It is given out that he abjured. The Falſhood of which afterwards appeared. *Fox.*

1534. keep up that ruinous Cottage till it fell; and often repeated that passage in *Isaiah*, *When thou walk'st through the fire thou shalt not be burnt*; and putting his finger in the flame of the Candle, he told those about him, that he well knew what a pain burning was, but that it should only consume the Stubble of his Body, and that his Soul should be purged by it.

The manner of his Suffering.

When the day of Execution came, being the 10th of *November*, as he was led out, he said to one that exhorted him to be patient and constant, that as the Mariners endured the tossing of the Waves, hoping to arrive at their desired Port, so though he was now entring into a Storm, yet he hop'd he should soon arrive at the Haven, and desired their Prayers. When he came to the Stake, he repeated the Creed, to shew the People that he dyed in the Faith of the Apostles; then he put up his Prayers to God with great shews of inward devotion; which ended, he repeated the 143 *Psalm*, and paus'd on these words of it, *Enter not into judgment with thy Servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified*, with deep recollection: and when Doctor *Warner*, that accompanied him to the Stake, took leave of him with many tears, *Bilney* with a cheerful countenance exhorted him, to feed his flock, that at his Lord's coming he might find him so doing. Many of the begging Friars desired him to declare to the People, that they had not procured his death; for that was got among them, and they feared the People would give them no more Alms: so he desired the Spectators not to be the worse to these men for his sake, for they had not procur'd his death. Then the fire was set to, and his Body consum'd to ashes.

Thus it appears, both what Opinion the People had of him, and in what charity he dyed even towards his Enemies, doing them good for evil. But this, though it perhaps struck terror in weaker minds, yet it no less encourag'd others to endure patiently all the severities that were used to draw them from this Doctrine. Soon after, one Richard *Byfield* suffered, he was a Monk of St. *Edmundsbury*, and had

Byfield's Sufferings.

been instructed by Doctor *Barnes*, who gave him some Books; which being discovered, he was put in Prison, but through fear abjured, yet afterward he left the Monastery and came to *London*. He went oft over to *Antwerp*, and brought in forbidden Books; which being smell'd out, he was seized on, and examined about these Books; he justified them, and said, he thought they were good and profitable, and did openly exclaim against the dissolute lives of the Clergy; so being judged an Heretick, he was burnt in *Smithfield* the 11*th* of *November*.

And *Tewksburies*.

In *December*, one *John Tewksbury* a Shop-keeper in *London*, who had formerly abjured, was also taken and tryed in Sir *Thomas Mores* House at *Chelsey*, where Sentence was given against him by *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, (for *Tostall* was translated the former year to *Duresme*) and was burnt in *Smithfield*. There were also three burnt at *York* this year, two men and one woman.

These proceedings were complain'd of in the following Session of Parliament, as was formerly told, and the Ecclesiastical Courts being found both Arbitrary and Cruel, the House of Commons desired a Redress of that from the King; but nothing was done about it till

Three

Three years after that, the new Act againſt Hereticks was made, as was already told. The Clergy were not much moved at the Addreſs which the Houſe of Commons made, and therefore went on in their extream Courſes, and to ſtrike a Terror in the Gentry, they reſolved to make an example of one *James Bainham* a Gentleman of the *Temple*: he was carried to the Lord Chancellor's Houſe, where much pains was taken to perſwade him to diſcover ſuch as he knew in the *Temple*, who favour'd the new Opinions; but fair means not prevailing, *More* made him be whipt in his own preſence, and after that, ſent him to the *Tower*, where he look'd on, and ſaw him put to the Rack. Yet it ſeems nothing could be drawn from him, that might be made uſe of, to any other perſons hurt; yet he himſelf afterwards overcome with fear, abjured and did penance, but had no quiet in his Conſcience, till he went publickly to Church, with a New Teſtament in his hand, and confeſs'd with many tears, that he had denied God, and prayed the People not to do as he had done, and ſaid, that he felt an Hell in his own Conſcience, for what he had done. So he was ſoon after carried to the *Tower*, (for now the Biſhops, to avoid the Imputation of uſing men cruelly in their Priſons did put Hereticks in the Kings Priſons) he was charged for having ſaid, "That *Thomas Becket* was a Murderer, and damned in Hell if he did "not repent, and for ſpeaking contemptuouſly of praying to Saints, and "ſaying that the Sacrament of the Altar was only Chriſts Myſtical Body, and that his Body was not chew'd with the Teeth, but "received by Faith. So he was judged an obſtinate and relaps'd Heretick, and was burnt in *Smithfield* about the end of *April* 1532. There were alſo ſome others burnt a little before this time, of whom a particular account could not be recovered by *Fox* with all his Induſtry. But with *Bainham*, *More's* perſecution ended; for ſoon after he laid down the Great Seal, which ſet the poor Preachers at eaſe.

1534.

Bainham's Sufferings.

Fox.

Crome and *Latimer* were brought before the Convocation, and accus'd of Hereſie. They both ſubſcribed the Articles offered to them, "That there was a Purgatory: That the Souls in it were profited "by Maſſes ſaid for them: That the Saints are now in Heaven, and "as Mediators pray for us: That men ought to pray to them, and honour them: That Pilgrimages were Pious and Meritorious: That "men who vowed Chaſtity might not Marry without the Pope's Diſpenſation: That the Keys of binding and looſing were given to St. "*Peter*, and to his Succeſſors, though their lives were bad, and not at "all to the Laity: That men merited by Prayers, Faſting, and other "good Works: That Prieſts prohibited by the Biſhop, ſhould not "preach, till they were purged and reſtored: That the Seven Sacra"ments conferr'd Grace: That Conſecrations and Benedictions uſed by "the Church were good: That it was good and profitable to ſet up "the Images of Chriſt and the Saints in the Churches, and to adorn "them and burn Candles before them, and that Kings were not ob"liged to give their People the Scriptures in a Vulgar Tongue. By theſe Articles it may be eaſily collected, what were the Doctrines then preach'd by the Reformers. There was yet no diſpute about the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, which was firſt called in queſtion by *Frith*, for the Books of *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* came

Regiſt. *Tonſt.*

Articles which ſome abjured.

1532. later into *England*, and hitherto they had only seen *Luthers* Works, with those written by his followers.

Tracy's Testament. But in the year 1532, there was another memorable instance of the Clergies cruelty against the dead bodies of those whom they suspected of Heresie. The common stile of all Wills and Testaments at that time was, First, "I bequeath my Soul to Almighty God, and to our "Lady St. *Mary*, and to all the Saints in Heaven: but one *William Tra-* "*cie* of *Worcester-shire* dying, left a Will of a far different strain, for he "bequeathed his Soul only to God through Jesus Christ, to whose "intercession alone he trusted, without the help of any other Saint, "therefore he left no part of his Goods to have any pray for his Soul. This being brought to the Bishop of *Londons* Court, he was condemned as an Heretick, and an Order was sent to *Parker* Chancellor of *Worcester* to raise his Body. The Officious Chancellor went beyond his Order, and burnt the Body; but the Record bears, that though he might by the Warrant he had, raise the Body according to the Law of the Church, yet he had no Authority to burn it. So two years after *Tracy's* Heirs sued him for it, and he was turn'd out of his Office of Chancellor, and fined in 400 Pound.

Regist. *Fitz-James.*

Regist. *Stokes.* Fol. 72.

Harding's Sufferings. There is another Instance of the Cruelty of the Clergy this year. One *Thomas Harding* of *Buckingham-shire*, an Ancient man, who had abjured in the year 1506, was now observed to go often into Woods, and was seen sometimes reading. Upon which his House was searched, and some parcels of the New Testament in *English* were found in it. So he was carried before *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who as he was a cruel Persecutor, so being the King's Confessor, acted with the more Authority. This Aged man was judged a Relapse, and sent to *Chesham*, where he lived, to be burnt, which was Executed on *Corpus Christi* Eve. At this time there was an Indulgence of 40 days pardon proclaimed to all that carried a Faggot to the Burning of an Heretick: So dextrously did the Clergy endeavour to infect the Laity with their own cruel Spirit; and that wrought upon this occasion a signal effect, for as the fire was kindled, one flung a Faggot at the old Man's Head, which dash'd out his Brains.

Fox.

1533. In the year 1533, it was thought fit by some signal evidence to convince the World, that the King did not design to change the established Religion, though he had then proceeded far in his breach with *Rome*; and the crafty Bishop of *Winchester*, *Gardiner*, as he complyed with the King in his second Marriage and separation from *Rome*, so being an inveterate Enemy to the Reformation, and in his heart addicted to the Court of *Rome*, did by this Argument often prevail with the King, to punish the Hereticks, That it would most effectually justifie his other proceedings, and convince the World that he was still a good Catholick King; which at several times drew the King to what he desired. And at this time, the steps the King had made in his Separation from the Pope, had given such heart to the new Preachers, that they grew bolder and more publick in their Assemblies.

Friths Sufferings.

John Frith, as he was an excellent Scholar, which was so taken notice of, some years before, that he was put in the List of those whom the Cardinal intended to bring from *Cambridge*, and put in his Colledge

ledge at *Oxford*; ſo he had offended them by ſeveral writings, and by a Diſcourſe which he wrote againſt the Corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, had provoked the King, who continued to his death to believe that firmly. 1533.

His Arguments againſt the Corporal Preſence.

" The ſubſtance of his Arguments was, " That Chriſt in the Sacrament gave Eternal Life, but the receiving " the bare Sacrament did not give Eternal Life, ſince many took it to " their damnation; therefore Chriſt's Preſence there was only felt by " Faith. This he further proved by the Fathers before Chriſt, who " did eat the ſame Spiritual Food, and drink of the Rock, which was " Chriſt, according to St. *Paul*. Since then, they and we communicate " in the ſame thing, and it was certain that they did not eat Chriſt's " Fleſh corporally, but fed by Faith on a *Meſſias* to come, as Chriſti- " ans do on a *Meſſias* already come: therefore we now do only com- " municate by Faith. He alſo inſiſted much on the ſignification of " the word Sacrament, from whence he concluded, that the Elements " muſt be the Myſtical Signs of Chriſt's Body and Blood; for if they " were truly the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, they ſhould not be Sacra- " ments. He concluded, that the ends of the Sacrament were theſe three, " by a viſible action to knit the Society of Chriſtians together in one " body, to be a means of conveying Grace upon our due participa- " ting of them, and to be Remembrances to ſtir up men to bleſs God " for that unſpeakable Love, which in the death of Chriſt appeared to " mankind. To all theſe ends the Corporal Preſence of Chriſt availed " nothing, they being ſufficiently anſwered by a Myſtical Preſence: yet " he drew no other Concluſion from theſe Premiſſes, but that be- " lief of the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament, was no neceſſary Arti- " cle of our Faith. This either flowed from his not having yet arrived at a ſure perſwaſion in the matter, or that he choſe in that modeſt ſtile, to encounter an Opinon of which the World was ſo fond, that to have oppoſed it in down-right words, would have given prejudices againſt all that he could ſay.

Frith upon a long converſation with one upon this Subject, was deſired to ſet down the Heads of it in writing, which he did. The Paper went about, and was by a falſe Brother conveyed to Sir *Thomas More's* hands, who ſet himſelf to anſwer it in his ordinary ſtile, treating *Frith* with great contempt, calling him always the young-man. *Frith* was in Priſon before he ſaw *Mores* Book, yet he wrote a Reply to it, which I do not find was then publiſhed; but a Copy of it was brought afterwards to *Cranmer*, who acknowledged when he wrote his Apology againſt *Gardiner*, that he had received great light in that matter from *Frith's* Book, and drew moſt of his Arguments out of it. It was afterwards printed with his Works *Anno* 1573. And by it may appear, how much Truth is ſtronger than Error. For though *More* wrot with as much Wit and Eloquence as any Man in that Age did, and *Frith* wrote plainly without any Art; yet there is ſo great a difference between their Books, that whoever compares them, will clearly perceive the one to be the Ingenious Defender of an ill Cauſe, and the other a ſimple aſſerter of Truth. *Frith* wrote with all the diſadvantage that was poſſible, being then in the Jayl, where he could have no Books, but ſome Notes he might have collected formerly; he was alſo ſo loaded with Irons, that he could

ſcarce

1534. scarce sit with any ease. He began with confirming what he had delivered about the Fathers before Christ, their feeding on his Body in the same manner that Christians do since his death: This he proved from Scripture, and several places of St. *Austins* Works; he proved also from Scripture, that after the Consecration, the Elements were still *Bread* and *Wine*, and were so called both by our Saviour and his Apostles; that our Senses shew they are not changed in their Natures, and that they are still subject to Corruption, which can no way be said of the Body of Christ. He proved that the eating of Christ's Flesh in the sixth of St. *John*, cannot be applied to the Sacrament; since the wicked receive it, who yet do not eat the Flesh of Christ, otherwise they should have Eternal Life. He shewed also, that the Sacrament coming in the room of the Jewish Paschal Lamb, we must understand Christ's words, *This is my Body*, in the same sence in which it was said, that the Lamb was *the Lord's Passover*. He confirmed this by many passages, cited out of *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, *Austin*, *Fulgentius*, *Eusebius*, and some later Writers, as *Beda*, *Bertram* and *Druthmar*, who did all assert that the Elements retained their former Natures, and were only the Mysteries, Signs, and Figures of the Body and Blood of Christ. But *Gelasius*'s words seemed so remarkable, that they could not but determine the Controversie, especially considering he was Bishop of *Rome*: he therefore writing against the *Eutychians*, who thought the humane nature of Christ was changed into the divine, says, *That as the Elements of Bread and Wine being Consecrated to be the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ, did not cease to be Bread and Wine in Substance, but continued in their own proper natures*; so the Humane Nature of Christ continued still, though it was united to the Divine Nature: this was a manifest Indication of the belief of the Church in that Age, and ought to weigh more than a hundred high Rhetorical Expressions. He brought likewise several Testimonies out of the Fathers, to shew that they knew nothing of the Consequences that follow Transubstantiation; of a Body being in moe places at once, or being in no place after the manner of a Spirit, or of the Worship to be given to the Sacrament. Upon this he digresses, and says, that the *German* Divines believed a Corporal Presence; yet since that was only an Opinion that rested in their minds, and did not carry along with it any Corruption of the Worship, or Idolatrous practice, it was to be born with, and the peace of the Church was not to be broken for it: but the case of the Church of *Rome* was very different, which had set up gross Idolatry, building it upon this Doctrine.

Thus I have given a short Abstract of *Friths* Book, which I thought fit the rather to do, because it was the first Book that was written on this Subject in *England* by any of the Reformers. And from hence it may appear, upon what solid and weighty Reasons they then began to shake the received Opinion of Transubstantiation: and with how much learning this Controversie was managed by him who first undertook it.

One thing was singular in *Frith's* Opinion, that he thought there should be no contest made about the manner of Christ's presence in the Sacrament; for what ever Opinion men held in Speculation, if it

it went not to a practical error (which was the Adoration of it, for that was Idolatry in his Opinion) there were no disputes to be made about it, therefore he was much against all heats between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*; for he thought in such a matter that was wholly speculative, every man might hold his own Opinion without making a breach in the Unity of the Church about it. 1534.

He was apprehended in *May* 1533. and kept in Prison till the 20th of *June*, and then he was brought before the Bishop of *London*, *Gadiner*, and *Longland* sitting with him. They objected to him his Opinions about the *Sacrament* and *Purgatory*. He answered, that for the first he did not find *Transubstantiation* in the Scriptures, nor in any approved Authors; and therefore he would not admit any thing as an Article of Faith, without clear and certain grounds: for he did not think the Authority of the Church reached so far. They argued with him upon some passages out of St. *Austin* and St. *Chrysostome*: to which he answered, by opposing other places of the same Fathers, and shew'd how they were to be reconciled to themselves; when it came to a Conclusion, these words are set down in the Register as his Confession. Register *Stokes*. Fol. 71. and a Letter of his in *Fox*.

"*Frith* thinketh and judgeth, that the natural Body of Christ is not "in the Sacrament of the Altar, but in one place only at once. *Item*, he "saith, that neither part is a necessary Article of our Faith, whether the "Natural Body be there in the Sacrament, or not. His opinion of the Sacrament.

As for *Purgatory*, he said a man consisted of two parts, his Body and Soul; his Body was purged by sickness and other pains, and at last by death, and was not by their own Doctrin sent to Purgatory. And for the Soul, it was purged through the Word of God received by Faith. So his Confession was written down in these words. *Item*, "*Frith* thinketh and judgeth that there is no Purgatory for the Soul, "after that it is departed from the Body, and as he thinketh herein, "so hath he said, written, and defended; howbeit he thinketh neither "part to be an Article of Faith, necessarily to be believed under pain of "Damnation. And of Purgatory.

The Bishops with the Doctors that stood about them, took much pains to make him change; but he told them, that he could not be induced to believe, that these were Articles of Faith. And when they threatned to proceed to a Final Sentence, he seemed not moved with it, but said, *Let Judgment be done in Righteousness.* The Bishops, though none of them were guilty of great tenderness, yet seemed to pity him much; and the Bishop of *London* professed, he gave Sentence with great grief of heart. In the end he was judged an Obstinate Heretick, and was delivered to the Secular Power: there is one Clause in this Sentence, which is not in many others, therefore I shall set it down. He is Condemned.

"Most earnestly requiring in the Bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, "that this Execution and Punishment worthily to be done upon thee, "may be so moderate, that the rigor thereof be not too extreme, "nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to "the Salvation of thy Soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversi-"on of Hereticks, and to the Unity of the Catholick Faith. This was thought a scorning of God and Men, when those, who knew that

1534. that he was to be burnt, and intended it should be so, yet used such an Obtestation by the Bowels of Jesus Christ, that the rigor might not be extreme. This being certified, the Writ was issued out, and as the Register bears, he was burnt in *Smithfield* the fourth of *July*, and one *Andrew Hewet* with him, who also denyed the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. This *Hewet* was an Apprentice, and went to the Meetings of these Preachers, and was twice betrayed by some Spies whom the Bishops Officers had among them, who discovered many. When he was examined, he would not acknowledge the Corporal Presence, but was illiterate, and resolved to do as *Frith* did, so he was also condemned and burnt with him.

His Constancy in his Sufferings.

When they were brought to the Stake, *Frith* expressed great joy at his approaching Martyrdom, and in a Transport of it, hugged the Faggots in his Arms, as the Instruments that were to send him to his Eternal Rest. One Doctor *Cook* a Parson of *London* called to the People, that they should not pray for them any more than they would do for a Dog. At which *Frith* smiled, and prayed God to forgive him; so the fire was set to, and they were consumed to Ashes.

This was the last Act of the Clergies Cruelty against mens lives, and was much condemned: it was thought an unheard-of barbarity, thus to burn a moderate and learned young man, only because he would not acknowledge some of their Doctrines to be Articles of Faith; and though his private judgment was against their tenet, yet he was not positive in it, any further, than that he could not believe the contrary to be necessary to Salvation. But the Clergy were now so bathed in blood, that they seemed to have stript themselves of those impressions of pity and compassion, which are natural to mankind; they therefore held on in their severe courses, till the Act of Parliament did effectually restrain them.

Philip's Sufferings.

In the Account that was given of that Act, mention was made of one *Thomas Philips*, who put in his complaint to the House of Commons against the Bishop of *London*. The proceedings against him had been both extreme and illegal; he was first apprehended, and put in the *Tower* upon suspicion of Heresie; and when they searched him a Copy of *Tracy's* Testament was found about him, and Butter and Cheese were found in his Chamber, it being in the time of Lent. There was also another Letter found about him, exhorting him to be ready to suffer constantly for the truth. Upon these presumptions the Bishop of *London* proceeded against him, and required him to abjure. But he said, he would willingly swear to be obedient as a Christian man ought, and that he would never hold any Heresie during his life, nor favour Hereticks; but the Bishop would not accept of that, since there might be Ambiguities in it: therefore he required him to make the Abjuration in common form, which he refused to do, and appealed to the King as the Supreme Head of the Church. Yet the Bishop pronounced him *Contumax*, and did excommunicate him; but whether he was released on his Appeal, or not, I do not find; yet perhaps this was the man of whom the Pope complained to the *English* Ambassadors 1532. that an Heretick having appealed to the King as the Supreme Head of the Church, was taken out of the Bishops hands, and judged and acquitted in the King's Courts. It is probable this

this was the Man, only the Pope was informed, that it was from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* that he appealed, in which there might be a miſtake for the Biſhop of *London*. But whatever ground there may be for that Conjecture, *Philips* got his Liberty, and put in a Complaint to the Houſe of Commons, which produced the Act about Hereticks. 1534.

A ſtop is put to their cruel Proceedings.

And now that Act being paſſed, together with the Extirpation of the Pope's Authority, and the Power being lodged in the King to correct and reform Hereſies, Idolatries, and Abuſes, the Standard of the Catholick Faith being alſo declared to be the Scriptures, the perſecuted Preachers had Eaſe and Encouragement every where. They alſo ſaw that the neceſſity of the King's Affairs would conſtrain him to be gentle to them, for the Sentence which the Pope gave againſt the King, was committed to the Emperor to be executed by him, who was then aſpiring to an univerſal Monarchy; and therefore as ſoon as his other Wars gave him leiſure to look over to *England* and *Ireland*, he had now a good colour to juſtify an Invaſion both from the Pope's Sentence, and the Intereſts and Honour of his Family in protecting his Aunt and her Daughter: Therefore the King was to give him work elſewhere, in order to which his Intereſt obliged him to joyn himſelf to the Princes of *Germany*, who had at *Smalcald* entred into a League offenſive and defenſive, for the liberty of Religion, and the Rights of the Empire. This was a Thorn in the Emperor's ſide, which the King's Intereſt would oblige him by all means to maintain. Upon which the Reformers in *England* concluded, that either the King, to recommend himſelf to theſe Princes, would relax the Severities of the Law againſt them; or otherwiſe, that their Friends in *Germany* would ſee to it: for in theſe firſt fervours of Reformations, the Princes made that always a Condition in their Treaties, that thoſe who favoured their Doctrine, might be no more perſecuted.

The Queen favoured the Reformers.

But their chief Encouragement was from the Queen, who reigned in the King's Heart, as abſolutely as he did over his Subjects; and was a known favourer of them. She took *Shaxton* and *Latimer* to be her Chaplains, and ſoon after promoted them to the Biſhopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worceſter*, then vacant by the deprivation of *Campegio* and *Ghinuccii*; and in all other things cheriſhed and protected them, and uſed her moſt effectual Endeavours with the King to promote the Reformation. Next to her, *Cranmer* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* was a profeſſed Favourer of it, who beſides the Authority of his Character and See, was well fitted for carrying it on, being a very Learned and Induſtrious Man. He was at great pains to collect the ſenſe of Ancient Writers, upon all the Heads of Religion, by which he might be well directed in ſuch an Important Matter. I have ſeen two Volumes in *Folio* written with his own Hand, containing upon all the Heads of Religion, a vaſt heap both of places of Scripture, and Quotations out of Ancient Fathers, and later Doctors, and School-men; by which he governed himſelf in that Work. There is alſo an Original Letter of the Lord *Burghly's* extant, which I have ſeen, in which he writes that he had ſix or ſeven Volumes of his Writings, all which, except two other, that I have ſeen, are loſt, for ought I can underſtand. From which it will appear in the Sequel of this Work, that he neither copied from Foreign Writers, nor proceeded raſhly in the Reformation. He was a Man of great Temper; and as I have ſeen in ſome of his Letters to *Oſiander*, and ſome of *Oſian-*

Cranmer promoted the Reformation.

1534. *der's* answers to him, he very much disliked the violence of the *German* Divines. He was gentle in his whole behaviour, and though he was a Man of too great candor and simplicity to be refined in the Arts of Policy, yet he managed his Affairs with great prudence; which did so much recommend him to the King, that no ill Offices were ever able to hurt him. It is true, he had some singular Opinions about Ecclesiastical Functions and Offices, which he seemed to make wholly dependent on the Magistrate, as much as the Civil were; but as he never studied to get his Opinion in that made a part of the Doctrine of the Church, reserving only to himself the freedom of his own Thoughts, which I have reason to think he did afterwards, either change, or at least was content to be over-ruled in it: So it is clear that he held not that Opinion to get the King's Favour by it; for in many other things, as in the business of the six Articles, he boldly and freely argued, both in the Convocation and the House of Peers, against that which he knew was the King's Mind, and took his Life in his hands, which had certainly been offered at a Stake, if the King's esteem of him had not been proof against all Attempts.

Assisted by *Cromwell.*

Next him, or rather above him, was *Cromwell*, who was made the King's Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical Matters. A Man of mean Birth, but noble Qualities, as appeared in two signal Instances, the one being his Pleading in Parliament so zealously and successfully for the fallen and disgraced Cardinal, whose Secretary he was, when *Gardiner*, though more obliged by him, had basely forsaken him. This was thought so just and generous in him, that it did not at all hinder his Preferment, but raised his Credit higher: Such a demonstration of Gratitude and Friendship in misfortune, being so rare a thing in a Court. The other was his remembring the Merchant of *Lucca*, that had pitied and relieved him, when he was a poor Stranger there, and expressing most extraordinary Acknowledgments and Gratitude, when he was afterwards in the top of his Greatness; and the other did not so much as know him, much less pretend to any returns for passed Favours, which shew'd that he had a noble and generous Temper; only he made too much haste to be great and rich. He joyned himself in a firm Friendship to *Cranmer*, and did promote the Reformation very vigorously.

The Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* opposed it.

But there was another Party in the Court, that wrestled much against it; the Head of it was the Duke of *Norfolk*, who though he was the Queens Uncle, yet was her mortal Enemy. He was a dextrous Courtier, and complied with the King, both in his Divorce and Separation from *Rome*, yet did upon all occasions perswade the King to innovate nothing in Religion: His great Friend that joyned all along with him in those Counsels, was *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, who was a crafty and politick Man, and understood the King well, and complied with his Temper in every thing; he despised *Cranmer*, and hated all Reformation. *Longland*, that had been the King's Confessor, was also managed by them, and they had a great Party in the Court, and almost all the Churchmen were on their side.

Reasons against the Reformation.

That which prevailed most with the King, was, that himself had writ a Book in Defence of the Faith, and they said, would he now retract that, which all Learned Men admired so much? or would he encourage *Luther* and his Party, who had treated him with so little respect? If he went

went to change the Doctrines that were formerly received, all the World would say he did it in spite to the Pope, which would cast a great dishonour on him, as if his passion govern'd his Religion. Foreign Princes, who in their hearts did not much blame him for what he had hitherto done, but rather wished for a good opportunity to do the like, would now condemn him if he medled with the Religion: And his own Subjects, who complied with that which he had done, and were glad to be delivered from Foreign Jurisdiction, and the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, would not bear a change of the Faith, but might be thereby easily set on, by the Emissaries of the Pope or Emperor, to break out in Rebellion. These things being managed skilfully, and agreeing with his own private opinion, wrought much on him: and particularly, what was said about his own Book, which had been so much commended to him, that he was almost made believe, it was written by a special Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. 1534.

But on the other side, *Cranmer* represented to him, that since he had put down the Popes Authority, it was not fit to let those Doctrines be still taught, which had no other Foundation but the Decrees of Popes: And he offered upon the greatest hazard to prove, that many things, then received as Articles of Faith, were no better grounded; therefore he pressed the King to give order, to hear and examine things freely, that when the Popes Power was rejected, the People might not be obliged to belive Doctrines which had no better warrant. And for Political Councils, he was to do the duty of a good Christian Prince, and leave the event to God; and things might be carried on with that due care, that the justice and reasonableness of the King's proceedings should appear to all the World. And whereas it was objected, that the Doctrines of the Catholick Church ought not to be examined by any particular Church: It was answered, that when all Christendom were under one Emperor, it was easie for him to call General Councils, and in such circumstances it was fit to stay for one; and yet even then, particular Churches did in their National Synods condemn Heresies, and reform Abuses. But the State of Christendom was now altered, it was under many Princes, who had different Interests, and therefore they thought it a vain expectation to look for any such Council. The Protestants of *Germany* had now for above ten years desired the Emperor to procure one, but to no effect; for sometimes the Pope would not grant it, and at other times the *French* King protested against it. The former year the Pope had sent to the King to offer a General Council, to be held at *Mantua* this year; but the King found that was but an illusion; for the Marques of *Mantua* protested, he would not admit such a number of strangers, as a Council would draw together, into his Town: yet the King promised to send his Ambassadors thither, when the Council met. But now the King consulting his Prelates, whether the Emperor might by his Authority summon a General Council, as the *Roman* Emperors had done: some of them gave the following answer, copied from the Original that is yet extant, which might have been written any time between the year 1534, in which *Thomas Goodrick* was made Bishop of *Ely*, and the year 1540, in which *John Clark*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, died: but I incline to think from other circumstances, that it was written about the end of the year 1534.

Reasons for it.

Hall.

A resolution of some Bishops about the calling of a General Council.

1534.

For the General Council.

Ex MSS. DD. *Stillingfleet.*

" Though that in the Old time, when the Empire of *Rome* had his " ample dominion over the moſt part of the World, the Firſt Four Gene- " ral Councils (the which at all times have been of moſt eſtimation in " the Church of Chriſt) were called and gathered by the Emperors Com- " mandment, and for a Godly intent: That Hereſies might be extinct, " Schiſms put away, good Order and manners in the Miniſters of the " Church and the People of the ſame eſtabliſhed. Like as many Coun- " cils more were called: till now of late by the negligence, as well of " the Emperor, as other Princes, the Biſhop of *Rome* hath been ſuffered " to uſurp this Power; yet now, for ſo much that the Empire of *Rome*, " and the Monarchy of the ſame, hath no ſuch general Dominion; but " many Princes have abſolute Power in their own Realms, and a whole " and entire Monarchy, no one Prince may by his Authority call any " General Council, but if that any one or more of theſe Princes for the " eſtabliſhing of the Faith, for the extirpation of Schiſms, &c. Loving- " ly, Charitably, with a good ſincere Intent, to a ſure place, require any " other Prince, or the reſt of the great Princes, to be content to agree, " that for the Wealth, Quietneſs, and Tranquillity of all Chriſtian People " by his or their free conſent, a General Council might be aſſembled: that " Prince, or thoſe Princes ſo required, are bound by the Order of Chari- " ty, for the good Fruit that may come of it, to condeſcend and agree " thereunto, having no lawful Impediment, nor juſt Cauſe moving to the " contrary. The chief Cauſes of the General councils are before expreſſed.

" In all the Ancient Councils of the Church, in matters of the Faith " and interpretation of the Scripture, no man made definitive Subſcripti- " on, but Biſhops and Prieſts, for ſo much as the Declaration of the " Word of God pertaineth unto them.

T. Cantuarien.

Cuthbertus Dunelmen.

Jo. Bath. Wellen.

Tho. Elien.

But beſides this Reſolution, I have ſeen a long Speech of *Cranmers*, written by one of his Secretaries. It was ſpoken ſoon after the Parliament had paſſed the Acts formerly mentioned, for it relates to them as lately done; it was delivered either in the Houſe of Lords, the upper Houſe of Convocation, or at the Council Board; but I rather think, it was in the Houſe of Lords, for it begins, *My Lords*; The matter of it does ſo much concern the buſineſs of Reformation, that I know the Reader will expect I ſhould ſet down the Heads of it. It appears he had been Ordered to Inform the Houſe about theſe things. The Preamble of his Speech

A Speech of *Cranmers* about a General Council.

Speech runs upon this conceit. "That as Rich men flying from their "Enemies, carry away all they can with them, and what they cannot "take away, they either hide or deſtroy it; ſo the Court of *Rome* had "deſtroyed ſo many Ancient Writings, and hid the reſt, having carefully "preſerved every thing that was of advantage to them, that it was not "eaſie to diſcover what they had ſo artificially concealed: Therefore in "the Canon Law, ſome honeſt Truths were yet to be found, but ſo miſ- "layed, that they are not placed where one might expect them, but are "to be met with in ſome other Chapters, where one would leaſt look for "them. And many more things ſaid by the Ancients of the See of *Rome*, "and againſt their Authority, were loſt, as appears by the Fragments yet "remaining. He ſhew'd that many of the Ancients called every thing "which they thought well done, *of Divine Inſtitution*, by a large ex- "tent of the Phraſe, in which ſenſe the paſſages of many Fathers that "magnified the See of *Rome*, were to be underſtood. 1534. Ex MSS. DD. *Stillingfleet.*

"Then he ſhew'd for what end General Councils were called, to de- "clare the Faith, and reform Errors, not that ever any Council was truly "General, for even at *Nice* there were no Biſhops almoſt, but out of "*Egypt*, *Aſia*, and *Greece*; but they were called General, becauſe the "Emperor Summon'd them, and all Chriſtendom did agree to their "Definitions, which he prov'd by ſeveral Authorities: therefore though "there were many more Biſhops in the Council of *Arimini*, than at *Nice* "or *Conſtantinople*, yet the one was not received as a General Council, "and the others were: ſo that it was not the number, nor Authority of "the Biſhops, but the matter of their Diciſions, which made them be "received with ſo general a Submiſſion.

"As for the Head of the Council. St. *Peter* and St. *James* had the "chief derection of the Council of the Apoſtles, but there were no Con- "teſt then about Head-ſhip. Chriſt named no Head, which could be "no more called a defect in him, than it was one in God, that had named "no Head to Govern the World. Yet the Church found it convenient "to have one over them, ſo Arch-Biſhops were ſet over Provinces. And "though St. *Peter* had been Head of the Apoſtles, yet as it is not certain "that he was ever in *Rome*, ſo it does not appear, that he had his Head- "ſhip for *Romes* ſake, or that he left it there; but he was made Head for "his Faith, and not for the Dignity of any See: Therefore the Biſhops "of *Rome* could pretend to nothing from him, but as they followed his "Faith; and *Liberius* and ſome other Biſhops there, had been condemn- "ed for Hereſie; and if according to St. *James*, Faith be to be tryed "by Works, the Lives of the Popes for ſeveral Ages gave ſhrewd pre- "ſumptions, that their Faith was not good. And though it were grant- "ed, that ſuch a Power was given to the See of *Rome*, yet by many in- "ſtances, he ſhew'd that poſitive Precepts in a matter of that nature, "were not for ever Obligatory. And therefore *Gerſon* wrote a Book, "*De Auferibilitate Papæ.* So that if a Pope with the Cardinals be cor- "rupted, they ought to be tryed by a General Council, and ſubmit to "it. St. *Peter* gave an account of his Baptizing *Cornelius*, when he was "queſtioned about it. So *Damaſus*, *Sixtus*, and *Leo*, purged them- "ſelves of ſome ſcandals.

"Then he ſhewed how Corrupt the preſent Pope was, both in his "Perſon and Government, for which he was abhorred, even by ſome of his

1534. " his Cardinals, as himſelf had heard and ſeen at *Rome*. It is true, there " was no Law to proceed againſt a vitious Pope, for it was a thing not " foreſeen, and thought ſcarcely poſſible; but new diſeaſes required new " remedies: and if a Pope that is an Heretick may be judged in a Coun- " cill, the ſame reaſon would hold againſt a Symoniacal, Covetous and " Impious Pope, who was Salt that had loſt its ſavour. And by ſeveral " Authorities, he proved, that every man who lives ſo, is thereby out of " the Communion of the Church; and that as the Preheminence of the " See of *Rome* flowed only from the Laws of men, ſo there was now " good cauſe to repeal theſe, for the Pope, as was ſaid in the Council of " *Baſil*, was only Vicar of the Church, and not of Chriſt, ſo he was ac- " countable to the Church. The Council of *Conſtance*, and the Divines " of *Paris* had, according to the Doctrine of the Ancient Church, de- " clared the Pope to be ſubject to a General Council, which many Popes " in former Ages had confeſſed. And all that the Pope can claim ever " by the Canon Law, is only to call and preſide in a General Council, " but not to over-rule it, or have a Nagative Vote in it.

" The Power of Councils did not extend to Princes, Dominions, or " Secular Matters, but only to Points of Faith, which they were to de- " clare, and to condemn Hereticks: nor were their Decrees Laws, till " they were Enacted by princes. Upon this, he enlarged much to ſhew, " that though a Council did proceed againſt a King (with which they " then threatned the King) that their Sentence was of no force, as being " without their Sphere. The determination of Councils ought to be " well conſidered and examined by the Scriptures, and in matters indif- " ferent, men ought to be left to their freedom. He taxed the ſeverity of " *Victor*'s Proceedings againſt the Churches of the Eaſt, about the day " of *Eaſter*. And concluded, that as a Member of the Body is not cut " off, except a Gangrene comes in it; ſo no part of the Church ought to " be cut off, but upon a great and inevitable cauſe. And he very large- " ly ſhewed, with what Moderation and Charity the Church ſhould pro- " ceed even againſt thoſe that held errors. And the Standard of the " Councils definitions, ſhould only be taken from the Scriptures, and not " from mens Traditions.

" He ſaid, ſome General Councils had benn rejected by others, and it " was a tender Point, how much ought to be deferred to a Council; " ſome Decrees of Councils were not at all obeyed. The Divines of " *Paris* held, that a Council could not make a new Article of Faith, that " was not in the Scriptures. And as all God's promiſes to the People of " *Iſrael*, had this condition implyed within them, *If they keept his Com- mandments*; ſo he thought the promiſes to the Chriſtian Church, had " this condition in them, *If they keept the Faith*. Therefore he had much " doubting in himſelf as to General Councils, and he thought that only " the Word of God was the Rule of Faith, which ought to take place " in all Controverſies of Religion. The Scriptures were called Canonical, " as being the only Rules of the Faith of Chriſtians; and theſe by ap- " pointment of the Ancient Council, were only to be read in the Chur- " ches. The Fathers SS. *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, and *Auſtin*, did in many " things differ from one another, but always appealed to the Scriptures, " as the common and certain Standard. And he cited ſome remarkable " paſſage out St. *Auſtin*, to ſhew, what difference he put between the

" Scriptures

" Scriptures, and all the other Writings even of the beſt and holieſt Fa- 1534.
" thers. But when all the Fathers agreed in the Expoſition of any place
" of Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as flowing from the
" Spirit of God, and it was a moſt dangerous thing to be wiſe in our
" own Conceit: Therefore he thought Councils ought to found their
" Deciſions on the Word of God, and thoſe Expoſitions of it that had
" been agreed on by the Doctors of the Church.

" Then he diſcourſed very largely what a Perſon a Judg ought to be,
" he muſt not be Partial, nor a Judg in his own Cauſe, nor ſo much as
" ſit on the Bench when it is tried, leſt his Preſence ſhould over-awe o-
" thers. Things alſo done upon a common Error cannot bind, when the
" Error upon which they were done comes to be diſcovered; and all
" humane Laws ought to be changed, when a publick viſible Inconve-
" nience follows them. From which he concluded, that the Pope being
" a Party, and having already paſſed his Sentence, in things which ought
" to be examined by a General Council, could not be a Judg, nor ſit in
" it. Princes alſo, who upon a common miſtake, thinking the Pope Head
" of the Church, had ſworn to him, finding that this was done upon a
" falſe ground, may pull their Neck out of his Yoke, as every Man may
" make his eſcape out of the hands of a Robber. And the Court of *Rome*
" was ſo corrupt, that a Pope, though he meant well, as *Hadrian* did,
" yet could never bring any good deſign to an Iſſue; the Cardinals and
" the reſt of that Court being ſo engaged to maintain their Corruptions.
Theſe were the Heads of that Diſcourſe, which it ſeems he gave them in Writing after he had delivered it; but he promiſed to entertain them with another Diſcourſe, of the Power the Biſhops of the Chriſtian Church have in their Sees, and of the Power of a Chriſtian Prince to make them do their Duty; but that I could never ſee, and I am afraid it is loſt.

All this I thought neceſſary to open, to ſhew the State of the Court, and the Principles that the ſeveral Parties in it went upon, when the Reformation was firſt brought under Conſideration in the third Period of this King's Reign, to which I am now advanced.

The end of the Second Book.

THE

pag 179. Printed for Ric: Chiswell, at the Rose and Crowne in St Paules Church

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK III.

Of the other Tranſactions about Religion and Reformation, during the reſt of the Reign of King Henry *the* Eighth.

1535. The reſt of the King's reign grows troubleſome.

THE King having paſſed through the Traverſes and toſſings of his Suit of Divorce, and having with the concurrence, both of his Clergy and Parliament, brought about what he had projected, ſeem'd now at eaſe in his own Dominions. But though matters were carried in Publick Aſſembles ſmoothly and ſucceſsfully, yet there were many ſecret diſcontents, which being fomented, both by the Pope, and the Emperors Agents, wrought him great trouble; ſo that the reſt of his life, was full of vexation and diſquiet.

All that were zealouſly addicted to that which they called the Old Religion, did conclude, that whatever firmneſs the King expreſſed to it now, was either pretended out of Policy, for avoiding the Inconveniences, which the fears of a Change might produce: or though he really intended to perform what he profeſſed; yet the Intereſts in which he muſt embarque, with the Princes of *Germany* againſt the Pope and the Emperor, together with the Power that the Queen had over him, and the credit *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* had with him, would prevail on him to change ſome things in Religion. And they look'd on theſe things, as ſo complicated together, that the change of any one muſt needs make way for change in more, ſince that ſtruck at the Authority of the Church, and left people at liberty to diſpute the Articles of Faith. This they thought was a Gate opened

1535. to Heresie. And therefore they were every-where meeting together, and consulting, what should be done for suppressing Heresie, and preserving the Catholick Faith.

By the practises of the Monks and Friars.

That zeal was much inflamed by the Monks and Friars, who clearly saw the Acts of Parliment were so levelled at their Exemptions and Immunities, that they were now like to be at the King's mercy. They were no more to plead their Bulls, or claim any Priviledges further than it pleased the King to allow them. No new Saints from *Rome* could draw more Riches or Honour to their Orders. Priviledges and Indulgences were out of doors; so that the Arts of drawing in the People, to enrich their Churches and Houses, were at an end. And they had also secret Intimations, that the King and the Courtiers, had an eye on their Lands, and they gave themselves for lost, if they could not so embroyl the King's Affairs, that he should not adventure on so invidious a thing: Therefore both in Confessions and Conferences they infused into the people a dislike of the King's Proceedings; which though for some time it did not break out into an open Rebellion, yet the humor still fermented, and people only waited for an opportunity: So that if the Emperor had not been otherwise distracted, he might have made War upon the King, with great advantages. For many of his discontented Subjects would have joyned with the Enemy. But the King did so dextrously manage his Leagues with the *French* King, and the Princes of the Empire, that the Emperor could never make any impressions on his Dominions.

Which provoked the King to great severities.

But those factious Spirits, seeing nothing was to be expected from any foreign Power, could not contain themselves, but broke out into open Rebellion. And this provoked the King to great severities: His Spirit was so fretted, by the tricks the Court of *Rome* had put on him, and by the Ingratitude and seditious practices of *Reginald Pool*; that he thereby lost much of his former temper and patience; and was too ready upon slight grounds, to bring his Subjects to the Bar. Where though the matter was always so ordered that according to Law they were indicted and judged; yet the severity of the Law bordering sometimes on rigor and cruelty, he came to be called a cruel Tyrant. Nor did his severity, lie only on one side: but being addicted to some Tenets of the Old Religion; and impatient of Contradiction; or perhaps blown up, either with the vanity of his new Title, of *Head of the Church*, or with the praises which Flatterers bestowed on him; he thought all persons were bound to regulate their Belief by his Dictates, which made him prosecute Protestants, as well as proceed against Papists. Yet it does not appear, that Cruelty was Natural to him. For in twenty five years Reign, none had suffered for any Crime against the State; but *Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*. The former he prosecuted in Obedience to his Father's last Commands at his death. His severity to the other was imputed to the *Cardinals* Malice. The Proceedings were also legal. And the Duke of *Buckingham*, had by the knavery of a Priest, to whom he gave great credit, been made believe he had a Right to the Crown; and practises of that nature, touch Princes so nearly, that no wonder the Law was executed in such a case. This

shows

ſhows that the King was not very jealous, nor deſirous of the Blood of his Subjects. But though he always proceeded upon Law; yet in the laſt Ten Years of his Life, many inſtances of Severity occurred, for which he is rather to be pitied, than either imitated or ſharply cenſured. 1535.

The former Book was full of Intrigues and forreign Tranſactions; the greateſt part of it being an account of a tedious Negotiation, with the ſubtleſt and moſt refined Court in Chriſtendom, in all the Arts of humane Policy. But now my work is confined to this Nation; and except in ſhort touches by the way, I ſhall meddle no further with the Myſteries of State; but ſhall give as clear an account of thoſe things that relate to Religion and Reformation, as I could poſſibly recover. The Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, The advance and declenſion of Reformation, and the Proceedings againſt thoſe, who adhered to the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome*, muſt be the chief Subjects of this Book. The two former ſhall be opened, in the ſeries of time as they were tranſacted. But the laſt ſhall be left to the end of the Book, that it may be preſented in one full view.

The Biſhops ſwear the King's Supremacy.

After the Parliment had ended their Buſineſs, the Biſhops did all renew their Alliance to the King, and ſwore alſo to maintain his Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Matters; acknowledging that he was the Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, though there was yet no Law for the requiring of any ſuch Oath. The firſt act of the King's Supremacy was, his naming *Cromwell* Vicar-General, and Generall Viſitor of all the Monaſteries and other Priviledged Places. This is commonly confounded with his following Dignity of *Lord Vice-Gerent* in Eccleſiaſtical Matters; but they were two different Places, and held by different Commiſſions. By the one he had no Authority over the Biſhops, nor had he any Precedence; but the other, as it gave him the Precedence next the Royal Family, ſo it cloathed him with a compleat Delegation of the King's whole Power in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. For Two Years he was only Vicar-General; But the tenour of his Commiſſions, and the nature of the Power devolved on him by them, cannot be fully known: For neither the one, nor the other are in the Rolls, though there can be no doubt made, but Commiſſions of ſuch Importance were enrolled; therefore the loſs of them can only be charged on that ſearch and raſure of Records made by *Bronner*, upon the Commiſſion granted to him by Queen *Mary*, of which I have ſpoken in the Preface of this Work. In the *Prerogative-Office* there is a ſubaltern Commiſſion granted to Doctor (afterwards Secretary) *Petre*, on *Jan.* 13. in the Twenty Seventh Year of the King's Reign, by which it appears, that *Cromwell's* Commiſſion was at firſt conceived in very general words, for he is called the King's *Vice-Gerent* in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, his *Vicar-General*, and *Official-Principal*. But becauſe he could not himſelf attend upon all theſe affairs, therefore Doctor *Petre* is deputed under him, for receiving the Probates of Wills: from thence likewiſe it appears, that all Wills, where the Eſtate was 200 *lib.* or above, were no more to be tryed or proved in the Biſhops Courts, but in the *Vicar-Generals* Court. Yet though he was called *Vice-Gerent* in that Commiſſion, he was ſpoken of, and writ to, by the name of *Vicar-General*; but

1535. after the second Commission, seen and mentioned by the Lord *Herbert*, in *July* 1536. he was always designed Lord *Vice-Gerent*.

The next thing that was every-where laboured with great industry, was, to engage all the rest of the Clergy, chiefly the Regulars, to own the Kings Supremacy; To which they generally submitted. In *Oxford* the Question being put, Whether the Pope had any other Jurisdiction in *England* than any other forreign Bishop? it was referred to Thirty Doctors and Batchelors, who were impowred to set the University-Seal to their Conclusion. They all agreed in the Negative, and the whole University being examined about it Man by Man, assented to their determination. All the difficulty that I find made, was at *Richmond*, by the *Franciscan Friars*, where the Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* (*Rowland Lee*) and *Thomas Bedyl*, tendred some Conclusions to them, among which, this was one, *That the Pope of* Rome *has no greater Jurisdiction in this Kingdom of* England, *by the Law of God, than any other Forreign Bishop.* This they told them was already subscribed, by the two Arch-Bishops, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Duresm*, *Bath*, and all the other Prelates, and Heads of Houses, and all the famous Clerks of the Realm. And therefore they desired that the Friars would refer the matter to the Four Seniours of the House, and acquiesce in what they should do. But the Friars said, it concerned their Consciences, and therefore they would not submit it to a small part of their House: they added, that they had sworn to follow the Rule of St. *Francis*, and in that they would live and die; and cited a Chapter of their Rule, "That their Order should have a Cardinal for their Protector, by whose direction "they might be governed in their obedience to the Holy See. But to this the Bishop answered, That St. *Francis* lived in *Italy*, when the Monks and other Regulars that had Exemptions, were subject to the Pope, as they were in *England* to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. And for the Chapter which they cited, it was showed them, that it was not written by St. *Francis*, but made since his time; and though it were truly a part of his Rule, it was told them that no particular Rule, ought to be preferred to the Laws of the Land, to which all Subjects were bound to give Obedience, and could not be excused from it, by any voluntary obligation under which they brought themselves. Yet all this could not prevail on them, but they said to the Bishop, they had professed St. *Francis*'s Rule, and would still continue in the Observance of it.

Antiq. Oxon. Lib. 1. pag. 258. The Original Letter is in *Cott.* Lib. *Cleop.* E. 4. *Feb.* 15.

The Franciscan Friars refuse it.

But though I do not find such resistance made elsewhere, yet it appears that some secret practices of many of those Orders against the State were discovered; therefore it was resolved, that some effectuall means must be taken for lessening their Credit and Authority with the People, and so a general Visitation of all Monasteries and other Religious Houses was resolved on. This was chiefly advised by Doctor *Leighton*, who had been in the Cardinals service with *Cromwell*, and was then taken notice of by him, as a dextrous and diligent Man, and therefore was now made use of on this Occasion. He by a Letter to *Cromwell* advertised him, that upon a long Conference with the Dean of the *Arches*, he found the Dean was of Opinion, that it was not fit to make any Visitation in the Kings name yet, for Two or Three

A General Visitation of Monasteries is designed.

Orig. *Cott.* Lib. E. 4.

Three years, till his Supremacy were better received; and that he apprehended a ſevere Viſitation ſo early, would make the Clergy more averſe to the King's Power. But *Leighton* on the other hand, thought nothing would ſo much recommend the Supremacy, as to ſee ſuch good effects of it, as might follow upon a ſtrict and exact Viſitation. And the Abuſes of Religious Perſons were now ſo great and viſible, even to the Laity, that the Correcting and Reforming theſe, would be a very popular thing. He writ further, That there had been no Viſitation in the Northern parts, ſince the Cardinal ordered it: Therefore he adviſed one, and deſired to be employed in *York-ſhire*. And by another Letter, dated the 4th of *June*, he wrote to *Cromwell*, deſiring that Doctor *Lee* and he might be imployed in Viſiting all the Monaſteries, from the Dioceſs of *Lincoln* Northwards: which they could manage better than any body elſe, having great kindred, and a large acquaintance in thoſe parts: ſo that they would be able to diſcover all the diſorders or ſeditious practices in theſe Houſes. He complained that former Viſitations had been ſlight and inſignificant, and promiſed great faithfulneſs and diligence both from himſelf and Doctor *Lee*. 1535.

The Arch-Biſhop of *Canturbury* was now making his Metropolitical Viſitation, having obtained the King's Licence for it, which ſays, That he having deſired, that according to the Cuſtom, and the Prerogative of his Metropolitical See, he might make his Viſitation; The King granted him Licence to do it, and required all to aſſiſt and obey him; dated the 28th of *April*. Things were not yet ripe for doing great matters; ſo that which he now look'd to, was to ſee that all ſhould ſubmit to the King's Supremacy; and renounce any dependance on the Pope, whoſe name was to be ſtruck out of all the Publick Offices of the Church. This was begun in *May* 1535. *Stokesley* Biſhop of *London*, ſubmitted not to this Viſitation, till he had entered three Proteſtations, for keeping up of Privileges. *Cranmer* makes his Metropolitical Viſitation. *Rot. Pat.* Regn. 26. Part. 1. Regiſt. *Stokſ.* Fol. 44.

In October began the great Viſitation of Monaſteries, which was committed to ſeveral Commiſſioners. *Leighton*, *Lee*, and *London*, were moſt imployed. But many others were alſo empowered to viſit. For I find Letters from *Robert Southwell*, *Ellice Price*, *John Ap-price*, *Richard Southwell*, *John Gage*, *Richard Bellaſis*, *Walter Hendle*, and ſeveral others, to *Cromwell*, giving him an account of the Progreſs they made in their ſeveral Provinces. Their Commiſſions, if they were paſſed under the great Seal, and enrolled, have been taken out of the Rolls; for there are none of them to be found there. Yet I encline to think, they were not under the great Seal. For I have ſeen an Original Commiſſion for the Viſitation, that was next year, which was only under the King's Hand and Siguet. From which it may be inferred, that the Commiſſions this year, were of the ſame nature: yet whether ſuch Commiſſions could Authorize them to grant Diſpenſations, and diſcharge Men out of the Houſes they were in, I am not skill'd enough in Law to determine. And by their Letters to *Cromwell*, I find they did aſſume Authority for theſe things. So what their Power was, I am not able to diſcover. But beſides their Power and Commiſſions, they got Inſtructions to direct them in their Viſitations, and Injunctions to be left in every Houſe, of which, though I could The King's Viſitation begun. In MSS. D. G. *Pierpoint.*

1535. could not recover the Originals, yet Copies of very good Authority I have seen, which the Reader will find in the Collection at the end of this Book. The Instructions contain 86 Articles. The substance of them was, to try,

Cot. Lib. Cleop. E. 4.

Instructions for the Visitation.

"Whether Divine Service was kept up day and night, in the right "hours? And how many were commonly present, and who were fre- "quently absent.

See *Collect.* Numb. 1.

"Whether the full number, according to the Foundation, was in eve- "ry House? Who were Founders? What additions have been made "since the Foundation? And what were their Revenues? Whether it "was ever changed from one Order to another? By whom? And for "what Cause?

"What Mortmains they had? And whether their Founders were suf- "ficiently Authorized to make such Donations?

"Upon what Suggestions, and for what Causes they were exempted "from their Dioceſans?

"Their Local Statutes were also to be seen and Examined.

"The Election of their Head was to be enquired into. The Rule of "every House was to be considered. How many professed? And how "many Novices were in it? And at what time the Novices professed?

"Whether they knew their Rule, and observed it? Chiefly the three "Vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience? Whether any of them "kept any Mony without the Master's knowledge? Whether they "kept company with Women, within or without the Monastery? Or if "there were any back-doors, by which Women came within the pre- "cinct? Whether they had any Boys lying by them?

"Whether they observed the Rules of Silence, Fasting, Abstinence, "and Hair-shirts? Or by what warrant they were dispensed with, in "any of these?

"Whether they did Eat, Sleep, wear their Habit, and stay within "the Monastery, according to their Rules?

"Whether the Master was too cruel, or too remiss? And whether "he used the Brethren without partiality or malice?

"Whether any of the Brethren were incorrrigible?

"Whether the Master made his Accompts faithfully once a year?

"Whether all the other Officers made their Accompts truly? And "whether the whole Revenues of the House were imployed according "to the intention of the Founders?

"Whether the Fabrick was kept up, and the Plate and Furniture "were carefully preserved?

"Whether the Covent-Seal, and the Writings of the House were "well kept? And whether Leases were made by the Master to his "Kindred and Friends, to the Damage of the House? Whether Hospi- "tality was kept? and whether at the receiving of Novices, any Mo- "ny or Reward was demanded or promised? What care was taken to "instruct the Novices?

"Whether any had entred into the House, in hope to be once the "Master of it?

"Whether in giving Presentations to Livings, the Master had re- "served a Pension out of them? Or what sort of Bargains he made con- "cerning them?

"As

"An account was to be taken, of all the Parſonages and Vicarages "belonging to every Houſe, and how theſe Benefices were diſpoſed of, "and how the Cure was ſerved. 1535.

All theſe things were to be inquired after in the houſes of Monks or Friars. And in the Viſitaion of Nunneries, they were to ſearch.

"Whether the Houſe had a good Encloſure, and if the Doors and "Windows were kept ſhut, ſo that no Man could enter at inconvenient "hours?

"Whether any Man converſed with the Siſters alone, without the "Abbeſſes leave?

"Whether any Siſter was forced to profeſs, either by her Kindred, "or by the Abbeſs?

"Whether they went out of their precinct without leave? And "whether they wore their Habit then?

"What employment they had out of the times of Divine Service? "What familiarity they had with Religious Men? Whether they wrote "Love-Letters? Or ſent and received Tokens or Preſents?

"Whether the Confeſſor was a diſcreet and learned Man, and of good "reputation? And how oft a year the Siſters did Confeſs and Commu-"nicate?

They were alſo to viſit all Collegiate Churches, Hoſpitals and Cathedrals, and the Order of the Knights of *Jeruſalem*. But if this Copy be compleat they were only to view their Writings and Papers, to ſee what could be gathered out of them, about the Reformation of Monaſtical Orders. And as they were to viſit according to theſe Inſtructions, ſo they were to give ſome Injunctions in the King's Name.

Injunctions for all Religious Houſes.

"That they ſhould endeavour, all that in them lay, that the Act of "the Kings Succeſſion ſhould be obſerved, (where it is ſaid, *that they had under their Hands and Seals confirmed it.* This ſhows, that all the Religious Houſes of *England* had acknowledged it:) and they ſhould teach "the people, that the King's Power was Supreme on Earth, under God, "and that the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Power was Uſurped by Craft and Po-"licy, and by his ill Canons and Decretals, which had been long tole-"rated by the Prince, but was now juſtly taken away.

See Collect. Number 2.

"The Abbot and Brethren were declared to be abſolved from any Oath, "they had ſworn to the Pope, or to any Foreign Potentate; and the "Statutes of any Order, that did bind them to a Foreign Subjection, "were abrogated and ordered to be razed out of their Books.

"That no Monk ſhould go out of the precinct, nor any Woman enter "within it, without leave from the King or the Viſitor, and that there "ſhould be no entry to it, but one.

"Some Rules were given about their Meals, and a Chapter of the "Old or New Teſtament was ordered to be read at every one. The "Abbots Table was to be ſerved with common Meats, and not with de-"licate and ſtrange Diſhes; and either he, or one of the Seniors, were "to be always there to entertain ſtrangers.

Some other Rules follow about the diſtribution of their Alms, their "accommodation in Health and Sickneſs. One or two of every Houſe "was to be kept at the Univerſity; that when they were well Inſtru-"cted, they might come and teach others: And every day, there was "to be a Lecture of Divinity for a whole hour: The Brethren muſt "all be well employed.

"The

1535. "The Abbot or Head was every day to explain some part of the Rule, "and apply it according to Christ's Law; and to shew them, that their "Ceremonies were but Elements, introductory to true Christianity; "and that Religion consisted not in Habits, or in such like Rites, but in "cleanness of Heart, pureness of Living, unfeigned Faith, Brotherly "Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Truth: That there- "fore they must not rest in their Ceremonies, but ascend by them to "true Religion.

"Other Rules are added about the Revenues of the House, and a- "gainst Wastes, and that none be entered into their House, nor admit- "ted under twenty four years of Age.

"Every Priest in the House was to say Mass daily; and in it, to pray "for the King and Queen.

"If any break any of these Injunctions, he was to be denounced to "the King, or his Visitor-general. The Visitor had also Authority to "punish any, whom he should find guilty of any Crime, and to bring "the Visitor-general, such of their Books and Writings as he thought "fit.

An account of the Progress of the Monastical state in *England*.

But before I give an account of this Visitation, I presume it will not be ingrateful to the Reader to offer him some short view of the Rise and Progress of Monastick Orders in *England*, and of the state they were in at this time. What the Ancient *British* Monks were, or by what Rule they were governed; whether it was from the Eastern Churches, that this Constitution was brought into *Britain*, and was either suited to the Rule of St. *Anthony*, St. *Pachom*, or St. *Basil*; or whether they had it from *France*, where *Sulpitius* tells us, St. *Martin* set up Monasteries, must be left to conjecture. But from the little that remains of them, we find they were very numerous, and were obedient to the Bishop of *Caerleon*, as all the Monks of the Primitive times were to their Bishops, according to the Canons of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

But upon the confusions which the *Gothick* Wars brought into *Italy*, *Benedict* and others set up Religious Houses; and more artificial Rules and Methods were found out for their Government. Not long after that, *Austin* the Monk came into *England*; and having Baptized *Ethelbert*, he perswaded him to found a Monastery at *Canterbury*, which the King, by his Charter, exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Arch-Bishop and his Successors. This was not only done by *Austins* consent, but he by another Writing confirms this Foundation; and exempted both the Monastery and all the Churches belonging to it, from his, or his Successors Jurisdictions; and most earnestly conjures his Successors, never to give any trouble to the Monks, who were only to be subject to their own Abbot. And this was granted, that they might have no disturbance in the Service of God. But (whether this, with many other Ancient Foundations, were not latter Forgeries, which I vehemently suspect, I leave to Criticks to discuss) the next Exemption that I find, was granted in the year 680, to the Abby of *Peterborough*, by Pope *Agatho*, and was Signed by *Theodore*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, called the Popes Legate (this I doubt was Forged afterwards.) In the year 725, King *Ina's* Charter to the Abbey of *Glassenbury*, relates to their Ancient Charters, and exempts them from the Bishops Jurisdiction. King *Offa* founded, and exempted the Monastery of St. *Albans*, in

The Exemptions of Monasteries. See *Monasticon*.

in the year 793, which Pope *Honorius* the 3*d*. Confirmed, *Anno* 1218, *Kenulph* King of *Mercia* founded and exempted *Abington*, in the year 821. *Knut* founded and exempted St. *Edmundsbury* in the year 1020. 1535.

About the end of the Eighth Century, the *Danes* began to make their descents into *England* and made every-where great depredations; and finding the Monks had possessed themselves, of the greatest part of the Riches of the Nation, they made their most frequent inroads upon these places where they knew the richest Spoil was to be found. And they did so wast and ruine these Houses, that they were generally abandon'd by the Monks, who as they loved the ease and wealth they had enjoyed formerly in their Houses, so had no mind to expose themselves to the persecutions of those heathenish Invaders. But when they had deserted their Seats, the Secular Clergy came and possessed them; so that in King *Edgar*'s time, there was scarce a Monk in all *England*. He was a most dissolute and lewd Prince, but being persuaded by *Dunstan* and other Monks, that what he did towards the restoring of that decayed State, would be a matter of great Merit, became the great Promoter of the Monastical State in *England*; For he converted most of the Chapters into Monasteries; and by his Foundation of the Priory of *Worcester*, it appears, he had then founded no fewer than Forty seven, which he intended to encrease to Fifty, *the number of Pardon*. Yet in his Foundations, he only exempted the Monasteries, from all Actions or Dues, which the Bishops claim'd. There are exemptions of several rates and sizes: Some Houses were only Exempted from all Exactions; others from all Jurisdiction or Visitations; others had only an Exemption for their precinct; others for all the Churches that belonged to them. *Edward* the Confessor exempted many of these Houses, which *Edgar* had founded, as *Ramsey*, &c. He also founded and Exempted *Coventry* and *Westminster*, and the Exemption of the last, was likewise confirmed by Pope *Nicolas*, in a Bull to King *Edward*. *William* the Conqueror Founded and Exempted the Abbey of *Battel* from all Episcopal Jurisdiction.

Monasteries generally wasted and deserted;

Antiquit. *Britan.*

But are again set up by King *Edgar*.

But after that time I do not find, that our Kings exempted Abbeys from any thing, but Episcopal Exactions; for though formerly Kings had made Laws, and given Orders about Ecclesiastical matters, yet now the claim to an Immunity from the Civil Jurisdiction, and also the Papal Authority, were grown to that height, that Princes were to meddle no more with sacred things. And henceforth all Exemptions were granted by the Popes, who claimed a Jurisdiction over the whole Church; and assumed that Power to themselves with many other Usurpations.

All the Ancient Foundations were subscribed by the King, the Queen and Prince, with many Bishops and Abbots, and Dukes and Earls consenting. The Abbeys being Exempted from all Jurisdiction, both Civil and Spiritual, and from all Impositions; and having generally the Privilege of Sanctuary for all that fled to them, were at ease, and accountable to none, so they might do what they pleased. They found also means to enrich themselves, First by the belief of Purgatory. For they persuaded all People, that the Souls departed,

Arts used by the Monks for enriching their Houses.

1535. went generally thither; few were so Holy, as to go straight to Heaven; and few so bad, as to be cast to Hell. Then People were made believe, that the saying of Masses for their Souls, gave them great relief in their Torments, and did at length deliver them out of them. This being generally received, it was thought by all a piece of Piety to their Parents, and of necessary care for themselves, and their Families, to give some part of their Estates towards the enriching of these Houses, for having a Mass said every day for the Souls of their Ancestors, and for their own, after their death. And this did so spread, that if some Laws had not restrained their profuseness, the greater part of all the Estates in *England*, had been given to those Houses. But the Statutes of *Mortmain* were not very effectual restraints; for what King soever had refused to grant a *Mortmain*, was sure to have an uneasie reign ever after.

Yet this did not satisfie the Monks, but they fell upon other contrivances, to get the best of all Mens Jewels, Plate and Furniture. For they perswaded them, that the protection and intercession of Saints were of mighty use to them; so that whatsoever respect they put on the Shrines and Images, but chiefly on the Relicks of Saints, they would find their account in it, and the Saints would take it kindly at their hands, and intercede the more earnestly for them. And People who saw Courtries much wrought on by presents, imagined the Saints were of the same temper; only with this difference, That Courtiers love to have Presents put in their own hands, but the Saints were satisfied, if they were given to others. And as in the Courts of Princes, the new Favourite commonly had greatest credit, so every new Saint was believed to have a greater force in his Addresses; and therefore every body was to run to their Shrines, and make great Presents to them. This being infused into the credulous Multitude, they brought the richest things they had, to the places where the bodies or Relicks of those Saints were laid. Some Images were also believed to have a peculiar Excellency in them; and Pilgrimages and Presents to these, were much magnified. But to quicken all this, the Monks found the means, either by dreams or visions, and strange Miraculous stories, to feed the devotion of the People. Relicks without number, where every where discovered; and most wonderful relations of the Martyrdom, and other Miracles of the Saints, were made and read in all Places to the People; and new Improvements were daily made in a Trade, that through the craft of the Monks, and the simplicity of the People, brought in great advantages. And though there was enough got to enrich them all, yet there was strange rivalling, not only among the several Orders, but the Houses of the same Order. The Monks, especially of *Glassenbury*, St. *Albans*, and St. *Edmunds-bury*, vied one with another, who could tell the most extravagant Stories for the honour of their House, and of the Relicks in it.

They became generally corrupted.

The Monks in these Houses abounding in wealth, and living at ease and in idleness, did so degenerate, that from the Twelfth Century downward, their reputation abated much; and the Privileges of Sanctuaries, were a general Grievance, and oft complained of in Parliaments: For they received all that fled to them, which put a great stop to Justice, and did encourage the most criminal offenders. They became

became lewd and diſſolute, and ſo impudent in it, that ſome of their farms were let, for bringing in a yearly tribute to their Luſts: nor did they keep Hoſpitality and relieve the poor; but rather encouraged Vagabonds and Beggars, againſt whom Laws were made, both in *Edward* the 3d, King *Henry* the 7th, and this Kings Reign. 1535.

Upon which the Begging Friars grew much in credit.

But from the Twelfth Century, the orders of Begging Friars were ſet up, and they by the appearance of Severity and Mortification, gained great eſteem. At firſt they would have nothing, no real eſtates, but the ground on which their Houſe ſtood. But afterwards diſtinctions were found, for ſatisfying their Conſciences in larger Poſſeſſions. They were not ſo idle and lazy as the Monks, but went about and Preached, and heard Confeſſions, and carried about Indulgences, with many other pretty little things, *Agnus Dei's*, *Roſaries*, and *Pelles*, which they made the World believe, had great virtue in them. And they had the eſteem of the people, wholly engroſſed to themſelves. They were alſo more formidable to Princes, than the Monks, becauſe they were poorer, and by conſequence, more hardy and bold. There was alſo a firmer union of their whole Order, they having a General at *Rome*, and being divided into many Provinces, ſubject to their Provincials. They had likewiſe the *School-Learning* wholly in their hands, and were great Preachers, ſo that many things concurred, to raiſe their eſteem with the people very high, yet great Complaints lay againſt them, for they went more abroad than the Monks did, and were believed guilty of Corrupting Families. The Scandals that went on them, upon their relaxing the primitive ſtrictneſs of their Orders, were a little rectified by ſome Reformations of theſe Orders. But that laſted not long; for they became liable to much Cenſure, and many viſitations had been made, but to little purpoſe. This Concurring with their ſecret practices againſt the King, both in the matter of his Divorce and Supremacy, made him more willing to examine the truth of theſe reports; that if they were found guilty of ſuch ſcandals, they might loſe their credit with the people, and occaſions be miniſtred to the King, to juſtifie the Suppreſſion of them.

The Kings ſecret motives for diſſolving theſe Houſes.

There was alſo two other Motives, that enclined the King to this Councel. The one was, that he apprehended a War from the Emperor, who was then the only Prince in the World, that had any conſiderable force at Sea; having both great Fleets in the *Indies*, and being Prince of the *Netherlands*, where the greateſt trade of theſe parts was driven. Therefore the King judged it neceſſary to fortifie his Ports, and ſeeing the great advantages of Trade, which began then to riſe much, was reſolved to encourage it: For which end he intended to build many Havens and Harbors. This was a matter of great charge, and as his own Revenue could not defray it, ſo he had no mind to lay heavy Taxes on his Subjects, therefore the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, was thought, the eaſieſt way of raiſing Money.

He alſo intended to erect many more Biſhopricks, to which *Cranmer* adviſed him much, that the vaſtneſs of ſome Dioceſſes, being reduced to a narrower compaſs, Biſhops might better diſcharge their duties, and overſee their Flocks, according to the Scriptures and the Primitive Rules.

1535. *Cranmer's design in it.*

But *Cranmer* did on another reason, press the Suppression of Monasteries. He found that their Foundations, and whole State, was inconsistent with a full and true Reformation. For among the things to be reform'd, were these Abuses, which were essential to their Constitution; (such as the Belief of Purgatory, of Redeeming Souls by Masses, the worship of Saints and Images, and Pilgrimages, and the like.) And therefore those Societies, whose interest it was to oppose the Reformation, were once to be suppressed: and then he hoped, upon new Endowments and Foundations, new Houses should have been erected at every Cathedral, to be Nurseries for that whole Diocess; which he thought would be more suitable to the primitive use of Monasteries, and more profitable to the Church. This was his Scheme, as will afterwards appear; which was in some measure effected, though not so fully as he projected, for Reasons to be told in their proper place.

First Monastery that was dissolved.

There had been a Bull sent from *Rome*, for dissolving some Monasteries, and Erecting Bishopricks out of them, as was related in the former Book, in the year 1532. And it seems it was upon that Authority, that in the year 1533. the Priory of Christ Church near *Aldgate* in *London*, was dissolved, and given to the Lord Chancellor Sr *Thomas Audley*; (not to make him speak shriller for his Master in the House of Commons, as *Fuller* mistakes it; for he had been Lord Chancellor a year before this was given him.) The Pope's Authority not being at that time put down, nor the King's Supremacy set up, I conjecture it was done, pursuant to the Bull for the Dissolution, and some Religious Houses; but I never saw the Dissolution, and so can only guess on what ground it was made. But in the Parliament held the former year, in which the King's grant of that House to the Lord Chancellor, was confirmed, it is said "in the Preamble, That the Prior and Convent, had resigned that House to the King the 24th of *February* 23d *Regni*, and had left their House; but no mention is made upon what Reason they did it.

Act. 10. Rot. Parl. Regn. 25.

The Proceedings of the Visitors.

But now I come to Consider, how the Visitors carried on their Visitations. Many severe things are said of their Proceedings, nor is it any wonder that men, who had traded so long in lies, as the Monks had done, should load those whom they esteemed the Instruments of their Ruin, with many Calumnies. By their Letters to *Cromwell* it appears, that in most Houses they found Monstrous Disorders. That many fell down on their knees, and prayed they might be discharged, since they had been forced to make Vows against their wills; with these the Visitors dispensed, and set them at liberty. They found great Factions in the Houses, and Barbarous Cruelties exercised by one Faction against another, as either of them prevailed. In many places, when they gave them the King's injunctions, many cryed out that the severity of them was intolerable, and they desired rather to be suppressed, than so reformed. They were all extremely addicted to Idolatry and Superstition. In some they found the instruments, and other tools for multiplying and coyning.

Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4.

But for the Lewdness of the Confessors of Nunneries, and the great Corruption of that State, whole Houses being found almost all with Child; for the dissoluteness of Abbots and the other Monks and Friars,

ars, not only with Whores, but Married Women; and for their unnatural Lusts and other brutal practices; these are not fit to be spoken of, much less enlarged on, in a work of this Nature. The full report of this Visitation is lost, yet I have seen an Extract of a part of it, concerning 144 Houses, that contains Abominations in it, equal to any that were in *Sodom*. 1535. *Ibid.*

One passage that is more remarkable, I shall only set down; because upon it followed the first Resignation of any Religious House, that I could ever find. Doctor *Leighton* beset the Abbot of *Langden's* House, and broke open his door of a sudden, and found his Whore with him; and in the Abbot's Coffer, there was an habit for her, for she went for a young Brother. Whether the shame of this discovery, or any other consideration prevailed with him, I know not; but on the 13th of *November*, he and Ten Monks Signed a Resignation, which hath an odd kind of Preamble, to be found in the Collection. "It says, that the Revenue of the House, was so 'much endamaged, and engaged in so much debt, that they consi- 'dering this, and what remedies might be found for it, saw, that ex- 'cept the King, of whose Foundation the House was, did speedily 'relieve them, it must be very quickly ruined, both as to its Spiri- 'tual and Temporal concerns; therefore they surrender up their 'House to the King. They were of the Order of *Premonstre*, and their House was dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, and St. *Thomas Becket*. This precedent was followed by the like surrender, with the same Preamble, on the 15th of *November*, by the Prior of *Folkeston* a Benedictin, and on the 16th by the Prior of *Dover*, with Eight Monks. These were all of them in the County of *Kent*. But neither among the Original Surrenders, nor in the Clause Rolls, are there any other Deeds, in this year of our Lord, there are indeed in the same year of the King, (which runs till *April* 1536.) four other Surrenders with the same Preambles. Of *Merton* in *York-shire*, a Covent of *Augustinians*, Signed by the Prior and Five Monks, the 9th of *February*; of *Bilsingtoun* in *Kent*, Signed by the Prior and Two Monks, the 21st of *February*; of *Tilty* in *Essex*, a Covent of *Cistercians*, Signed by the Prior and Five Monks; and of *Hornby* in *York-shire*, a Covent of the *Premonstre*, Signed by the Prior and Two Monks the 23d of *March*. These were all the Surrenders that I can discover to have been made before the Act of Parliament for suppressing the lesser Monasteries, passed in the next Session that was assembled in *February*.

Some Houses resigned up to the King. Collect. *Numb.* 3. *Sect.* 1. The Original of these Resignations are in the Augmentation Office and enrolled. *Rot. Claus. Part.* 1st. *Regn.* 27.

But before that, the afflicted and unfortunate Queen *Katharine* died at *Kimbolton*; She had been much disquieted, because she would not lay down her Title of Queen. Many of her servants were put from her on that account; but she would accept of no Service, from any that did not use her as a Queen, and call her so. The King sent oft to her to perswade her to more Complyance. But she stood her ground, and said, since the Pope had judged her Marriage good, she would lose her life, before she did any thing in prejudice of it. She became more chearful, than she had wont to be; and the Countrey people came much to her whom she received, and used very Obligingly. The King had a mind she should go to *Fotheringhay*-Castle. 1536. The death of Queen *Katharine*. Originals. *Otho.* C. 10. *Cott.* Lib.

1535. ſtle. But when it was propoſed to her, ſhe plainly ſaid, ſhe would never go thither, unleſs ſhe were carried as a Priſoner, bound with Ropes. She deſired leave to come nearer *London*; but that was not granted. She had the jointure that was aſſigned her, as *Princeſs Dowager*; and was treated with the reſpect due to that Dignity, but all the Women about her, ſtill called her Queen. I do not find ſhe had any thoughts of going out of *England*; though her Life in it was but Melancholy. Yet her care to ſupport her Daughters Title, made her bear all the Diſgraces ſhe lay under. The Officious and practiſing Clergy, that were for the Court of *Rome*, look'd on her as the Head of their Party, and aſſerted her Intereſt much. Yet ſhe was ſo watched, that ſhe could not hold any great Correſpondence with them; though in the matter of the Maid of *Kent*, ſhe had ſome Medling.

When ſhe ſicken'd, ſhe made her Will; and appointed her Body to be buried, in a Convent of Obſervant Friars, (who had done and ſuffered moſt for her;) and Ordered Five Hundred Maſſes to be ſaid for her Soul; and that one ſhould go a Pilgrimage, to our Lady of *Walſingham*, and give Two Hundred Nobles by the way to the poor. Some other ſmall Legacies, ſhe left to her Servants. When the King heard ſhe was ſick, he ſent a kind Meſſage to her; and the Emperors Ambaſſador went to ſee her, and to chear her up, but when ſhe found her ſickneſs like to prove Mortal; ſhe made one about her, write a Letter in her name, to the King. In the Title ſhe call'd him, '*Her dear Lord, King and Husband.* She adviſed him to look to the 'health of his Soul. She forgave him all the Troubles he had put 'her into. She recommended their Daughter *Mary* to him, and de- 'ſired he would be a Loving Father to her. She alſo deſired, that he 'would provide Matches for her Maids, who were but Three; and 'that he would give her Servants one years Wages, more than was 'due to them. And Concluded laſtly, *I make this Vow, That mine eyes deſire you above all things.* By another Letter, ſhe recommended her Daughter to the Emperors care. On the 8th of *January* ſhe dyed, in the Fiftieth year of her Age, Thirty Three years after ſhe came to *England*. She was a devout and pious Princeſs, and led a ſevere and mortified Life. In her Greatneſs, ſhe wrought much with her own hands, and kept her Women well employed about her; as appeared, when the Two Legates came once to ſpeak with her. She came out to them with a Skein of ſilk about her Neck, and told them ſhe had been within at work with her Women. She was moſt paſſionately devoted to the Intereſts of the Court of *Rome*, they being ſo interwoven with her own. And in a word, ſhe is repreſented to be a moſt wonderful good Woman. Only I find on many occaſions, that the King complained much of her uneaſineſs and peeviſhneſs. But whether the fault was in her humor, or in the provocations ſhe met with, the Reader may conjecture. The King received the news of her death, with ſome regret. But he would not give leave to bury her, as ſhe had ordered; but made her body be laid in the Abbey Church of *Peterborough*, which he afterwards Converted to an Epiſcopal Cathedral. But Queen *Anne* did not carry her death ſo decently; for ſhe expreſs'd too much joy at it, both in her Carriage and dreſs.

On

On the 4th of *February* the Parliament late upon a Prorogation of 14th Months, (for in the Record there is no mention of any intermedial Prorogation,) where a great many Laws relating to Civil concerns were passed. By the 15th Act, the Power that had been given by a former Act to the King, for naming thirty two Persons, to make a Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, was again confirmed; for nothing had been done upon the former Act. But there was no limitation of time in this Act, and so there was nothing done in pursuance of it. 1536. A new Session of Parliament.

The great business of this Session of Parliament, was the suppressing the lesser Monasteries. How this went thorough the two Houses, we cannot know from the Journals, for they are lost. But all the Historians of that time tell us, that the report which the Visitors made to the King was read in Parliament; which represented the manners of these Houses so odiously, that the Act was easily carried. The Preamble bears, "That small Religious Houses, under the number of "twelve persons, had been long and notoriously guilty of vicious and "abominable Living; and did much consume and waste their Churches "Lands, and other things belonging to them; and that for above two "hundred years, there had been many Visitations for reforming these "Abuses, but with no success; their vicious living encreasing daily: "So that except small Houses were dissolved, and the Religious put "into greater Monasteries, there could no Reformation be expected "in that matter. Whereupon the King having received a full infor- "mation of these Abuses, both by his Visitors and other credible "ways; and considering that there were divers great Monasteries, in "which Religion was well kept and observed, which had not the full "number in them, that they might and ought to receive, had made "a full Declaration of the Premisses in Parliament. Whereupon it was "Enacted, That all Houses which might spend yearly 200*l.* or with- "in it, should be suppressed, and their Revenues converted to better "uses, and they compelled to reform their Lives. The Lord *Herbert* thinks it strange, that the Statute in the printed Book, has no Preamble, but begins bluntly. *Fuller* tells us, that he wonders, that Lord did not see the Record; and he sets down the Preamble, and says, *The next follow as in the printed Statute, Chap. 27th.* by a mistake for the 28*th*. This shews, that neither the one nor the other, ever look'd on the Record. For there is a particular Statute of Dissolution, distinct from the 28*th* Chap. And the Preamble which *Fuller* sets down, belongs not to the 28*th* Chapter, as he says, but to the 28*th* Chapter, which was never printed: and the 28*th* relates in the Preamble, to that other Statute, which had given these Monasteries to the King. The lesser Monasteries are suppressed.

The reasons, that were pretended for dissolving these Houses, were: That whereas there was but a small number of Persons in them, they entred into Confederacies together, and their Poverty set them on, to use many ill arts to grow Rich. They were also much abroad, and kept no manner of Discipline in their Houses. But those Houses were generally much richer, than they seemed to be: For the Abbots raising great Fines out of them, held the Leases still low; and by that means they were not obliged to entertain a greater number in their House, and so enriched themselves and their Brethren by the Fines that were raised: For many Houses then rated at two hundred pounds, Reasons for doing it.

were

1536. were worth many thousands, as will appear to any that compares what they were then valued at, (which is Collected by *Speed*,) with what their Estates are truly worth. When this was passing in Parliament, *Stokesley*, Bishop of *London*, said, "These lesser Houses were as "Thorns soon pluck'd up, but the great Abbots were like putrefied old "Oaks; yet they must needs follow, and so would others do in Chri- "stendom, before many years were passed.

By another Act, all these Houses, their Churches, Lands, and all their Goods were given to the King, and his Heirs and Successors, together with all other Houses, which within a year before the making of the Act, had been dissolved or suppressed: And for the gathering the Revenues that belonged to them, a new Court was Erected, called the Court of the *Augmentations of the King's Revenue*; which was to consist of a Chancellor, a Treasurer, an Attorney and Sollicitor, and ten Auditors, seventeen Receivers, a Clerk, an Usher, and a Messenger. This Court was to bring in the Revenues of such Houses as were now dissolved, excepting only such as the King by his Letters Patents, continued in their former state, appointing a Seal for the Court, with full Power and Authority to dispose of these Lands for it might be most for the King's Service.

Thus fell the lesser Abbeys, to the number of 376, and soon after this Parliament, which had done the King such eminent Service, and had now sate six years, was dissolved, on the 14*th* of *April*.

The Translation of the Bible in *English* designed.

In the Convocation, a motion was made of great consequence; That there should be a Translation of the Bible in *English*, to be set up in all the Churches of *England*. The Clergy, when they procured *Tindall's* Translation to be condemned, and suppressed it, gave out that they intended to make a Translation into the Vulgar-Tongue: Yet it was afterwards, upon a long Consultation, Resolved, That it was free for the Church to give the Bible in a Vulgar-Tongue, or not, as they pleased; and that the King was not obliged to it, and that at that time it was not at all expedient to do it. Upon which, those that promoted the Reformation, made great complaints, and said, It was visible, the Clergy knew there was an opposition between the Scriptures and their Doctrine. That they had first condemned *Wickliff's* Translation, and then *Tindall's*; and though they ought to teach men the Word of God, yet they did all they could to suppress it.

The reasons for it.

In the times of the Old Testament, the Scriptures were writ in the Vulgar-Tongue, and all were charged to read and remember the Law. The Apostles wrote in Greek, which was then the most common Language in the World. Christ did also appeal to the Scriptures, and sent the People to them. And by what St. *Paul* says of *Timothy*, it appears, that children were then early trained up in that study. In the Primitive Church, as Nations were converted to the Faith, the Bible was Translated into their Tongue. The Latin Translation was very Ancient; the Bible was afterwards put into the *Scythian*, *Dalmatian* and *Gothick* Tongues. It continued thus for several Ages, till the state of Monkery rose; And then when they engrossed the riches, and the Popes assumed the Dominion of the World, it was not consistent with these Designs, nor with the Arts used to promote them, to let the Scriptures be much known: Therefore Legends and strange stories of Visions

ons with other devices, were thought more proper for keeping up their Credit, and carrying on their Ends. 1536.

It was now generally desired, that if there were just exceptions against what *Tindal* had done, these might be amended in a New Translation. This was a plausible thing, and wrought much on all that heard it; who plainly concluded, that those who denyed the People the use of the Scriptures in their vulgar tongues, must needs know their own Doctrine and practices to be inconsistent with it. Upon these grounds *Cranmer*, who was projecting the most effectual means for promoting a Reformation of Doctrine, moved in Convocation, that they should Petition the King for leave to make a Translation of the Bible. But *Gardiner* and all his Party opposed it, both in Convocation, and in secret with the King. It was said, that all the Heresies and extravagant Opinions, which were then in *Germany*, and from thence coming over to *England*, sprang from the free use of the Scriptures. And whereas in *May* the last year, Nineteen *Hollanders* were accused of some Heretical Opinions; 'denying 'Christ to be both God and Man, or that he took Flesh and Blood 'of the Virgin *Mary*, or that the Sacraments had any effect on those that received them; in which opinions Fourteen of them remained Obstinate, and were burnt by pairs in several places; it was complained, that all those drew their Damnable errors from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. And to offer the Bible in the *English* tongue to the whole Nation, during these distractions, would prove, as they pretended, the greatest Snare that could be. Therefore they proposed, that there should be a short exposition of the most useful and necessary Doctrines of the Christian Faith, given to the people in the *English* tongue, for the Instruction of the Nation, which would keep them in a certain Subjection to the King and the Church, in Matters of Faith. The opposition made to it.

The other Party, though they liked well the publishing such a Treatise in the vulgar tongue, yet by no means thought that sufficient; but said, the People must be allowed to search the Scripture, by which they might be convinced that such Treatises were according to it. These Arguments prevailed with the Two Houses of Convocation. So they petitioned the King, that he would give order to to some, to set about it. To this, great Opposition was made at Court. Some, on the one hand, told the King, that a diversity of opinions would arise out of it; and that he could no more Govern his Subjects if he gave way to that. But on the other hand, it was represented, that nothing would make his Supremacy so acceptable, to the Nation, and make the Pope more hateful, than to let them see, that whereas the Popes had Governed them by a blind obedience, and kept them in darkness, the King brought them into the light, and gave them the free use of the Word of God. And nothing would more effectually extirpate the Popes Authority, and discover the Impostures of the Monks, than the Bible in *English*; in which all People would clearly discern, there was no Foundation for those things. These Arguments, joyned with the Power that the Queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the King, that he gave order for setting about it immediately. To whom that work was commit-

1536. ted, or how they proceeded in it, I know not. For the Account of these things has not been preserved, nor conveyed to us, with that care that the Importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carried on at a good rate; for three years after this, it was Printed at *Paris*; which shows they made all convenient haste, in a thing that required so much deliberation.

The fall of Queen *Ann.*

But this was the last publick good Act of this unfortunate Queen; who the nearer shew drew to her end, grew more full of good works. She had distributed, in the last Nine Months of her Life, between Fourteen and Fifteen Thousand Pounds to the Poor, and was designing great and publick good things. And by all appearance, if she had lived, the Money that was raised by the Suppression of Religious Houses, had been better imployed than it was. In *January*, she brought forth a dead Son. This was thought to have made ill Impressions on the King: and that, as he concluded from the death of his Sons by the former Queen, that the Marriage was displeasing to God; so he might upon this misfortune, begin to make the like judgment of this Marriage. Sure enough the Popish Party were earnestly set against the Queen, looking on her as a great supporter of Heresie. And at that time *Fox* then Bishop of *Hereford* was in *Germany* at *Smalcald*, treating a League with the Protestant Princes, who insisted much on the *Ausburg* Confession. There were many Conferences between *Fox* and Doctor *Barnes*, and some others, with the *Lutheran* Divines, for accommodating the differences between them, and the thing was in a good forwardness. All which was imputed to the Queen. *Gardiner* was then Ambassador in *France*, and wrote earnestly to the King, to dissuade him from entring into any Religious league with these Princes: for that would alienate all the World from him, and dispose his own Subjects to Rebel. The King thought the *German*-Princes and Divines should have submitted all things to his Judgment, and had such an Opinion of his own Learning, and was so puft up with the flattering praises that he daily heard, that he grew impatient of any opposition, and thought that his Dictates should pass for Oracles, And because the *Germans* would not receive them so, his mind was alienated from them.

The whole Popish Party drove it on.

But the Duke of *Norfolk* at Court, and *Gardiner* beyond Sea, thought there might easily be found a mean to accommodate the King, both with the Emperor and the Pope, if the Queen were once out of the way; for then he might freely Marry any one whom he pleased, and that Marriage with the Male Issue of it, could not be disputed: Whereas, as long as the Queen lived, her Marriage, as being judged Null from the beginning, could never be allowed by the Court of *Rome*, or any of that Party: with these Reasons of State, others of affection concurred. The Queen had been his Wife Three years; but at this time he entertained a secret Love for *Jane Seimour*, who had all the Charms both of Beauty and Youth in her person; and her humour was tempered, between the severe gravity of Queen *Katharine*, and the gay pleasantness of Queen *Ann*. The Queen perceiving this Alienation of the King's heart, used all possible Arts to recover that affection, of whose decay she was sadly sensible. But the Success was quite contrary to what she designed. For the King

King saw her no more with those eyes, which she had formerly captivated; but grew jealous, and ascribed these caresses to some other criminal affections, of which he began to suspect her. This being one of the most memorable passages of this Reign. I was at more than ordinary pains to learn all I could concerning it, and have not only seen a great many Letters that were writ, by those that were set about the Queen, and catcht every thing that fell from her, and sent it to Court, but have also seen an account of it, which the Learned *Spelman*, who was a Judge at that time, writ with his own hand in his Common-place Book, and another account of it writ by one *Anthony Anthony* a Surveyor of the Ordnance of the *Tower*. From all which I shall give a just and faithful relation of it, without concealing the least circumstance, that may either seem favourable or unfavourable to her. 1535.

The King's jealousie of her.

She was of a very cheerful temper, which was not always limited within the bounds of exact decency and discretion. She had rallied some of the King's Servants, more than became her. Her Brother, the Lord *Rochford* was her Friend as well as brother; but his spiteful Wife was jealous of him: and being a Woman of no sort of Vertue, (as will appear afterwards by her serving Queen *Katharine Howard* in her beastly Practices, for which she was attainted and executed,) she carried many Stories to the King, or some about him, to persuade, that there was a familiarity between the Queen and her Brother, beyond what so near a Relation could justifie. All that could be said for it, was only this; that he was once seen leaning upon her Bed, which bred great suspicion. *Henry Norris*, that was Groom of the Stole, *Weston*, and *Bereton*, that were of the King's Privy-Chamber, and one *Mark Smeton*, a Musician, were well observed to have much of her favour. And their zeal in serving her, was thought too warm and diligent to flow from a less active Principle than Love. Many Circumstances were brought to the King, which working upon his aversion to the Queen together with his affection to Mistress *Seimour*, made him conclude her guilty. Yet somewhat which himself observed, or fancied, at a Tilting at *Greenwich*, is believed to have given the Crisis to her Ruin. It is said, that he spied her let her Handkerchief fall to one of her Gallants to wipe his face, being hot after a Course. Whether she dropt it carelessly, or of design; or whether there be any truth in that story, the Letters concerning her fall, making no mention of it, I cannot determine; for *Spelman* makes no mention of it, and gives a very different account of the discovery in these words. *As for the evidence of this matter, it was discovered by the Lady* Wingfield *who had been a Servant to the Queen, and becoming on a suddain infirm some time before her death, did swear this matter to one of her* ..... and hereby unluckly the rest of the Page is torn off. By this it seems, there was no legal evidence against the Queen, and that it was but a Witness at second hand, who disposed what they heard the Lady *Wingfield* swear. Who this person was we know not, nor in what temper of mind the Lady *Wingfield* might be, when she swore it. The safest sort of forgery, to one whose Conscience can swallow it, is to lay a thing on a dead person's name, where there is no fear of discovery before the great day: and

1535. when it was understood that the Queen had lost the King's heart, many, either out of their zeal to Popery, or design to make their fortune, might be easily induced to carry a story of this Nature. And this it seems was that which was brought to the King at *Greenwich*, who did thereupon immediately return to *Whitehall*, it being the 1st of *May*. The Queen was immediately restrained to her Chamber, the other Five were also seized on: But none of them would confess any thing, but *Mark Smeton, as to any actual thing*, so *Cromwel* writ. Upon this they were carried to the *Tower*. The poor Queen was in a sad condition; she must not only fall under the King's displeasure, but be both defam'd and destroyed at once. At first she smiled and carried it cheerfully; and said, she believed the King did this only to prove her. But when she saw it was in earnest; she desired to have the Sacrament in her Closet, and expressed great devotion, and seemed to be prepared for death.

The Letters about this. *Cott.* Lib. *Otho.* C. 10.

The surprise and confusion she was in, raised fits of the Mother, which those about her did not seem to understand: But Three or Four Letters, which were writ concerning her to Court, say, That she was at some times very devout, and cried much; and of a sudden would burst out in Laughter, which are evident signs of Vapours. When she heard that those, who were accused with her, were sent to the *Tower*, she then concluded her self lost; and said, she should be sent thither next; and talked idlely, saying. "That if her Bishops "were about the King, they would all speak for her. She also said "That she would be a Saint in Heaven, for she had done many good "deeds; and that there should be no Rain, but heavy judgments on "the Land, for what they were now doing to her. Her Enemies had now gone too far, not to destroy her. Next day she was carried to the *Tower*, and some Lords, that met her on the River, declared to her what her Offences were. Upon which, she made deep Protestations of her Innocence, and begged leave to see the King; but that was not to be expected. When she was carried into the Tower, "She fell down on her knees, and prayed God to help her, as "she was not guilty of the thing for which she was accused. That same day the King wrote to *Cranmer* to come to *Lambeth*; but ordered him not to come into his presence. Which was procured by the Queens Enemies, who took care, that one who had such credit with the King, should not come at him, till they had fully persuaded him that she was guilty. Her Uncles Lady, the Lady *Boleyn*, was appointed to lie in the Chamber with her, which she took very ill; for, upon what reason I know not, she had been in very ill terms with her. She engaged her into much discourse, and studied to draw Confessions from her. Whatsoever she said, was presently sent to the Court. And a Woman full of Vapours, was like enough to tell every thing that was true, with a great deal more; for persons in that condition, not only have no command of themselves, but are apt to say any thing that comes in their fancy.

She is put in the *Tower*, and pleads her Innocency.

The Duke of *Norfolk*, and some of the Kings Council, were with her; but could draw nothing from her, though they made her believe, that *Norris* and *Mark* had accused her. But when they were gone, she fell down on her knees and wept, and prayed often, *Jesus*

have

have Mercy on me; and then fell a-laughing: when that fit was over, ſhe deſired to have the Sacrament ſtill by her, that ſhe might try for Mercy. And ſhe ſaid to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, ſhe was as clear of the Company of all men, as to ſin, as ſhe was clear from him; and that ſhe was the King's true wedded Wife. And ſhe cryed out, "O *Norris*, haſt thou accuſed me? Thou art in the *Tower* "with me, and thou and I ſhall dye together; and *Mark*, ſo ſhall "thou too. She apprehended they were to put her in a Dungeon; and ſadly bemoaned her own, and her Mothers miſery; and asked them, whether ſhe muſt dye without Juſtice. But they told her, the pooreſt Subjects had Juſtice, much more would ſhe have it. The ſame Letter ſays, that *Norris* had not accuſed her; and that he ſaid to her Almoner, that he could ſwear for her, *ſhe was a good Woman*. But ſhe being made believe that he had accuſed her, and not being then ſo free in her thoughts, as to conſider that ordinary Artifice for drawing out Confeſſions, told all ſhe knew, both of him and *Mark*. Which though it was not enough to deſtroy her, yet certainly wrought much on the jealous and alienated King. She told them, "that ſhe once asked *Norris*, why he did not go on with his "Marriage? who anſwered her, that he would yet tarry ſome time. "To which ſhe replyed, you look for dead mens ſhoes; for if ought "come to the King but good, you would look to have me. He an- "ſwered, if he had any ſuch thought, he would his head were cut "off. Upon which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe could undoe him if ſhe pleaſed, "and thereupon ſhe fell out with him. As for *Mark* who was then laid in Irons, ſhe ſaid he was never in her Chamber, but when the King was laſt at *Wincheſter*; and then he came in to play on the Virginals: ſhe ſaid, that "ſhe never ſpoke to him after that, but on Sa- "turday before *May* day, when ſhe ſaw him ſtanding in the Window, "and then ſhe asked him, why he was ſo ſad; he ſaid, it was no "matter: ſhe anſwered you may not look to have me ſpeak to you, "as if you were a Nobleman, ſince you are an Inferior perſon. No, "no, Madam, ſaid he, a look ſufficeth me. She ſeemed more ap- "prehenſive of *Weſton*, than of any body. For on *Whitſun-Munday* laſt he ſaid to her, "That *Norris* came more to her Chamber upon her "account, than for any body elſe that was there. She had obſerved, "that he loved a Kinſwoman of hers, and challenged him for it, and "for not loving his Wife. But he anſwered her, that there were Wo- "men in the Houſe whom he loved better than them both; ſhe ask- "ed who is that; your ſelf ſaid he; upon which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe de- fied him.

1535. But confeſſed ſome indiſcreet words.

This Misery of the Queens, drew after it the common effects that follow perſons under ſuch a diſgrace, for now all the Court was againſt her, and every one was courting the riſing Queen. But *Cranmer* had not learned theſe Arts, and had a better Soul in him, than to be capable of ſuch baſeneſs and ingratitude. He had been much obliged by her, and had conceived an high opinion of her, and ſo could not eaſily receive ill impreſſions of her; yet he knew the King's temper, and that a down-right Juſtification of her would provoke him: therefore he wrote the following Letter, on the 3d of *May*, with all the ſoftneſs that ſo tender a point required; in which he juſti-

fied

1536. fied her, as far as was consistent with prudence and Charity. The Letter shows of what a Constitution he was that wrote it; and contains so many things that tend highly to her honour, that I shall insert it here, as I copied it from the Original.

Cranmer's Letter to the King, about her. Cott. *Lib.*

" *Pleaseth it your most Noble Grace*, to be advertised, that at your " Graces Commandment by Mr. Secretary his Letters, written in " your Graces name, I came to *Lambeth* yesterday, and do there re- " main to know your Graces further pleasure. And forsomuch as " without your Graces Commandment, I dare not, contrary to the " Contents of the said Letters, presume to come unto your Graces " Presence; nevertheless of my most bounden duty, I can do no less " than most humbly to desire your Grace, by your Great Wisdom, " and by the Assistance of God's help, somewhat to suppress the deep " sorrows of your Graces heart, and to take all Adversities of Gods " hands both patiently and thankfully. I cannot deny but your " Grace hath great causes many ways of lamentable heaviness: and " also that in the wrongful estimation of the World, your Graces " honour of every Part is so highly touched (whether the things that " commonly be spoken of, be true or not,) that I remember not that " ever Almighty God sent unto your Grace, any like occasion to try " your Graces constancy throughout, whether your Highness can be " content to take off God's hand, as well things displeasant, as plea- " sant. And if he find in your most Noble heart such an Obedi- " ence unto his Will, that your Grace, without murmuration and o- " vermuch heaviness, do accept all adversities, not less thanking him, " than when all things succeeded after your Graces Will and Pleasure, " nor less procuring his Glory and Honour; then I suppose your " Grace did never thing more acceptable unto him, since your first " Governance of this your Realm. And moreover, your Grace shall " give unto him occasion to multiply and increase his Graces and " benefits unto your Highness, as he did unto his most faithful Ser- " vant *Job*; unto whom, after his great Calamities and heaviness " for his obedient heart, and willing acceptation of Gods scourge and " rodd, *Addidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia.* And if it be true, that is " openly reported of the Queens Grace, if men had a right estimati- " on of things, they should not esteem any part of your Graces Ho- " nour to be touched thereby, but her Honour only to be clearly " disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean " amazed. For I never had better opinion in Woman, than I had " in her; which maketh me to think, that she should not be culpa- " ble. And again, I think your Highness would not have gon so far, " except she had surely been culpable. Now I think that your Grace " best knoweth, that next unto your Grace, I was most bound unto " her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech " your Grace to suffer me in that, which both Gods Law, Nature, " and also her kindness bindeth me unto; that is, that I may with " your Graces favour wish and pray for her, that she may declare " her self inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, " considering your Graces Goodness towards her, and from what con- " dition your Grace of your only meer goodness took her, and so the

"the Crown upon her head; I repute him not your Graces faith- 1536.
"ful Servant and Subject, nor true unto the Realm, that would not
"desire the offence without mercy to be punished, to the example
"of all other. And as I loved her not a little, for the Love which
"I judged her to bear towards God and his Gospel; so if she be prov-
"ed culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his Gospel,
"that ever will favour her, but must hate her above all other; and
"the more they favour the Gospel, the more they will hate her:
"For then there was never creature in our time that so much slan-
"dered the Gospel. And God hath sent her this punishment, for
"that she feignedly hath professed his Gospel in her mouth, and
"not in heart and deed. And though she have offended so, that
"she hath deserved never to be reconciled unto your Graces favour;
"yet almighty God hath manifoldly declared his goodness towards
"your Grace, and never offended you. But your Grace, I am sure,
"knowledgeth that you have offended him. Wherefore I trust that
"your Grace will bear no less entire favour unto the truth of the
"Gospel, than you did before: Forsomuch as your Graces favour to
"the Gospel, was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the
"truth. And thus I beseech Almighty God, whose Gospel he hath
"ordained your Grace to be Defender of, ever to preserve your Grace
"from all evil, and give you at the end, the promise of his Gospel.
"From *Lambeth*, the 3d day of *May*.

"After I had written this Letter unto your Grace, my Lord *Chan-*
"*cellor*, my Lord of *Oxford*, my Lord of *Sussex*, and my Lord *Cham-*
"*berlain* of your Graces House, sent for me to come unto the Star-
"Chamber; and there declared unto me such things as your Graces
"pleasure was they should make me privy unto. For the which I
"am most bounden unto your Grace. And what Communication
"we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report
"thereof unto your Grace. I am exceedingly sorry, that such faults
"can be proved by the Queen, as I heard of their relation. But I
"am, and ever shall be, Your faithful Subject.

Your Graces most
humble Subject,
and Chaplain,

T. Cantuarienſis.

But Jealousie, and the King's new affection, had quite defaced all the remainders of esteem for his late beloved Queen. Yet the Ministers continued practising, to get further evidence for the Tryal; which was not brought on, till the 12th of *May*; and then *Norris*, *Weston*, *Brereton* and *Smeton*, were tryed by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* in *Westminster*-Hall. They were twice indicted, and the Indictments were found by two Grand Juries, in the Counties of *Kent* and *Middlesex*: The Crimes with which they were charged, being said

She is brought to a Tryal.

1536. said to be done in both these Counties. *Mark Smeton* confessed he had known the Queen Carnally Three times: The other Three pleaded *not Guilty*, but the jury upon the evidence formerly mentioned found them all *Guilty*; and Judgment was given, that they should be drawn to the place of Execution, and some of them to be hanged, others to be beheaded, and all to be quartered, as Guilty of high Treason. On the 15th of *May*, the Queen and her Brother the Lord *Rochford* (who was a Peer, having been made a Viscount when his Father was Created Earl of *Wiltshire*) were brought to be Tryed by their Peers: The Duke of *Norfolk* being Lord high Steward for that occasion. With him sate the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and Twenty Five more Peers, of whom their Father the Earl of *Wiltshire* was one, Whether this unnatural complyance was imposed on him by the Imperious King, or officiously submitted to by himself, that he might thereby be preserved from the Ruin that fell on his family, is not known. Here the Queen of *England* by an unheard-of precedent was brought to the Bar, and Indicted of high Treason. The Crimes charged on her were, *That she had procured her Brother and the other four to lie with her, which they had done often; that she had said to them, that the King never had her heart, and had said to every one of them by themselves, that she loved them better than any person whatsoever. Which was to the slander of the Issue that was begotten between the King and her.* And this was Treason, according to the Statute made in the 26th year of this Reign (so that the Law that was made for her and the Issue of her Marriage, is now made use of to destroy her.) It was also added in the Indictment, that she, and her complices, *had conspired the King's death*; but this it seems was only put in to swell the Charge, for if there had been any evidence for it, there was no need of stretching the other Statute, or if they could have proved the violating of the Queen, the known Statute of the Twenty Fifth year of the Reign of *Edward* the Third had been sufficient. When the Indictment was read she held up her hand, and Pleaded *not Guilty*, and so did her Brother, and did answer the evidence was brought against her discreetly. One thing is remarkable that *Mark Smeton*, who was the only person who confessed any thing, was never confronted with the Queen, nor was kept to be an evidence against her, for he had received his Sentence three days before, and so could be no Witness in Law: but perhaps, though he was wrought on to confess, yet they did not think he had confidence enough to averr it to the Queen's face: therefore the evidence they brought, as *Spelman* says, was the Out of a Woman that was dead, yet this, or rather the Terror of offending the King, so wrought on the Lords, that they found her and her Brother *Guilty*: and Judgment was given, that she should be *Burnt* or *Beheaded at the King's pleasure*. Upon which *Spelman* observes, that whereas Burning is the death which the Law appoints for a Woman that is attainted of Treason, yet since she had been Queen of *England*, they left it to the King to determine, whether she should dye so infamous a death, or be Beheaded; but the Judges complained of this way of proceeding, and said, such a disjunctive in a Judgment of Treason, had never been seen. The Lord *Rochford* was also Condemned

ed to be Beheaded and Quartered. Yet all this did not satisfie the enraged King, but the Marriage between him and her must be annulled, and the Issue illegitimated. The King remembred an Intrigue that had been between her and the Earl of *Northumberland*, which was mentioned in the former Book; and that he then Lord *Piercy* had said to the Cardinal, 'That he had gone so far before Witnesses, 'that it lay upon his Conscience, so that he could not go back: this it's like might be some promise he made to Marry her, *per verba de futuro*, which though it was no precontract in its self, yet it seems the poor Queen was either so ignorant or so ill-advised, as to be perswaded afterwards it was one, though it's certain that nothing, but a Contract *per verba de præsenti*, could be of any force to annul the subsubsequent Marriage. The King and his Council, reflecting upon what it seems the Cardinal had told him, resolved to try what could be made of it, and pressed the Earl of *Northumberland* to confess a Contract between him and her. But he took his Oath before the Two Arch-Bishops, That there was no Contract, nor promise of Marriage ever between them, and received the Sacrament upon it, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, and others of the King's Privy Council; wishing it might be to his Damnation, if there were any such thing, (concerning which I have seen the Original Declaration under his own hand.) Nor could they draw any Confession from the Queen, before the Sentence, for certainly if they could have done that, the Divorce had gone before the Tryal; and then she must have been tryed only, as *Marchioness* of *Pembroke*. But now she lying under so terrible a Sentence, it is most probable, that either some hopes of Life were given her; or at least, she was wrought on by the Assurances of mitigating that cruel part of her judgment, of Being *Burnt*, into the milder part of the Sentence, of *Having her Head cut off*; so that she confessed a Pre-contract, and on the 17th of *May* was brought to *Lambeth*; and in Court, the afflicted Arch-Bishop sitting Judge, some Persons of Quality being present, she confessed some just and lawful impediments; by which it was evident, that her Marriage with the King was not valid. Upon which Confession, her Marriage between the King and her was judged to have been Null and Void. The Record of the Sentence is burnt; but these particulars are repeated in the Act that passed in the next Parliament, touching the Succession to the Crown. It seems this was secretly done, for *Spelman* writes of it thus; It was said, there was a Divorce made between the King and her, upon her confessing a Precontract with another before her Marriage with the King: so that it was then only talkt of, but not generally known. 1536.

Upon an extorted Confession is divorced.

The two Sentences that were past upon the Queen; the one of Attainder for Adultery, the other of Divorce, because of a Pre-contract, did so contradict one another, that it was apparent, one, if not both of them must be unjust; for if the Marriage between the King and her was null from the beginning, then since she was the King's wedded Wife, there could be no Adultery: and her Marriage to the King was either a true Marriage, or not; if it was true, then the annulling of it was unjust, and if it was no true Marriage, then the Attainder was unjust; for there could be no breach of that Faith which was ne-

1536. ver given: So that it is plain, the King was resolved to be rid of her, and to Illegitimate her Daughter, and in that transport of his fury, did not consider that the very method he took, discovered the injustice of his proceedings against her. Two days after this, she was ordered to be Executed in the Green on *Tower-Hill*. How she received these tidings, and how stedfast she continued in the protestations of her Innocence, will best appear by the following circumstances. The day before she suffered, upon a strict search of her past Life, she called to mind, that she had played the Step-Mother too severely to Lady *Mary*, and had done her many injuries. Upon which, she made the Lieutenant of the *Tower*'s Lady sit down in the Chair of State; which the other, after some Ceremony, doing, she fell down on her knees, and with many tears charged the Lady, as she would answer it to God, to go in her name, and do, as she had done, to the Lady *Mary*, and ask her forgiveness for the wrongs she had done her. And she said, she had not quiet in her Conscience, till she had done that. But thought she did in this what became a Christian: The Lady *Mary* could not so easily pardon these injuries; but retained the resentments of them her whole life.

Her Preparation for Death.

This ingenuity and tenderness of Conscience about lesser matters, is a great presumption, That if she had been guilty of more eminent faults, she had not continued to the last denying them, and making protestations of her Innocency. For that same Night she sent her last message to the King, and acknowledged her self much obliged to him, that had continued still to advance her. She said, he had, from a private Gentlewoman, first made her a Marchioness, and then a Queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher, was sending her to be a Saint in Heaven: She protested her Innocence, and recommended her Daughter to his care. And her carriage that day she died, will appear from the following Letter writ by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, copied from the Original, which I insert, because the Copier imployed by the Lord *Herbert* has not writ it out faithfully; for I cannot think that any part of it was left out on design.

The Lieutenant of the *Tower*'s Letter.

'Sir, These should be to advertise you, I have received your Letter, wherein you would have strangers conveyed out of the *Tower*, and so they be by the means of *Richard Gressum*, and *William Cooke*, and *Wyt spoll*. But the number of strangers past not thirty, and not many of those Armed; and the Ambassador of the Emperor had a Servant there, and honestly put out: Sir, If we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in *London*, I think here will be but few, and I think a reasonable number were best, , for I suppose she will declare her self to be a good woman, for all men but for the King, at the hour of her death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received the Good Lord, to the intent I should hear her speak as touching her Innocency alway to be clear. And in the writing of this,, she sent for me, and at my coming she said: Mr. *Kingston* I hear say I shall not die aforenoon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain. I told her, it should be no pain, it was so sottle. And then she said, I heard say the Executioner was very good, and I have a little Neck,

and

'and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many 1536.
'men, and also women, Executed; and that they have been in great
'sorrow, and to my knowledge this Lady has much joy and pleasure
'in death. Sir, her Almoner is continually with her, and had been
'since two a Clock after midnight. This is the effect of any thing
'that is here at this time, and thus fare you well.

Yours

William Kingston.

A little before Noon, being the 19th of *May*, she was brought to the Scaffold, where she made a short Speech to a great company that came to look on the last Scene of this fatal Tragedy: The chief of whom, were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Richmond*, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary *Cromwell*, with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*. 'She said, She was come to die, as she was Judg-
'ed by the Law; she would accuse none, nor say any thing of the
'ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the
'King; and called him a most merciful and gentle Prince, and that
'he had been always to her, a good, gentle, Soveraign Lord: and if
'any would meddle with her cause, she required them to judge the
'best. And so she took her leave of them, and of the World; and
'heartily desired they would pray for her. After she had been some time in her devotions, her last words being, *To Christ I commend my Soul*; her Head was cut off by the Hangman of *Calais*, who was brought over as more expert at Beheading than any in *England*: her Eyes and Lips were observed to move after her Head was cut off, as *Spelman* writes; but her Body was thrown into a common Chest of Elm-tree that was made to put Arrows in, and was buried in the Chappel within the *Tower* before twelve a Clock. Her Execution.

Her Brother with the other four did also suffer; none of them were Quartered, but they were all Beheaded, except *Smaton*, who was Hanged. It was generally said, that he was corrupted into that Confession, and had his Life promised him; but it was not fit to let him live to tell Tales. *Norris* had been much in the King's favour, and an offer was made him of his Life, if he would confess his guilt, and accuse the Queen. But he generously rejected that un-handsom proposition, and said, 'That in his Conscience he thought her Innocent
'of these things laid to her charge; but whether she was or not, he
'would not accuse her of any thing, and he would die a thousand
'times, rather than ruin an Innocent Person.

These proceedings occasioned as great variety of Censures, as there were diversity of Interests. The Popish Party said, the justice of God was visible, that she, who had supplanted Queen *Katherine*, met with the like, and harder measure, by the same means. Some took notice of her saint justifying her self on the Scaffold, as if her Conscience had then prevailed so far, that she could no longer deny a thing, for which she was so soon to answer at another Tribunal. But others thought her care of her Daughter made her speak so tenderly; for The several Censures that were then passed on those proceedings.

1536. she had observed, that Queen *Katherine*'s obstinacy had drawn the King's indignation on her Daughter; and therefore that she alone might bear her misfortunes, and derive no share of them on her Daughter, she spake in a stile, that could give the King no just offence: And as she said enough to justifie her self, so she said as much for the King's honour, as could be expected. Yet in a Letter that she wrote to the King from the *Tower*, (which will be found in the Collection,) she pleaded her Innocence, in a strain of so much Wit, and moving passionate Eloquence, as perhaps can scarce be parallel'd: certainly her spirits were much exalted when she wrote it, for it is a pitch above her ordinary stile. Yet the Copy I take it from, lying among *Cromwell*'s other Papers, makes me believe it was truly written by her.

Collect. *Numb.* 4th.

Her carriage seemed too free, and all People thought that some freedoms and levities in her had encouraged those unfortunate Persons to speak such bold things to her, since few attempt upon the Chastity, or make declarations of Love, to persons of so exalted a quality, except they see some invitations, at least, in their carriage. Others thought that a free and jovial temper might, with great Innocence, though with no discretion, lead one to all those things that were proved against her; and therefore they concluded her chast, though indiscreet. Others blamed the King, and taxed his cruelty in proceeding so severely against a person whose Chastity he had reason to be assured of, since she had resisted his addresses near five years, till he Legitimated them by Marriage. But others accused him. It is certain her carriage had given just cause of some jealousie, and that being the rage of a man, it was no wonder if a King of his temper, conceiving it against one whom he had so signally obliged, was transported into unjustifiable excesses.

Others condemned *Cranmer*, as a man that obsequiously followed all the King's appetites; and that he had now divorced the King a second time, which shewed that his Conscience was governed by the King's pleasure as his supreme Law. But what he did was unavoidable. For whatever motives drew from her the Confession of that Precontract, he was obliged to give Sentence upon it: and that which she confessed, being such as made her incapable to contract Marriage with the King, he could not decline the giving of Sentence upon so formal a Confession. Some loaded all that favoured the Reformation: And said, It now appeared what a Woman, their great Patroness, and Supporter had been. But to those it was answered, That her faults, if true, being secret, could cast no reflection on those, who being ignorant of them, made use of her Protection. And the Church of *Rome* thought not their Cause suffered, by the enraged cruelty and Ambition, of the cursed *Irene*, who had convened the second Council of *Nice*, and set up the Worship of Images again in the East; whom the Popes continued to court and magnifie, after her barbarous murder of her Son, with other acts of unsatiated spite and ambition. Therefore they had no reason to think the worse of persons for claiming the Protection of a Queen, whose faults (if she was at all criminal,) were unknown to them when they made use of her.

Some have since that time concluded it a great evidence of her Guilt, that during her Daughters long and glorious Reign, there was no full nor compleat vindication of her published. For the Writers of that

that time thought it enough to ſpeak honourably of her; and in general, to call her *Innocent*. But none of them ever attempted a clear diſcuſſion of the particulars laid to her charge. This had been much to her Daughters honour, and therefore ſince it was not done, others concluded it could not be done; and that their knowledge of her guilt reſtrained their Pens. But others do not at all allow of that Inference, and think rather, that it was the great Wiſdom of that time not to ſuffer ſuch things to be called in queſtion; ſince no wiſe Government will admit of a Debate about the clearneſs of the Princes Title. For the very attempting to prove it weakens it more, than any of the proofs that are brought can confirm it; therefore it was prudently done of that Queen and her great Miniſters, never to ſuffer any Vindication or Apology to be written. Some indiſcretions could not be denied, and theſe would all have been catched hold of, and improved by the buſie Emiſſaries of *Rome* and *Spain*. 1536.

But nothing did more evidently diſcover the ſecret cauſe of this Queens ruin, than the King's Marrying *Jane Seimour*, the day after her Execution. She of all King *Henry*'s Wives, gained moſt on his eſteem and affection: But ſhe was happy in one thing, that ſhe did not out-live his love; otherwiſe ſhe might have fallen as ſignally as her Predeceſſor had done. Upon this turn of Affairs a great change of Counſels followed.

The Lady *Mary* endeavours a reconciliation with her Father.

There was nothing now that kept the Emperor and the King at a diſtance, but the Illegitimation of the Lady *Mary*, and if that Matter had been adjuſted, the King was in no more hazard of trouble from him: Therefore it was propoſed, that ſhe might be again reſtored to the King's favour. She found this was the beſt opportunity ſhe could ever look for, and therefore laid hold on it, and wrote an humble ſubmiſſion to the King, and deſired again to be admitted to his preſence. But her ſubmiſſions had ſome reſerves in them, therefore ſhe was preſſed to be more expreſs in her acknowledgments. At this ſhe ſtuck long, and had almoſt embroyled her ſelf again with her Father. She freely offered to ſubmit to the Laws of the Land about the Succeſſion, and confeſſed the fault of her former Obſtinacy. But the King would have her acknowledge, that his Marriage to her Mother was inceſtuous and unlawful; and to renounce the Pope's Authority, and to accept him, as Supream Head of the Church of *England*. Theſe things were of hard digeſtion with her, and ſhe could not eaſily ſwallow them; ſo ſhe wrote to *Cromwell*, to befriend her at the King's hands. Upon which many Letter's paſſed between them. He wrote to her, that it was impoſſible to recover her Fathers favour, without a full and clear ſubmiſſion in all points. So in the end ſhe yielded, and ſent the following Paper, all written with her own hand, which is ſet down, as it was Copied from the Original yet extant.

Her ſubmiſſion under her own hand: *Cott. Lib. Otho.* C. 10.

'The Confeſſion of me the Lady *Mary* made upon certain points 'and Articles under written; in the which, as I do now plainly, 'and with all mine heart confeſs and declare mine inward Sentence, 'Belief, and Judgment, with a due conformity of Obedience to the 'Laws of the Realm; ſo minding for ever to perſiſt and continue in 'this

'this determination, without change, alteration, or variance, I do 'most humbly beseech the King's Highness, my Father, whom I have 'obstinately and inobediently offended in the denial of the same here- 'tofore, to forgive mine offences therein, and to take me to his most 'gracious Mercy.

'First, I confess and knowledge the King's Majesty, to be my So- 'veraign Lord and King in the Imperial Crown of this Realm of '*England*; and do submit my self to his Highness, and to all and 'singular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, as becometh a true and 'faithful Subject to do; which I shall also obey, keep, observe, ad- 'vance, and maintain, according to my bounden duty, with all the 'power, force, and qualities, that God hath endued me with, during 'my Life.

'*Item*, I do recognize, accept, take, repute, and knowledge, the 'King's Highness to be *Supream Head in Earth, under Christ, of the Church* '*of England*; and do utterly refuse the Bishop of *Rome*'s pretended 'Authority, Power, and Jurisdiction, within this Realm heretofore 'usurped, according to the Laws and Statutes made in that behalf, 'and of all the King's true Subjects humbly received, admitted, obey- 'ed, kept and observed; and also do utterly renounce and forsake 'all manner of Remedy, Interest and advantage, which I may by any 'means claim by the Bishop of *Rome*'s Laws, Process, Jurisdiction, 'or Sentence, at this present time, or in any wise hereafter, by a- 'ny manner of title, colour, mean, or case, that is, shall, or can be 'devised for that purpose.

Mary.

'*Item*, I do freely, frankly, and for the Discharge of my duty to- 'wards God, the King's Highness, and his Laws, without other re- 'spect, recognize and knowledge, That the Marriage heretofore had 'between his Majesty, and my Mother, the late Princess Dowager, 'was by God's Law, and Man's Law, incestuous and unlawful.

Mary.

She is restored to his favour.

Upon this she was again received into favour. One circumstance I shall add, that shows the frugality of that time. In the Establishment that was made for her Family, there was only 40 *l.* a quarter assigned for her privy Purse. I have seen a Letter of hers to *Cromwell*, at the *Christmass*-quarter, desiring him to let the King know, that she must be at some Extraordinary expence that season, that so he might encrease her allowance, since the 40 *l.* would not defray the Charge of that quarter.

The Lady *Elizabeth* well used by the King and Queen.

For the Lady *Elizabeth*, though the King divested her of the Title of Princess of *Wales*, yet he continued still to breed her up in the Court, with all the care and tenderness of a Father. And the

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new Queen, what from the ſweetneſs of her diſpoſition, and what out of compliance with the King, who loved her much, was as kind to her, as if ſhe had been her Mother. Of which I ſhall add one pretty evidence, though the childiſhneſs of it may be thought below the Gravity of a Hiſtory: yet by it the Reader will ſee, both the kindneſs that the King and Queen had for her, and that they allowed her to ſubſcribe, Daughter. There are two Original Letters of hers yet remaining, writ to the Queen when ſhe was with Child of King *Edward*; the one in *Italian*, the other in *Engliſh*; both writ in a fair hand, the ſame that ſhe wrote all the reſt of her life. But the conceits in that writ in *Engliſh*, are ſo pretty, that it will not be unacceptable to the Reader, to ſee this firſt bloſſom of ſo great a Princeſs, when ſhe was not full Four years of Age; She being Born in *September* 1533. and this writ in *July* 1537. 1536.

Her Letter to the Queen when not Four years of Age.

'Although your Highneſs Letters be moſt joyful to me in abſence, 'yet conſidering what pain it is to you to write, your Grace being 'ſo great with Child, and ſo ſickly, your Commendation were e- 'nough in my Lord's Letter. I much rejoyce at your health, with 'the well liking of the Countrey; with my humble thanks that your 'Grace wiſhed me with you till I were weary of that Countrey. 'Your Highneſs were like to be combered, if I ſhould not depart till 'I were weary being with you: although it were in the worſt ſoil 'in the World, your preſence would make it pleaſant. I cannot re- 'prove my Lord for not doing your Commendations in his Let- 'ter, for he did it; and although he had not, yet I will not complain 'on him, for that he ſhall be diligent to give me knowledge from time 'to time, how his buſie child doth; and if I were at his birth, no doubt 'I would ſee him beaten, for the trouble he has put you to. Mr. *Denny*, 'and my Lady, with humble thanks prayeth moſt entirely for your 'Grace, prayeth the Almighty God to ſend you a moſt lucky deliverance. 'And my Miſtreſs wiſheth no leſs, giving your Highneſs moſt humble 'thanks for her commendations. Writ with very little leiſure, this laſt day of *July*.

Your Humble Daughter,

Elizabeth.

A new Parliament called.

But to proceed to more ſerious matters. A Parliament was Summoned to meet the 8th of *June*. If full Forty days be neceſſary for a Summons, then the Writs muſt have been iſſued forth the day before the late Queens diſgrace; ſo that it was deſigned before the Juſts at *Greenwich*, and did not flow from any thing that then appeared. When the Parliament met, the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, in his ſpeech, told them, That when the former Parliament was diſ- 'ſolved, the King had no thoughts of Summoning a new one ſo 'ſoon. But for two reaſons, he had now called them. The one 'was, That he finding himſelf ſubject to ſo many infirmities, and 'conſidering that he was Mortal, (a rare thought in a Prince) he deſired

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1536. 'desired to settle an apparent Heir to the Crown, in case he should die 'without Children lawfully begotten. The other was, to repeal 'an Act of the former Parliament, concerning the Succession of the 'Crown, to the issue of the King by Queen *Ann Boleyn*. He desired 'them to reflect on the great troubles and vexation the King was 'involved in, by his first unlawful Marriage, and the dangers he was 'in by his second; which might well have frighted any body from a 'third Marriage. But *Ann*, and her Conspirators, being put to death 'as they well deserved, the King at the humble request of the Nobili- 'ty, and not out of any Carnal Concupiscence, was pleased to Marry 'again a Queen, by whom there were very probable hopes of having 'Children: Therefore he recommended to them, to provide an heir 'to the Crown by the King's direction, who, if the King dyed with- 'out Children lawfully begotten, might Rule over them. He desired 'they would pray God earnestly, that he would grant the King Issue of 'his own body; and return thanks to Almighty God that preserved 'such a King to them out of so many eminent dangers, who imployed 'all his care and endeavours, that he might keep his whole people in 'quiet, peace, and perfect charity, and leave them so to those that should 'succeed him.

The Act of Succession.

But though this was the chief cause of calling the Parliament, it seems the Ministers met with great difficulties, and therefore spent much time in preparing mens minds. For the Bill about the Succession to the Crown, was not brought into the House of Lords before the 30th day of *June*, that the Lord Chancellor offered it to the House. It went through both Houses without any oppositon. It contained first, 'A repeal of the former Act of Succession, and a Confirmation 'of the two Sentences of Divorce, the Issue of both the King's for- 'mer Marriages being declared illegitimate, and for ever excluded 'from claiming the Inheritance of the Crown, as the King's Lawful 'heirs by lineal descent. The Attainder of Queen *Ann* and her Com- 'plices is confirmed. Queen *Ann* is said, to have been inflamed with 'pride and Carnal desires of her body; and, having confederated 'her self with her complices, to have committed divers Treasons 'to the danger of the King's Royal Person; (with other aggrava- 'ting words,) for which she had justly suffered Death, and is now 'attainted by Act of Parliament. And all things that had been said 'or done against her or her Daughter, being contrary to an Act of 'Parliament then in force, and pardoned; and the inheritance of the 'Crown is established, on the Issue of Queen *Jane*, whether Male or 'Female, or the King's Issue by any other Wife whom he might Marry 'afterwards.

'But since it was not fit to declare, to whom the Succession of the 'Crown belonged after the King's death left the Person, so designed, 'might be thereby enabled to raise trouble and Commotion; 'therefore they considering the King's wise and excellent Govern- 'ment, and confiding in the love and affection which he bore to his 'Subjects, did give him full Power to declare the Succession to the 'Crown, either by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or by 'his last Will, Signed with his Hand; and promised all faithful o- 'bedience to the persons named by him. And if any, so designed to

'to ſucceed in default of others, ſhould endeavor to uſurp upon thoſe 1536.
'before them or to exclude them, they are declared Traytors, and were
'to forfeit all the Right they might thereafter clame to the Crown.
'And if any ſhould maintain the Lawfulneſs of the former Marriages,
'or that the Iſſue by them was Legitimate, or refuſed to ſwear to the
'King's Iſſue by Queen *Jane*, they were alſo declared Traytors.

By this Act it may appear how abſolutely this King Reigned in *England*. Many queſtion'd much the validity of it, and (as ſhall afterwards appear,) the *Scots* ſaid, That the Succeſſion to the Crown was not within the Parliaments Power to determine about it, but muſt go by inheritance to their King, in default of Iſſue by this King. Yet by this, the King was enabled to ſettle the Crown on his Children whom he had now declared Illegitimate, by which he brought them more abſolutely to depend upon himſelf. He neither made them deſperate, nor gave them any further Right, than what they were to derive purely from his own good pleaſure. This did alſo much pacifie the Emperor, ſince his Kinſwoman was, though not reſtored in blood, yet put in a Capacity to ſucceed to the Crown.

The Pope endeavoured a reconciliation with the King.

At this time there came a new Propoſition from *Rome*, to try if the King would accommodate matters with the Pope. Pope *Clement* the Seventh dyed two years before this, in the year 1534. and Cardinal *Farneſe* ſucceeded him, called Pope *Paul* the Third. He had before this made one unſucceſsful attempt upon the King; but, upon the beheading of the Biſhop (and declared Cardinal) of *Rocheſter*, he had thundered a moſt terrible Sentence of Depoſition againſt the King, and deſigned to commit the Execution of it to the Emperor: Yet now, when Queen *Katharine* and Queen *Ann*, who were the occaſions of the rupture, were both out of the way, he thought it was a proper conjuncture, to try if a Reconciliation could be effected. This he propoſed to Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, who was no more the King's Ambaſſador at *Rome*, but was ſtill his Correſpondent there. The Pope deſired he would move the King in it, and let him know that he had ever favoured his Cauſe in the former Pope's time, and though he was forced to give out a Sentence againſt him, yet he had never any intention to proceed upon it to further Extremities.

Buria vain.

But the King was now ſo entirely alienated from the Court of *Rome*, that to cut off all hopes of Reconciliation, he procured two Acts to be paſſed in this Parliament. The one was for the utter extinguiſhing the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. It was brought into the Houſe of Lord's on the 4th of *July*; and was read the firſt time the 5th, and the ſecond time on the 6th of *July*, and lay at the Committee till the 12th. And on the 14th, it was ſent down to the Commons; who, if there be no miſtake in the Journal, ſent it up that ſame day: They certainly made great haſte, for the Parliament was diſſolved within Four days.

'The Preamble of this firſt Act contains ſevere Reflections on the
'Biſhop of *Rome*, (whom ſome called the Pope,) who had long darkned God's word, that it might ſerve his Pomp, Glory, Avarice, Ambition and Tyranny; both upon the Souls, Bodies, and Goods of
'all Chriſtians; excluding Chriſt out of the Rule of Man's Soul,
'and Princes out of their Dominions: And had exacted in *England*

1536. 'great Sums, by dreams, and vanities and other Superſtitious ways.
'Upon theſe reaſons his Uſurpations had been by Law put down in
'this Nation; yet many of his Emiſſaries were ſtill practiſing up and
'down the Kingdom, and perſwading people to acknowledge his pre-
'tended Authority. Therefore every perſon ſo offending after the
'laſt of *July* next to come, was to incur the pains of a *Premunire*,
'and all Officers, both Civil, and Eccleſiaſtical, were commanded to
'make enquiry about ſuch offences, under ſeveral penalties.

On the 12th of *July*, a Bill was brought in concerning Privileges obtained from the See of *Rome*, and was read the firſt time. And on the 17th it was agreed to, and ſent down to the Commons, who ſent it up again the next day. It bears, that the Popes had, during their Uſurpation, 'granted many Immunities to ſeveral Bodies and
'Societies in *England*, which upon that Grant had been now long
'in uſe: Therefore all theſe Bulls, Breves, and every thing depend-
'ing on, or flowing from them, were declared void and of no force.
'Yet all Marriages celebrated by virtue of them, that were not other-
'wiſe contrary to the Law of God, were declared good in Law; and
'all Conſecrations of Biſhops by virtue of them, were confirmed.
'And for the future, all who enjoyed any Privileges by Bulls, were
'to bring them into the Chancery, or to ſuch Perſons as the King
'ſhould appoint for that end. And the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*
'was Lawfully to grant anew the effects contained in them, which
'Grant was to paſs under the great Seal, and to be of full force in
'Law.

This ſtruck at the Abbots Rights. But they were glad to bear a Diminution of their Greatneſs, ſo they might ſave the whole, which now lay at ſtake. By the Thirteenth Act, they corrected an Abuſe which had come in, to evade the force of a Statute made in the Twenty Firſt year of this King, about the Reſidence of all Eccleſiaſtical perſons in their Livings. One qualification, that did excuſe from Reſidence, was the ſtaying at the Univerſity for the compleating of their Studies. Now it was found, that many diſſolute Clergymen went and lived at their Univerſities, not for their Studies, but to be excuſed from ſerving their Cures. So it was Enacted, that none above the Age of Forty, that were not either Heads of Houſes, or Publick Readers, ſhould have any Exemption from their Reſidence, by virtue of that Clauſe in the former Act. And thoſe under that Age ſhould not have the Benefit of it, except they were preſent at the Lectures, and perform'd their Exerciſes in the Schools.

By an other Act, there was Proviſion made againſt the prejudice the King's Heirs might receive, before they were of Age, by Parliaments held in the Non-Age; That whatſoever Acts were made before they were Twenty Four years of Age, they might at any time of their lives after that, Repeal and Annul, by their Letters Patents, which ſhould have equal force with a Repeal by Act of Parliament. From theſe Acts it appears, that the King was abſolute Maſter, both of the affections and fears of his Subjects when in a new Parliament called on a ſudden, and in a Seſſion of ſix Weeks, from the 8th of June to the 18th of *July*, Acts of this Importance were paſſed without any Proteſt or publick Oppoſition.

But

But having now opened the buſineſs of the Parliament, as it relates to the State, I muſt next give an account of the Convocation, which ſate at this time, and was very buſie, as appears by the Journal of the Houſe of Lords, in which this is given for a reaſon of many Adjournments, becauſe the Spiritual Lords were buſie in the Convocation. It ſate down on the 9th of *June*, according to *Fuller's* Extract, it being the Cuſtom of all this Reign, for that Court to meet two or three days after the Parliament. Hither *Cromwell* came as the King's Vicar-General: But he was not yet Vice-Gerent. For he ſate next the Arch-Biſhop; but when he had that Dignity he ſate above him. Nor do I find him ſtiled in any Writing Vice-Gerent for ſome time after this; though the Lord *Herbert* ſays, he was made Vice-Gerent the 18th of *July* this year, the ſame day in which the Parliament was Diſſolved. 1536. The Proceedings in the Convocation.

Latimer, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, preached the Latine Sermon, on theſe words. *The Children of this World are wiſer in this Generation, than the Children of Light.* He was the moſt Celebrated Preacher of that time. The ſimplicity and plainneſs of his matter, with a ſerious and fervent Action that accompanied it, being preferred to more learned and elaborate Compoſures. On the 21ſt of *June*, *Cromwell* moved, that they would Confirm the Sentence of the Invalidity of the King's Marriage with Queen *Ann*, which was accordingly done by both Houſes of Convocation. But certainly *Fuller* was aſleep when he wrote; *That Ten days before that, the Arch-Biſhop had paſſed the Sentence of Divorce, on the day before the Queen was beheaded.* Whereas if he had conſidered this more fully, he muſt have ſeen that the Queen was put to Death a Month before this, and was Divorced two days before ſhe dyed. Yet, with this animadverſion, I muſt give him my thanks for his pains in copying out of the Journals of Convocation many remarkable things, which had been otherwiſe irrecoverably loſt.

On the 23d of *June*, the lower Houſe of Convocation ſent to the upper Houſe a Collection of many opinions, that were then in the Realm; which, as they thought, were abuſes, and errors, worthy of ſpecial Reformation. But they began this Repreſentation with a Proteſtation: 'That they intended not to do, or ſpeak any thing, *Fuller.* 'which might be unpleaſant to the King; whom they acknowledg-'ed their Supream Head, and were reſolved to obey his Commands, 'renouncing the Pope's uſurp'd Authority, with all his Laws and In-'ventions, now extinguiſht and aboliſht, and did addict themſelves 'to Almighty God and his Laws, and unto the King and the Laws 'made within this Kingdom.

There are Sixty Seven opinions ſet down, and are either the Tenets of the Old *Lollards*, or the New Reformers, together with the Anabaptiſts opinions. Beſides all which, they complained of many unſavory and indiſcreet expreſſions, which were either feigned on deſign to diſgrace the New Preachers, or were perhaps the extravagant Reflexions of ſome illiterate and injudicious Perſons; who are apt upon all occaſions, by their heat and folly, rather to prejudice, than advance their party; and affect ſome petulant jeers, which they think witty, and are perhaps well entertained by ſome others, who though they

1536. are more judicious themselves, yet imagining that such jests on the contrary opinions will take with the People, do give them too much Encouragement. Many of these jests about Confession, praying to Saints, Holy-water, and the other Ceremonies of the Church, were complained of. And the last Articles contained sharp reflexions on some of the Bishops, as if they had been wanting in their Duty to suppress such things. This was clearly levelled at *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Shaxton*, who were noted as the great Promoters of these opinions. The first did it prudently and solidly. The second zealously and simply. And the third with much indiscreet pride and vanity. But now that the Queen was gone, who had either raised or suppressed them, their Enemies hoped to have advantages against them, and to lay the growth of these opinions to their charge. But this whole Project failed, and *Cranmer* had as much of the King's favour as ever; for instead of that which they had projected, *Cromwell*, by the Kings order, coming to the Convocation, Declared to them, that it was the King's pleasure, that the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church should be reformed by the Rules of Scripture, and that nothing were to be maintained which did not rest in that Authority, for it was absurd, since that was acknowledged to contain the Laws of Religion, that recourse should rather be had to Glosses, or the decrees of Popes, than to these. There was at that time one *Alexander Alesius*, a Scotch-man, much esteemed for his Learning and Piety, whom *Cranmer* entertained at *Lambeth*. Him *Cromwell* brought with him to the Convocation, and desired him to deliver his opinion about the Sacraments. He enlarged himself much to Convince them, that only Baptism and the Lord's Supper were Instituted by Christ.

Antiq. Brit. in vita Cranm.

Stokesley Bishop of *London* answered him in a long Discourse, in which he shewed he was better acquainted with the Learning of the Schools and the Canon-Law, than with the Gospel; He was Seconded by the Arch-bishop of *York*, and others of that Party.

But *Cranmer* in a long and learned Speech, shewed how useless the niceties of the Schools were, and of how little Authority they ought to be; and discoursed largely of the Authority of the Scriptures, of the use of the Sacraments, of the uncertainty of Tradition, and of the Corruption which the Monks and Friars had brought into the Christian Doctrine. He was vigorously seconded by the Bishop of *Hereford*, who told them, the World would be no longer deceived with such Sophisticated stuff as the Clergy had formerly vented: The Laity were now in all Nations studying the Scriptures, and that, not only in the vulgar Translations, but in the original Tongues; and therefore it was a vain imagination to think they would be any longer governed by those arts which in the former Ages of Ignorance had been so effectual. Not many days after this, there were several Articles brought into the upper House of Convocation, devised by the King himself, about which there were great debates among them. The two Arch-Bishops, heading two Parties, *Cranmer* was for a Reformation, and with him joyned *Thomas Goodrick*, Bishop of *Ely*, *Shaxton*, of *Sarum*, *Latimer*, of *Worcester*, *Fox*, of *Hereford*, *Hilsey*, of *Rochester*, and *Barlow*, of St. *David's*.

But *Lee*, Arch-bishop of *York*, was a known favourer of the Popes Interests; which as it first appeared in his scrupling so much, with the

the whole Convocation of *York*, the acknowledging to the King to be *Supreme Head of the Church of England*; so he had since discovered it on all occasions, in which he durst do it without the fear of losing the King's favour: So he, and *Stokesley*, Bishop of *London*, *Tonstall*, of *Durham*, *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, *Longland*, of *Lincoln*, *Sherburn*, of *Chichester*, *Nix*, of *Norwich*, and *Kite*, of *Carlisle*, had been still against all changes. But the King discovered, that those did in their hearts love the Papal Authority, though *Gardiner* dissembled it most artificially. *Sherburn*, Bishop of *Chichester*, upon what inducement I cannot understand, resigned his Bishoprick, which was given to *Richard Sampson*, Dean of the Chappel; a Pension of 400 *l.* being reserved to *Sherburn* for his Life, which was confirmed by an Act of this Parliament. *Nix*, of *Norwich*, had also offended the King signally by some correspondence with *Rome*, and was kept long in the *Marshalsea*, and was convicted and found in a *Premunire*: The King considering his great Age, had upon his humble submission discharged him out of Prison, and pardon'd him. But he died the former year; though *Fuller*, in his slight way, makes him sit in this Convocation: for by the 17th Act of the last Parliament, it appears that the Bishoprick of *Norwich* being vacant, the King had recommended *William Albot* of St. *Bennet's* to it; but took into his own hands all the Lands and Mannours of the Bishoprick, and gave the Bishop several of the Priories in *Norfolk* in exchange, which was confirmed in Parliament. 1536.

Act 17. 27. *Regni.*

I shall next give a short abstract of the Articles about Religion, which were after much consultation and long debating agreed to.

Articles agreed on about Religion. Printed by *Fuller.*

'*First*, All Bishops and Preachers must instruct the People to believe the whole Bible, and the three Creeds, that was made by the Apostles, the *Nicene*, and the *Athenasian*; and interpret all things according to them, and in the very same words, and condemn all Heresies contrary to them, particularly those condemned by the first four general Councils.

'*Secondly*, Of *Baptism* the People must be instructed; That it is a Sacrament instituted by Christ, for the Remission of Sins, without which none could attain Everlasting Life: And that, not only those of full Age, but Infants, may, and must be Baptized, for the pardon of Original sin, and obtaining the gift of the Holy Ghost, by which they became the Sons of God. That none Baptized, ought to be Baptized again. That the opinions of the *Anabaptists* and *Pelagians*, were detestable Heresies; And that those of ripe Age, who desired Baptism must with it joyn Repentance and Contrition for their sins, with a firm belief of the Articles of the Faith.

'*Thirdly*, Concerning *Pennance*, they were to instruct the People, that it was instituted by Christ, and was absolutely necessary to Salvation. That it consisted of Contrition, Confession and Amendment of Life, with exterior works of Charity, which were the worthy *Fruits of Pennance*. For Contrition, it was an inward shame and sorrow for sin, because it is an offence of God, which provokes his displeasure. To this must be joyned, a Faith of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must hope, that God will forgive him, and repute him justified, and of the number of his Elect Children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by him, but

'for

1536. 'for the only Merits of the Blood and Passion of our Saviour Jesus 'Christ. That this Faith is got and confirmed by the Applicati- 'on of the Promises of the Gospel, and the use of the Sacraments: 'And for that end, Confession to a Priest is necessary, if it may be had, 'whose absolution was instituted by Christ, to apply the promises of 'God's Grace to the penitent; Therefore the People were to be taught, 'That the Absolution is spoken by an Authority given by Christ in 'the Gospel to the Priest, and must be believed; as if it were spoken 'by God himself, according to our Saviour's words; and therefore 'none were to condemn auricular Confession, but use it for the com- 'fort of their Consciences, The people were also to be instructed, 'that though God pardoned sin, only for the satisfaction of Christ; 'yet they must bring forth the Fruits of Penance, Prayer, Fasting, 'Almsdeeds, with restitution and satisfaction for wrongs done to o- 'thers, with other works of Mercy and Charity, and Obedience to 'God's Commandments, else they could not be saved; and that by do- 'ing these, they should both obtain Everlasting Life, and mitigation 'of their Afflictions in this present life, according to the Scriptures.

'*Fourthly*, As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, People were to 'be instructed, that under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there was 'truly and substantially given, the very same Body of Christ, that 'was born of the Virgin *Mary*; and therefore it was to be received 'with all Reverence, every one duely examining himself, according to 'the words of St. *Paul*.

'*Fifthly*, The people were to be instructed, That Justification 'signifieth the Remission of Sins, and acceptation into the favour of 'God; that is to say, a perfect Renovation in Christ. To the ob- 'taining which, they were to have, Contrition, Faith, Charity, which 'were both to concur in it, and follow it; and that the good works 'necessary to Salvation, were not only outward Civil works, but the 'inward motions and graces of God's Holy Spirit, to dread, fear, and 'love him, to have firm confidence in God, to call upon him, and to 'have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and have purposes and 'wills not to sin again; with such other motions and vertues, con- 'senting and agreeable to the Law of God.

'The other Articles were about the Ceremonies of the Church. '*First*, of Images. The people were to be instructed, That the use of 'them was warranted by the Scriptures, and that they served to re- 'present to them good Examples, and to stir up Devotion; and there- 'fore it was meet that they should stand in the Churches. But that 'the people might not fall into such Superstition as it was thought 'they had done in time past, they were to be taught, to reform the 'Abuses, lest Idolatry might ensue, and that in censing, kneeling, 'offering, or worshipping them, the people were to be instructed, not 'to do it to the Image, but to God and his honour.

'*Secondly*, For the honouring of Saints, they were not to think to 'attain these things at their hands, which were only obtained of God, 'but that they were to honour them, as persons now in glory, to 'praise God for them, and imitate their vertues, and not fear to die for 'the Truth, as many of them had done.

'*Thirdly*, for praying to Saints, The people were to be taught 'that

'that it was good to pray to them, to pray for, and with us. And to 1536.
'correct all Superſtitious Abuſes in this matter, they were to keep the
'days appointed by the Church for their Memories, unleſs the King
'ſhould leſſen the number of them, which if he did it, was to be obeyed.

'*Fourthly*, of Ceremonies. The people were to be taught, That
'they were not to be condemned and caſt away, but to be kept as
'good and laudable, having myſtical ſignifications in them, and being
'uſeful to lift up our minds to God. Such were the Veſtments in the
'worſhip of God: The ſprinkling holy-water to put us in mind of our
'Baptiſm and the Blood of Chriſt: Giving holy Bread in ſign of our
'Union in Chriſt, and to remember us of the Sacrament: Bearing
'Candles on *Candlemas*-day, in remembrance that Chriſt was the ſpi-
'ritual Light: giving Aſhes on *Aſh-wednes*-day, to put us in mind of
'Penance, and of our Mortality. Bearing Palms on *Palm-ſunday*, to
'ſhow our deſire to receive Chriſt in our hearts as he entred into *Je-*
'*ruſalem*: Creeping to the Croſs on *Good-fryday*, and kiſſing it, in
'memory of his death, with the ſetting up the Sepulchre on that day:
'The Hallowing the Font, and other Exorciſms and Benedictions.

'*And laſtly*, As to Purgatory, they were to declare it good and cha-
'ritable to pray for the Souls departed, which was ſaid to have con-
'tinued in the Church from the beginning: And therefore the People
'were to be inſtructed, That it conſiſted well with the due order of
'Charity, to pray for them, and to make others pray for them, in
'Maſſes and Exequies, and to give Alms to them for that end. But
'ſince the place they were in, and the pains they ſuffered, were
'uncertain by the Scripture, we ought to remit them wholly to
'Gods mercy: Therefore all theſe Abuſes were to be put away, which,
'under the pretence of Purgatory, had been advanced, as if the
'Popes pardons did deliver Souls out of it, or Maſſes ſaid in certain
'places, or before certain Images, had ſuch efficiency: with other
'ſuch-like Abuſes.

Theſe Articles being thus conceived, and in ſeveral places corrected, and tempered by the King's own hand, were ſigned by *Cromwell*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeventeen other Biſhops forty, Abbots and Priors, and fifty Arch-Deacons and Proctors of the lower Houſe of Convocation. Among whom, *Polidor Virgil*, and *Peter Vannes*, ſigned with the reſt, as appears by the Original yet extant. They being tendred to the King, he confirmed them, and ordered them to be publiſhed with a Preface in his name. 'It is ſaid in the Preface, 'that he, accounting it the chief part of his charge, that the Word and Commandments of God ſhould be believed and obſerved, and to maintain unity and concord in opinion; and underſtanding, to his great regret, that there was great diverſity of opinion ariſen among his Subjects, both about Articles of Faith and Ceremonies, had in his own Perſon taken great pains and ſtudy about theſe things, and had ordered alſo the Biſhops, and other Learned men of the Clergy, to examine them; who after long deliberation had concluded on the moſt ſpecial Points, which, the King thought proceeded from a good, right, and true judgment, according to the Laws of God; theſe would alſo be profitable, for eſtaliſhing unity in the Church of *England*: Therefore he had ordered them to be publiſhed, requi-

Publiſhed by the King's Authority.

'ring

1536. 'ring all to accept of them, praying God ſo to illuminate their hearts, 'that they might have no leſs zeal and love to unity and concord in 'reading them, than he had in making them to be deviſed, ſet forth, 'and publiſhed; which good acceptance ſhould encourage him to take 'further pains for the future, as ſhould be moſt for the honour of God, 'and the profit, and the quietneſs of his Subjects.

And variouſly cenſured.

This being publiſhed, occaſion'd great variety of Cenſures. Thoſe that deſired Reformation, were glad to ſee ſo great a ſtep once made; and did not doubt, but this would make way for further Changes. They rejoyced to ſee the Scriptures, and the ancient Creeds, made the Standards of the Faith, without mentioning Tradition, or the Decrees of the Church. Then the Foundation of Chriſtian Faith was truly ſtated, and the terms of the Covenant between God and man in Chriſt were rightly opened, without the niceties of the Schools of either ſide. Immediate worſhip of Images and Saints was alſo removed, and Purgatory was declared uncertain by the Scripture. Theſe were great advantages to them, but the eſtabliſhing the neceſſity of Auricular confeſſion, the Corporal preſence in the Sacrament, the keeping up and doing reverence to Images, and the praying to Saints, did allay their joy, yet they ſtill counted it a victory, to have things brought under debate, and to have ſome G oſſer abuſes taken away.

The other party were unſpeakably troubled. Four Sacraments were paſſed over, which would encourage ill-affected people to neglect them. The gainful Trade by the belief of Purgatory was put down; for though it was ſaid to be good to give Alms for praying for the dead, yet ſince both the dreadful Stories of the Miſeries of Purgatory, and the Certainty of Redeeming Souls out of them by Maſſes, were made doubtful, the Peoples Charity and bounty that way would ſoon abate. And in a word, the bringing matters under diſpute was a great Mortification to them; for all concluded, that this was but a Preamble to what they might expect afterwards.

When theſe things were ſeen beyond Sea, the Papal party made every-where great uſe of it, to ſhow the Neceſſity of adhering to the Pope; ſince the King of *England*, though when he broke off from his Obedience to the Apoſtolick See, he pretended, he would maintain the Catholick Faith entire, yet was now making great Changes in it. But others, that were more moderate, acknowledged that there was great temper and prudence in contriving theſe Articles. And it ſeems the Emperor, and the more Learned Divines about him, both approved of the Precedent, and liked the particulars ſo well, that not many years after, the Emperor publiſhed a work not unlike this, called, *The Interim*; becauſe it was to be in force in that *Interim*, till all things were more fully debated and determined by a General Council, which in many particulars, agreed with theſe Articles. Yet ſome ſtricter perſons cenſured this work much, as being a Political dawbing, in which, they ſaid, there was more pains taken to gratifie perſons, and ſerve particular ends, than to aſſert Truth in a free and un-biaſſed way, ſuch as became Divines. This was again excuſed, and it was ſaid, that all things, could not

be attained on a ſudden: that ſome of the Biſhops and Divines, who afterwards arrived at a clearer underſtanding of ſome matters, were not then ſo fully convinced about them, and ſo it was their ignorance, and not their Cowardice or Policy, that made them compliant in ſome things. Beſides, it was ſaid, that as our Saviour did not reveal all things to his Diſciples, till they were able to bear them; and as the Apoſtles did not of a ſudden aboliſh all the Rites of Judaiſm, but for ſome time, to gain the Jews, complyed with them, and went to the Temple, and offered Sacrifices; ſo the People were not to be over-driven in this Change. The Clergy muſt be brought out of their ignorance by degrees, and then the people were to be better inſtructed; but to drive furiouſly, and do all at once, might have ſpoiled the whole deſign, and totally alienated thoſe who were to be drawn on by degrees; it might have alſo much endangered the Peace of the Nation, the People being much diſpoſed by the practices of the Friers to riſe in Arms: Therefore theſe ſlow ſteps were thought the ſurer and better method. 1536.

The Convocation declares againſt the Council called by the Pope.

On the laſt day of the Convocation, there was another Writing brought in by *Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*, occaſioned by the Summons for a General Council to ſit at *Mantua*, to which the Pope had cited the King to appear. The King had made his appeal from the Pope to a General Council, but there was no reaſon to expect any Juſtice in an Aſſembly ſo conſtituted, as this was like to be. Therefore it was thought fit to publiſh ſomewhat of the Reaſons why the King could not ſubmit his matter to the Deciſion of ſuch a Council, as was then intended. And it was moved, that the Convocation ſhould give their ſenſe of it.

Collect. *Numb.* 5.

The Subſtance of their Anſwer, (which the Reader will find in the Collection,) was, 'That as nothing was better Inſtituted by the 'Ancient Fathers, for the Eſtabliſhment of the Faith, the Extirpa'tion of Hereſies, the Healing of Schiſms, and the Unity of the 'Chriſtian Church, than General Councils, gathered in the Holy 'Ghoſt, duely called to an indifferent place; with other neceſſary 'requiſites: So on the other hand nothing could produce more pe'ſtiferous effects, than a General Council called upon private malice, 'or Ambition, or other carnal reſpects; which *Gregory Nazianzen* 'ſo well obſerved in this time, that he thought *all Aſſemblies of Bi'ſhops were to be eſchewed, for he never ſaw good come of any of them, 'and they had encreaſed, rather than healed the diſtempers of the Church. 'For the appetite of vain-glory, and a contentious humor bore down rea'ſon*: Therefore they thought Chriſtian Princes ought to employ all 'their endeavours to prevent ſo great a miſchief. And it was to be 'conſidered, Firſt, Who had Authority to call one. Secondly, If the 'Reaſons for calling one were weighty. Thirdly, Who ſhould be the 'Judges. Fourthly, What ſhould be the manner of Proceeding. Fifth'ly, What things ſhould be treated of in it. And as to the firſt of 'theſe, they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince of what 'dignity ſoever, had Authority to call one, without the Conſent of 'all other Chriſtian Princes: eſpecially ſuch as had entire and ſu'preme Government over all their Subjects. This was Signed on the 20*th* of *July*, by *Cromwell*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with

1536. with 14 Bishops, and 40 Abbots, Priors and Clerks, of the Convocation of *Canterbury*. Whether this and the former Articles were also Signed by the Convocation of the Province of *York*, does not appear by any Record; but that I think is not to be doubted. This being obtained, the King published a long and sharp Protestation against the Council now Summoned to *Mantua*. In which he shews, that the Pope had no power to call one; 'For as it was done by the 'Emperors of old; so it pertained to Christian Princes now. That 'the Pope had no Jurisdiction in *England*, and so could Summon none 'of this Nation to come to any such meeting. That the place was 'neither safe nor proper. That nothing could be done in a Coun- 'cil to any purpose, if the Pope sate Judge in chief in it, since one 'of the true ends, why a Council was to be desired, was to reduce 'his Power within its old limits. A free General Council was that 'which he much desired; but he was sure this could not be such: 'and the present distractions of Christendom, and the Wars between 'the Emperor and the *French* King, shewed this was no proper 'time for one. The Pope who had long refused or delayed to call 'one, did now choose this Conjuncture of Affairs, knowing that few 'would come to it, and so they might carry things as they pleased. 'But the World was now awake; the Scriptures were again in 'mens hands, and People would not be so tamely cozen'd as they 'had been. Then he shews how unsafe it was, for any *English* 'man to go to *Mantua*, how little regard was to be had to the 'Pope's safe Conduct, they having so oft broken their Oaths and 'Promises. He also shews how little reason he had to trust him- 'self to the Pope, how kind he had been to that See formerly, and 'how basely they had requited it: And that now these Three years 'past, they had been stirring up all Christian Princes against him, 'and using all possible means to create him trouble. Therefore he 'declared, he would not go to any Council called by the Bishop of 'Rome; but when their was a General Peace among Christian Prin- 'ces, he would most gladly hearken to the motion of a true Gene- 'ral Council: and the mean-while, he would preserve all the Articles 'of the Faith in his Kingdom, and sooner lose his Life and his Crown, 'than suffer any of them to be put down. And so he protested against 'any Council to be held at *Mantua*, or any where else, by the Bishop 'of *Rome's* Authority: That he would not acknowlege it, nor receive 'any of their Decrees.

The King publishes his reasons against it.

Fox.

At this time *Reginald Pool*, who was of the Royal Blood, being by his Mother descended from the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth, and in the same degree of kindred with the King by his Fathers side, was in great esteem for his Learning, and other Excellent Vertues. It seems the King had determimined to breed him up to the greatest dignity in the Church; and to make him as Eminent in Learning, and other acquired Parts, as he was for Quality, and a Natural Sweetness and Nobleness of Temper. Therefore the King had given him the Deanery of *Exceſter*, with several other Dignities, towards his maintenance beyond Sea; and sent him to *Paris*, where he stayed several years: There he first incurred the King's displeasure. For, being desired by him to concur with his Agents,

Cardinal *Pool* opposes the King's proceedings.

gents, in procuring the Subſcriptions and Seals of the *French* Univerſities, he excuſed himſelf; yet it was in ſuch terms, that he did not openly declare himſelf againſt the King: After that, he came over to *England*, and *as he writes himſelf*, was preſent when the Clergy made their Submiſſion, and acknowledged the King *Supream Head*: In which, ſince he was then Dean of *Exeter*, and kept his Deanry ſeveral years after that, it is not to be doubted, but that, as he was by his place obliged to ſit in the Convocation, ſo he concurred with the reſt in making that Submiſſion. From thence he went to *Padua*, where he lived long, and was received into the Friendſhip and Society of ſome celebrated Perſons, who gave themſelves much to the Study of Eloquence, and of the *Roman* Authors. Theſe were *Centareno*, *Bembo*, *Caraffa*, *Sadoletti*, with a great many more, that became afterwards well known over the World: But all thoſe gave *Pool* the Preheminence, and that juſtly too, for he was accounted one of the moſt Eloquent men of his time. 1536.

The King called him oft home to aſſiſt him in his Affairs, but he ſtill declined it; at length finding delays could prevail no longer, he wrote the King word, that he did not approve of what he had done, neither in the matter of his Divorce, nor his ſeparation from the Apoſtolick See. To this the King anſwered, deſiring his reaſons why he diſagreed from him, and ſent him over a Book which Doctor *Sampſon* had writ in defence of the Proceedings in *England*. Upon which he wrote his Book *De unione Eccleſiaſtica*, and ſent it over to the King: and ſoon after Printed it this year. In which Book he condemned the King's Actions, and preſſed him to return to the obedience he owed the See of *Rome*, with many ſharp reflections; but the Book was more conſidered for the Author, and the Wit and Eloquence of it, than for any great Learning, or deep reaſoning in it. He did alſo very much depreſs the Royal, and exalt the Papal Authority: He compared the King to *Nebuchadonoſor*, and addreſſed himſelf in the Concluſion to the Emperor, whom he conjured to turn his Arms rather againſt the King than the Turk. And indeed the indecencies of his Expreſſions againſt the King, not to mention the ſcurrilous Language he beſtows on *Sampſon*, whoſe Book he undertakes to anſwer, are ſuch, that it appears how much the *Italian* Air had changed him; and that his Converſe at *Padua* had for ſome time defac'd that generous temper of mind, which was otherwiſe ſo natural to him.

And writes his Book againſt him.

Upon this, the King deſired him at firſt to come over, and explain ſome Paſſages in his Book: But when he could not thus draw him into his Toyls, he proceeded ſeverely againſt him, and diveſted him of all his Dignities; but theſe were plentifully made up to him by the Pope's bounty, and the Emperors. He was afterwards rewarded with a Cardinals hat, but he did not riſe above the degree of a Deacon. Some believe that the Spring of this oppoſition he made to the King was a ſecreet affection he had for the Lady *Mary*. The publiſhing of this Book, made the King ſet the Biſhops on work to write Vindications of his Actions: which *Stokeſley* and *Tonſtal* did in a long and Learned Letter, that they wrote to *Pool*. And *Gardiner* publiſhed his Book of *true obedience*: To which *Bonner*, who was hot on the

Many Books are written for the King.

1536. the scent of preferment, added a preface. But the King designed sharper Tools for *Pool's* punishment: Yet an Attainder in absence was all he could do against himself. But his Family and Kindred felt the weight of the King's displeasure very sensibly.

But now I must give an account of the dissolution of the Monasteries, pursuant to the Act of Parliament, though I cannot fix the exact time in which it was done. I have seen the Original Instructions with the Commission, given to those who were to visit the Monasteries in and about *Bristol*. All the rest were of the same kind. They bear date the 28*th* of *April*, after the Session of Parliament was over; and the report was to be made in the Octaves of St *Michael* the Arch-Angel. But I am inclined to think that the great Concussion and disorder things were in by the Queen's death, made the Commissioners unwilling to proceed in so invidious a matter, till they saw the Issue of the new-Parliament. Therefore I have delayed giving any account of the proceedings in that matter till this place. The Instructions will be found in the Collection. The Substance of them was as follows.

Collect *Numb.* 6. Instructions about the dissolution of Monasteries.

'The Auditors of the Court of Augmentations, were the Persons 'that were employed. Four, or any Three of them, were Commis- 'sioned to execute the Instructions in every particular Visitation. One 'Auditor or Receiver, and one of the Clerks of the former Visita- 'tion, were to call for three discreet Persons in the County, who 'were also named by the King. They were to signifie to every 'House the Statute of Dissolution, and shew them their Commission. 'Then they were to put the Governor, or any other officer of the House, 'to declare upon Oath the true State of it: And to require him 'speedily to appear before the Court of Augmentations, and in the 'mean time not to meddle with any thing belonging to the House. 'Then to examine how many Religious Persons were in the House, 'and what lives they led; how many of them were Priests, how ma- 'ny of them would go to other Religious Houses, and how many of 'them would take Capacities and go into the World. They were to 'estimate the State and Fabrick of the House, and the number of 'the Servants they kept: and to call for the Covent-Seal, and Writ- 'tings, and put them in some sure place, and take an Inventory of all 'their Plate, and their Moveable goods, and to know the value of all 'that before the 1*st* of *March* last belonged to the House, and what 'debts they owed. They were to put the Covent-Seal, with the 'Jewels and Plate in safe keeping, and to leave the rest (an Inven- 'tory being first taken) in the Governors hands, to be kept by them 'till further Order. And the Governors were to meddle with none 'of the Rents of the House, except for necessary Sustenance, till 'they were another way disposed of. They were to try what Leas- 'es and Deeds had been made for a whole year before the 4*th* of 'February last. Such as would still live in Monasteries, were to be 'recommended to some of the great Monasteries that lay next: and 'such as would live in the world, must come to the Arch-Bishop of 'Canterbury, or the Lord Chancellor, to receive Capacities. (From 'which it appears that *Cromwel* was not at this time Lord Vice-Ge- 'rent, for he granted these Capacities when he was in that Power.)

'And

'And the Commiſſioners were to give them a reaſonable allowance 'for their Journey, according to the diſtance they lived at. The Go- 'vernor was to be ſent to the Court of Augmentations, who were to 'aſſign him a yearly penſion for his Life. 1536.

What Report thoſe Commiſſioners made, or how they obeyed their Inſtructions, we know not; for the Account of it is razed out of the Records. The Writers that lived near that time repreſent the matter very odiouſly, and ſay; about ten thouſand Perſons were ſet to ſeek for their Livings; only forty Shillings in Money, and a Crown, being given to every Religious man. The rents of them all, roſe to about thirty two Thouſand Pounds: And the Goods, Plate, Jewels, and other moveables, were valued at an Hundred Thouſand Pound: And it is generally ſaid, and not improbably, that the Commiſſioners were as careful to inrich themſelves, as to encreaſe the King's Revenue. The Churches and Cloyſters were for the moſt part pulled down; and the Lead, Bells and other Materials were ſold; and this muſt needs have raiſed great diſcontents every where.

Great diſcontents among all ſorts of People.

The Religious Perſons that were undone, went about complaining of the Sacrilege and Injuſtice of the Suppreſſion; That what the piety of their Anceſtors had dedicated to God and his Saints, was now invaded and converted to ſecular ends. They ſaid, the King's ſeverity fell firſt upon ſome particular Perſons of their Orders, who were found Delinquents; but now, upon the pretended miſcarriages of ſome Individual Perſons, to proceed againſt their Houſes, and ſuppreſs them, was an unheard-of practice. The Nobility, and Gentry, whoſe Anceſtors had founded or enriched theſe Houſes, and who provided for their younger Children, or empoveriſhed Friends, by putting them into theſe Sanctuaries, complained much of the prejudice they ſuſtained by it. The People, that had been well entertained at the Abbots Tables, were ſenſible of their loſs: for generally, as they Travelled over the Country, the Abbies were their Stages, and were Houſes of Reception to Travellers and Strangers. The Devouter ſort of People of their Perſwaſion, thought their Friends muſt now lie in Purgatory without relief, except they were at the charge to keep a Prieſt, who ſhould daily ſay Maſs for their Souls. The poor, that fed on their daily Alms, were deprived of that ſupply.

Endeavors are uſed to quiet theſe.

But to compoſe theſe diſcontents, firſt many Books were publiſhed to ſhew what Crimes, Cheats, and Impoſtures, thoſe Religious Perſons were guilty of. Yet that wrought not much on the People; for they ſaid, why where not theſe Abuſes ſeverely puniſhed and reformed? But muſt whole Houſes, and the Succeeding Generations, be puniſhed for the faults of a few? Moſt of theſe reports were alſo denyed, and even thoſe who before envyed the eaſe and plenty in which the Abbots and Monks lived, began now to pity them, and condemned the proceedings againſt them. But to allay this General diſcontent, *Cromwell* adviſed the King to ſell their Lands at very eaſie Rates to the Gentry in the ſeveral Counties, obliging them, ſince they had them upon ſuch terms, to keep up the wonted Hoſpitality. This drew in the Gentry a-pace both to be ſatisfied with what was done; and to Aſſiſt the Crown for ever in the defence of theſe Laws: their own intereſt being ſo enterwoven with the Rights

of

1536. of the Crown. The commoner sort, who, like those of old that followed Christ for the Loaves, were most concerned for the loss of a good dinner on a Holy-day, or when they went over the Country about their business, were now also in a great measure satisfied, when they heard that all to whom these Lands were given, were obliged under heavy Forfeitures to keep up the Hospitality; and when they saw that put in practice, their discontent, which lay chiefly in their Stomach, was appeased.

And to quiet other People, who could not be satisfied with such things, the King made use of a Clause in the Act that gave him the lesser Monasteries, which Empowered him to continue such as he should think fit. Therefore on the 17*th* of *August*, he by his Letters Patents, did of new give back *in perpetuam Eleemosynam* for perpetual Alms, Five Abbies. The first of these, was the Abbey of St. *Mary* of *Betlesden* of the *Cistercian* order in *Bedfordshire*, ten more were afterwards confirmed. Sixteen Nunneries, were also confirmed: In all Thirty one Houses. The Patents (in most of which some manors are excepted, that had been otherwise disposed of,) are all enrolled, and yet none of our Writers have taken any notice of this. It seems these Houses had been more regular than the rest: So that in a General Calamity they were rather reprieved than excepted: for two years after this, in the Suppression of the rest of the Monasteries, they fell under the common fate of other Houses. By these new Endowments, they were obliged to pay Tenths and first-Fruits, and to obey all the Statutes and Rules that should be sent to them from the King, as Supream Head of the Church. But it is not unlike that some presents to the Commissioners, or to *Cromwell*, made these Houses out-live this ruin: for I find great trading in Bribes at this time, which is not to be wondred at, when there was so much to be shared.

Collect. *Num.* 3. sect. 2.

Yet people generally incline to Rebel.

But great Disorders followed upon the Dissolution of the other Houses. People were still generally discontented. The Suppression of Religious Houses occasioned much out-crying and the Articles that lately published about Religion, encreased the distaste they had conceived at the Government. The old Clergy were also very watchful to improve all opportunities, and to blow upon every spark. And the Pope's Power of deposing Kings had been for almost five hundred years received as an Article of Faith. The same Council that established Transubstantiation, had asserted it: and there were many Precedents, not only in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain* and *Italy*, but also in *England*, of Kings that were Deposed by Popes, whose Dominions were given to other Princes. This had begun in the Eighth Century, in two famous Deprivations. The one in *France*, of *Childeric* the 3*d*, who was deprived, and the Crown given to *Pepin*: and about the same time, those Dominions in *Italy* which were under the Eastern Emperors, renounced their Allegiance to them. In both these the Popes had a great hand, yet they rather confirmed and approved those Treasonable Mutations, than gave the first rise to them. But after Pope *Gregory* the 7*th*'s time, it was clearly assumed, as a Right and Prerogative of the Papal Crown, to Depose Princes, and absolve Subjects from the Oaths of Allegiance, and set up others in their

stead. And all those Emperors or Kings, that contested any thing with Popes, sat very uneasie and unsafe in their Thrones, ever after that. But if they were tractable to the demands of the Court of *Rome*, then they might oppress their Subjects, and Govern as unjustly as they pleased: for they had a mighty support from that Court. This made Princes more easily bear the Popes usurpations, because they were assisted by them in all their other Proceedings. And the Friers, having the Consciences of People generally in their hands, as they had the word given by their General at *Rome*, so they disposed People, either to be obedient, or seditious, as they pleased. 1536.

Now, not only their own Interests, mixed with their zeal for the ancient Religion, but the Pope's Authority, gave them as good a Warrant to encline the People to Rebel, as any had in former times, of whom some were Canonized for the like practices. For in *August* the former year, the Pope had Summoned the King to appear within Ninety days, and to answer for putting away his Queen, and taking another Wife; and for the Laws he had made against the Church, and putting the Bishop of *Rochester* and others to death for not obeying these Laws: and if he did not reform these faults, or did not appear to answer for them, the Pope Excommunicated him, and all that favoured him, deprived the King, put the Kingdom under an Interdict, forbade all his Subjects to obey, and other States to hold Commerce with him, dissolved all his Leagues with foreign Princes, commanded all the Clergy to depart out of *England*, and his Nobility to rise in Arms against him. But now, the force of those Thunders, which had formerly produced great Earth-quakes and Commotions, was much abated: yet some storms were raised by this, though not so violent as had been in former times.

The people were quiet till they had reaped their Harvest. And though some Injunctions were published a little before, to help it the better forward, most of the Holy-days of Harvest being abolished by the King's Authority; yet that rather Inflamed them the more. Other Injunctions were also published in the King's Name by *Cromwell* his Vice-gerent, which was the first Act of pure Supremacy done by the King. For in all that went before, he had the Concurrence of the two Convocations. But these, it is like, were penned by *Cranmer*. The Reader is referred to the Collection of Papers for them, as I transcribed them out of the Register. The King's injunctions about Religion.

'The Substance of them was, That first, all Ecclesiastical Incumbents were for a quarter of a year after that, once every Sunday, and ever after that, twice every quarter, to publish to the People: That the Bishop of *Rome*'s usurped Power, had no ground in the Law of God: and therefore was on good reasons abolished in this Kingdom: And that the King's power was by the Laws of God, Supream over all persons in his Dominions. And they were to do their uttermost endeavour, to extirpate the Pope's Authority, and to establish the Kings. Collect. *Numb.* 7.

'*Secondly*, They were to declare the Articles lately published, and agreed to by the Convocation: and to make the people know which of them were Articles of Faith, and which of them Rules for the decent and politick Order of the Church.

'*Thirdly*,

1536. 'Thirdly, They were to declare the Articles lately set forth, for the 'the Abrogation of some superfluous Holy-days, particularly in Har- 'vest time.

'Fourthly, They were no more to extol Images or Relicks, for Su- 'perstition or gain; nor to exhort people to make Pilgrimages, as if 'blessings and good things were to be obtained of this or that Saint 'or Image. But in stead of that, the People were to be instructed to 'apply themselves to the keeping of God's Commandments, and do- 'ing works of Charity; and to believe that God was better served by 'them when they stayed at home and provided for their Families, 'than when they went Pilgrimages: and that the Moneys laid out on 'these, were better given to the Poor.

'Fifthly, They were to exhort the People to teach their Children 'the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments, in En- 'glish: and every Incumbent was to explain these, one Article a day, 'till the People were Instructed in them. And to take great care, 'that all Children were bred up to some trade or way of Living.

'Sixthly, They must take care that the Sacraments and Sacra- 'mentals be reverently administred in their Parishes, from which 'when at any time they were absent, they were to Commit the 'Cure to the Learned and expert Curate; who might instruct the peo- 'ple in wholsome Doctrine: that they might also see, and their Pa- 'stors did not pursue their own profits or interests, so much as the 'Glory of God, and the good of the Souls under their Cure.

'Seventhly, They should not, except on urgent occasion, go to 'Taverns or Ale-houses: nor sit too long at any sort of Games after 'their Meals, but give themselves to the Study of the Scripture, or 'some other honest exercise; and remember that they must excel 'others in purity of life, and be examples to all others to live well 'and Christianly.

'Eightly, Because the goods of the Church, were the goods of 'the Poor; every Beneficed Person that had twenty Pound or above, 'and did not reside, was yearly to distribute the Fortieth part of his 'Benefice to the Poor of the Parish.

'Ninthly, Every Incumbent that had a hundred Pounds a year, must 'give an Exhibition for one Scholar at some Grammar School, or 'University; who after he had compleated his Studies, was to be 'Partner of the Cure and Charge, both in Preaching, and other du- 'ties: And so many hundred Pounds as any had, so many Students he 'was to breed up.

'Tenthly, Where Parsonage or Vicarage Houses were in great de- 'cay the Incumbent was every year to give a fifth part of his pro- 'fits to the repairing of them, till they were finished; and then to 'maintain them in the State they were in.

'Eleventhly, All these Injunctions were to be observed, under pain 'of suspension and sequestration of the mean profits till they were ob- 'served.

These were equally ingrateful to the Corrupt Clergy, and to the Laity that adhered to the old Doctrine. The very same opinions, a- bout Pilgrimages, Images, and Saints departed, and instructing the People in the Principles of Christian Religion in the Vulgar tongue, for

Which were much censur- ed.

for which the *Lollards* were not long ago, either burnt or forced to abjure them, were now ſet up by the King's Authority. From whence they concluded, that whatſoever the King ſaid of his maintaining the old Doctrine, yet he was now changing it. The Clergy alſo were much troubled at this Precedent, of the King's giving ſuch Injunctions to them, without the conſent of the Convocation: From which they concluded, they were now to be ſlaves to the Lord Vice-gerent. The matter of theſe Injunctions was alſo very uneaſie to them. The great profits they made by their Images and Relicks, and the Pilgrimages to them, were now taken away: and yet ſevere Impoſitions and heavy Taxes were laid on them; a fifth part for Repairs, a tenth at leaſt for an Exhibitioner, and a fortieth for Charity, which were cryed out on as intolerable burdens. Their Labour was alſo increaſed, and they were bound up to many ſeverities of Life: All theſe things touched the Secular Clergy to the quick, and made them concur with the Regular Clergy in diſpoſing the People to Rebel. 1536.

This was ſecretly fomented by the great Abbots. For though they were not yet ſtruck at, yet the way was prepared to it; and their Houſes were oppreſſed with crouds of thoſe who were ſent to them from the ſuppreſſed Houſes. There was ſome pains taken to remove their fears. For a Letter was ſent to them all in the King's name, to ſilence the reports that were ſpread abroad, as if all Monaſteries were to be quite ſuppreſſed. This they were required not to believe, but to ſerve God according to their Order, to obey the King's Injunctions, to keep Hoſpitality, and make no waſtes nor dilapidations. Yet this gave them ſmall comfort; and as all ſuch things do, rather increaſed than quieted their jealouſies and fears. So many ſecret cauſes concurring, no wonder the People fell into mutinous and ſeditious practices.

A Rebellion in *Lincolnſhire*.

The firſt Riſing was in *Lincolnſhire* in the beginning of *October*, where a Church-man, diſguiſed into a Cobler, and directed by a Monk, drew a great body of Men after him. About 20000 were gathered together. They ſwore to be true to God, the King, and the Commonwealth, and digeſted their Grievances into a few Articles, which they ſent to the King, deſiring a redreſs of them.

Their Demands.

'They complained of ſome things that related to ſecular concerns, 'and ſome Acts of Parliament that were uneaſie to them: They alſo 'complained of the Suppreſſion of ſo many Religious Houſes: that 'the King had mean Perſons in high Places about him, who were ill 'Counſellors: They alſo complained of ſome Biſhops who had ſub'verted the Faith; and they apprehended the Jewels and Plate of their 'Churches, ſhould be taken away. Therefore they deſired the King 'would call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and by their advice re'dreſs their Grievances: Concluding with an acknowledgment of the 'Kings being their Supream Head, and that the Tenths and firſt 'Fruits of all Livings, belonged to him of Right.

The King's anſwer.

When the King heard of this Inſurrection, he preſently ſent the Duke of *Suffolk* with a Commiſſion to raiſe forces for diſperſing them: But with him he ſent an anſwer to their Petition. 'He began with 'that about his Counſellors, and ſaid; It was never before heard of, 'that the Rabble preſumed to Dictate to their Prince, what Coun-

1536. 'sellors he should choose. That was the Princes work and not theirs. 'The Suppression of Religious Houses was done pursuant to an Act 'of Parliament, and was not set forth by any of his Counsellors. 'The Heads of these Religious Houses, had under their own hands 'confessed those horrid Scandals, which made them a reproach to the 'Nation. And in many Houses there were not above Four or Five 'Religious Persons. So it seemed they were better pleased, that 'such dissolute Persons should consume their Rents in riotous and idle 'living, than that their Prince should have them for the Common 'good of the whole Kingdom. He also answered their other Demands 'in the same high and commanding strain; and required them to sub- 'mit themselves to his mercy, and to deliver their Captains and Lieu- 'tenants into the hands of his Lieutenants; and to disperse, and car- 'ry themselves as became good and obedient Subjects, and to put a 'hundred of their number into the hands of his Lieutenants, to be or- 'dered as they had deserved.

When this answer was brought to them, it raised their Spirits higher. The practising Clergy-men continued to inflame them. They persuaded them, That the Christian Religion would be very soon decayed, and taken away quite, if they did not vigorously defend it: That it would come to that, that no Man should marry a Wife, receive any of the Sacraments, nor eat a piece of roast Meat, but he should pay for it: That it were better to live under the *Turk*, than under such oppression. Therefore there was no cause in which they could with more honour and a better conscience hazard their Lives, than for the Holy Faith. This encouraged and kept them together a little longer. They had forced many of the Gentry of the Country to go along with them. These sent a secret Message to the Duke of *Suffolk*, letting him know what ill effects the King's rough answer had produced: That they had joyned with the People only to moderate them a little, and they knew nothing that would be so effectual as the offer of a general pardon. So the Duke of *Suffolk*, as he moved towards them with the Forces which he had drawn together, sent to the King to know his pleasure, and earnestly advised a gentle composing of the matter without Blood. At that same time the King was advertised from the North, that there was a general and formidable Rising there. Of which he had the greater apprehensions, because of their neighbourhood to *Scotland*; whose King, being the King's Nephew, was the Heir presumptive of the Crown, since the King had Illegitimated both his Daughters. And though the King's firm Alliance with *France* made him less apprehensive of trouble from *Scotland*, and their King was at this time in *France*, to marry the Daughter of *Francis*; yet he did not know how far a general Rising might invite that King, to send orders to head and aid the Rebels in the North. Therefore he resolved first to quiet *Lincolnshire*. And as he had raised a great force about *London*, with which he was marching in Person against them; so he sent a new Proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with secret assurances of mercy. By these means they were melted away. Those who had been carryed in the Stream, submitted to the King's mercy, and promised all obedience for the future: Others, that were obstinate,

It's quieted by the Duke of *Suffolk*.

A new Rebellion in the *North*.

obstinate, and knew themselves unpardonable, fled Northward, and joyned themselves to the Rebels there: Some of their other Leaders were apprehended, in particular the Cobler, and were Executed. 1536.

But for the Northern Rebellion, as the Parties concerned, being at a greater distance from the Court, had larger opportunities to gather themselves into a huge Body; so the whole Contrivance of it was better laid. One *Ask* Commanded in Chief. He was a Gentleman of an ordinary condition, but understood well how to draw on and Govern a Multitude. Their march was called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*. And to inveigle the People, some Priests marched before them with Crosses in their hands. In their Banners they had a Crucifix with the Five wounds, and a Chalice: and every one wore on his sleeve, as the badge of the Party, an Emblem of the Five Wounds of Christ, with the name *Jesus* wrought in the midst. All that joyned to them took an Oath, 'That they entred into this *Pilgrimage of Grace*, for 'the love of God, the preservation of the King's Person, an Issue, 'the purifying the Nobility, and driving away all base born and ill 'Councellors; and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do dis-'pleasure to any, nor to kill any for envy; but to take before 'them the Cross of Christ, his Faith, the Restitution of the Church, 'and the Suppression of Hereticks, and their Opinions. These were specious pretences, and very apt to work upon a giddy and discontented multitude. So People flocked about their Crosses and Standards in great numbers,; and they grew to be 40000 strong. They went over the Country without any great opposition. The Arch-Bishop of *York* and the Lord *Darcy* were in *Pomfret* Castle; which they yielded to them, and were made to swear their Covenant. They were both suspected of being secret Promoters of the Rebellion: The latter suffered for it, but how the former excused himself I cannot give any account. They also took *York* and *Hull*; but though they summoned the Castle of *Skipton*, yet the Earl of *Cumberland*, who would not degenerate from his Noble Ancestors, held it out against all their force: and though many of the Gentlemen, whom he had entertained at his own cost, deserted him, yet he made a brave resistance. *Scarborough* Castle was also long besieged; but there Sir *Ralph Evers*, that Commanded it, gave an un-exampled instance of his fidelity and courage; for though his Provisions fell short, so that for twenty days he and his men had nothing but Bread and Water, yet they stood out till they were relieved. Which grew very formidable.

This Rising in *Yorkshire* encouraged those of *Lancashire*, the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and *Westmorland*, to Arm. Against these the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, that he might not fall short of the Gallantry and Loyalty of his renown'd Ancestors, made head: though he had no Commission from the King. But he knew his zeal and fidelity would easily procure him a Pardon, which he modestly asked for the service he had done. The King sent him not only that, but a Commission to Command in Chief all his Forces in the North. To his Assistance he ordered the Earl of *Derby* to march; and sent *Courtney* Marques of *Exeter*, and the Earls of *Huntington*, and *Rutland*, to joyn him. He also ordered the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the force that he had led into *Lincolnshire*, to lie still there; least they, being but newly quieted, should

1536. break out again, and fall upon his Armies behind; when the *Yorkshire* men met them before.

The Duke of *Norfolk* and others sent against them.

On the 20th of *October*, he sent the Duke of *Norfolk* with more forces to joyn the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: But the Rebels were very numerous and desperate. When the Duke of *Norfolk* understood their strength, he saw great reason to proceed with much caution: for if they had got the least advantage of the King's Troops, all the discontents in *England* would upon the report of that have broken out. He saw their numbers were now such, that the gaining some time was their ruin: For such a great Body could not subsist long together, without much provisions; and that must be very hard for them to bring in: So he set forward a Treaty. It was both honourable for the King to offer Mercy to his distracted Subjects, and of great advantage to his affairs: for as their numbers did every day lessen; so the King's forces were still encreasing. He wrote to the King, that considering the season of the year, he thought the offering some fair conditions might persuade them to lay down their Arms, and disperse themselves: Yet when the Earl of *Shrewsbury* sent a Herauld with a Proclamation, ordering them to lay down their Arms, and submit to the King's Mercy; *Aske* received him sitting in State, with the Arch-Bishop on the one hand, and the Lord *Darcy* on the other, but would not suffer any Proclamation to be made, till he knew the Contents of it. And when the Herauld told what they were, he sent him away without suffering him to publish it. And then the Priests used all their endeavours to engage the People to a firm resolution of not dispersing themselves, till all matters about Religion were fully settled.

As they went forward, they every-where repossessed the ejected Monks of their Houses; and this encouraged the rest, who had a great mind to be in their old Nests again. They published also many stories among them of the many growing burdens of the King's Government, and made them believe that Impositions would be laid on every thing that was either bought or sold. But the King hearing how strong they were, sent out a general Summons to all the Nobility to meet him at *Northampton* the 7th of *November*. And the forces sent against the Rebels advanced to *Doncaster*, to hinder them from coming further southward; and took the Bridge which they fortified, and laid their forces along the River to maintain that Pass.

They advance to *Doncaster*.

The Writers of that time say, that the day of Battel was agreed on; but that the Night before, excessive Rains falling, the River swelled so, that it was unpassable next day, and they could not force the Bridge. Yet it is not likely the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, having in all but 5000 men about him, would agree to a pitched Battel with those who were Six times his number, being then 30000. Therefore it is more likely that the Rebels only intended to pass the River the next day, which the Rain that fell hindred: But the Duke of *Norfolk* continued to press a Treaty, which was hearkned to by the other side; who were reduced to great straits; for their Captain would not suffer them to spoyl the Country, and they were no longer able to subsist without doing that. The Duke of *Norfolk* directed some that were secretly gained, or had been sent over to them as

Deserters,

Deſerters, to ſpread reports among them, that their Leaders were making Terms for themſelves, and would leave the reſt to be undone. This joyned to their neceſſities, made many fall off every day. 1536.

The Duke of *Norfolk* finding his Arts had ſo good an operation, offered to go to Court, with any whom they would ſend with their demands, and to intercede for them. This he knew would take up ſome time, and moſt of them would be diſperſed before he could return. So they ſent two Gentlemen, whom they had forced to go with them, to the King to *Windſor*. Upon this the King diſcharged the Rendezvous at *Northampton*, and delayed the ſending an anſwer as much as could be: But at laſt, hearing that though moſt of them were diſperſed, yet they had engaged to return upon warning, and that they took it ill that no anſwer came; he ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* to them with a general pardon, ſix only excepted by name, and four others that were not named. But in this the King's Councels were generally cenſured, for every one was now in fear, and ſo the Rebels rejected the Propoſition. The King alſo ſent them word by their own Meſſenger, 'That he took it very ill at their hands, that they 'had choſen rather to riſe in Arms againſt him, than to Petition him 'about thoſe things which were uneaſie to them. And to appeaſe them a little, the King by new Injunctions, commanded the Clergy to continue the uſe of all the Ceremonies of the Church. This, it is like, was intended for keeping up the four Sacraments, which had not been mentioned in the former Articles. The Clergy, that were with the Rebels, met at *Pomfret* to draw up Articles to be offered at the Treaty that was to be at *Doncaſter*: where three hundred were ordered to come from the Rebels to treat with the King's Commiſſioners. So great a number was called, in hopes that they would diſagree about their Demands, and ſo fall out among themſelves. On the 6th of *December* they met to treat, and it ſeems had ſo laid their matter before, that they agreed upon theſe following Demands.

The Duke of *Norfolk* breaks them by delays.

'A general Pardon to be granted: a Parliament to be held at '*York*; and courts of juſtice to be there; that none on the North 'of *Trent* might be brought to *London* upon any Law-ſute. They deſired a Repeal of ſome Acts of Parliament: Thoſe for the laſt 'Subſidy, for uſes, for making words miſpriſion of Treaſon, and for 'the Clergies paying their Tenths and firſt Fruits to the King. They 'deſired the Princeſs *Mary* might be reſtored to her right of Succeſ'ſion; the Pope to his wonted Juriſdiction, and the Monks to their 'Houſes again; that the *Lutherans* might be puniſhed; that *Audley* 'the Lord Chancellor, and *Cromwell* the Lord Privy-Seal, might be ex'cluded from the next Parliament; and *Lee* and *Leighton*, that had 'viſited the Monaſteries, might be impriſoned for Bribery and Ex'tortion.

Their Demands.

But the Lords, who knew that the King would by no means agree to theſe Propoſitions, rejected them. Upon which the Rebels took heart again, and were growing more enraged and deſperate; ſo that the Duke of *Norfolk* wrote to the King, that if ſome content were not give them, it might end very ill, for they were much ſtronger than his Forces were: And both he, and the other Commanders of the King's Forces, in their hearts wiſhed that moſt of their Demands were granted

1536. granted; being Persons, who though they complied with the King, and were against that Rebellion, yet were great Enemies to *Lutheranism*, and wished a Reconciliation with *Rome*; of which the Duke of *Norfolk* was afterwards accused by the Lord *Darcy*, as if he had secretly encouraged them to insist on these Demands. The King seeing the humour was so obstinate, resolved to use gentler Remedies; and so sent to the Duke of *Norfolk* a general Pardon, with a promise of a Parliament, ordering him not to make use of these, except in extremity.

That was no easie thing to that Duke, since he might be afterwards made to answer for it, whether the extremity was really such, as to justifie his granting these things. But the Rebels were become again as numerous as ever, and had resolved to cross the River, and to force the King's Camp, which was still much inferior to theirs in number. But Rains falling the second time, made the Foords again unpassable. This was spoken by the King's Party, as little less than a Miracle; that God's Providence had twice so opportunely interposed for the stopping of the progress of the Rebels: And it is very probable that on the other side, it made great impression on the Superstitious multitude; and both discouraged them, and disposed them, to accept of the offer of Pardon, and a Parliament to be soon called, for considering their other Demands. The King signed the Pardon at *Richmond* the 9th of *December*: by which all their Treasons and Rebellion up to that day were pardoned, provided they made their submission to the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and lived in all due obedience for the future. 'The King sent likewise a long answer to their Demands, as to what they complained about the subversion of the Faith; He protested his zeal for the true Christian Faith, and that he would live and die in the defence and preservation of it. But the ignorant multitude were not to instruct him what the true Faith was, nor to presume to correct what he and the whole Convocation had agreed on. That as he had preserved the Church of *England* in her true Liberties, so he would do still; and that he had done nothing that was so oppressive, as many of his Progenitors had done upon less grounds. But that he took it very ill of them, who had rather one Cardinal or two should enjoy the Profits of their Monasteries, to support them in their dissolute and abominable course of Living, than that their King should have them for defraying the great Charge he was at for their defence against Foreign Enemies. For the Laws, it was high presumption in a rude multitude to take on them to judge what Laws were good, and what not. They had more reason to think, that he after twenty eight years Reign should know it better than they could. And for his Government, he had so long preserved his Subjects in Peace and Justice, had so defended them from their Enemies, had so secured his Frontier, had granted so many general Pardons, had been so unwilling to punish his Subjects, and so ready to receive them into mercy; that they could shew no parallel to his Government among all their former Kings. And whereas it was said, That he had many of the Nobility of his Council, in the beginning of his Reign and few now; he shewed them in that one instance, how they were abused by the lying slanders of some disaffected Persons. For when he came to the Crown, there were none that were born

The King's answer to them.

'Noble

'Noble, of his Council, but only the Earl of *Surrey*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; whereas now, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Marques of *Exeter*, the Lord *Steward*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Sussex*, and the Lord *Sands* were of the Privy-Council: And for the Spiritualty, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Hereford* and *Chichester*, were also of it: And he and his whole Council judging it necessary to have some at the board, who understood the Law of *England*, and the Treaties with Foreign Princes; he had by their Unanimous Advice brought in his Chancellor, and the Lord Privy-Seal. He thought it strange, that they who were but Brutes, should think they could better judge who should be his Counsellors than himself and his whole Council: Therefore he would bear no such thing at their hands; it being inconsistent with the duty of good Subjects, to meddle in such matters. But if they or any of his other Subjects, could bring any just complaint against any about him, he was ready to hear it; and if it were proved, he would punish it according to Law. As for the complaints against some of the Prelates for preaching against the Faith, they could know none of these things but by the report of others; since they lived at such a distance, that they themselves had not heard any of them preach. Therefore he required them not to give credit to Lies, nor be misled by those who spread such Calumnies and ill Reports: And he concluded all with a severe Expostulation; adding that such was his love to his Subjects, that imputing this Insurrection, rather to their folly and lightness, than to any malice or rancour, he was willing to pass it over more gently, as they would perceive by his Proclamation. 1536.

Now the People were come to themselves again, and glad to get off so easily; and they all chearfully accepted the King's offers, and went home again to their several dwellings. Yet the Clergy were no way satisfied, but continued still to practise amongst them, and kept the Rebellion still on foot; so that it broke out soon after. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, were ordered to lie still in the Country with their Forces, till all things were more fully composed. They made them all come to a full submission; and first, to revoke all Oaths and Promises made, during the Rebellion, for which they asked the King's Pardon on their knees; 2ly, To swear to be true to the King, and his Heirs and Successors; 3ly, To obey and maintain all the Acts of Parliament made during the King's reign. 4ly, Not to take Arms again but by the King's Authority. 5ly, To apprehend all Seditious Persons. 6ly. To remove all the Monks, Nuns and Friars, whom they had placed again in the dissolve Monasteries. There were also Orders given to send *Ask*, their Captain, and the Lord *Darcy* to Court. *Ask* was kindly received, and well used by the King. He had shewed great conduct in Commanding the Rebels; and it seems the King had a mind, either to gain him to his service, or, which I suspect was the true Cause, to draw from him a discovery of all those, who in the other Parts of the Kingdom, had favoured or relieved them. For he suspected, not without cause, that some of the great Abbots had given secret supplies of Money to the Rebels; for which many of them were afterwards tryed and attainted. The Lord *Darcy* was under great apprehensions, and studied to purge himself, 1537. The Rebellion is quieted.

1537. himself, that he was forced to a Compliance with them; but pleaded, that the long and important services, he had done the Crown for fifty years, he being then fourscore, together with his great Age and Infirmity, might mitigate the King's displeasure. But he was made Prisoner. Whether this gave those who had been in Arms, new jealousies, that the King's Pardon would not be inviolably observed; or whether the Clergy had of new, prevailed on them to rise in Arms, I cannot determine: But it broke out again, though not so dangerously as before. Two Gentlemen of the North, *Musgrave* and *Tilby*, raised a body of 8000 Men; and thought to have surprized *Carlisle*; but were repulsed by those within. And in their return the Duke of *Norfolk* fell upon them, and routed them. He took many prisoners, and by Martial Law hanged up all their Captains, and Seventy other Prisoners on the Walls of *Carlisle*. Others at that same time thought to have surprized *Hull*; but it was prevented, and the leaders of that Party were also taken and executed.

New risings but soon dispersed.

Many other Risings were in several places of the Countrey, which were all soon represt; the ground of them all was, That the Parliament which was promised, was not called: But the King said, they had not kept conditions with him, nor would he call a Parliament till all things were quieted. But the Duke of *Norfolk*'s vigilance every where, prevented their gathering together in any great Body. And after several unsuccessful Artempts, as length the Country was absolutely quieted in *January* following. And then the Duke of *Norfolk* proceeded according to the Martial Law against many whom he had taken. *Ask* had also left the Court without leave, and had gone amongst them, but was quickly taken. So he and many others were sent to several places, to be made publick Examples. He suffered at *York*, others at *Hull*, and in other Towns in *Yorkshire*. But the Lord *Darcy*, and the Lord *Hussy*, were arraigned at *Westminster*, and attainted of Treason: The former for the Northern, and the other for the *Lincolnshire* Insurrection. The Lord *Darcy* was beheaded at *Tower-hill*, and was much lamented. Every body thought that considering his Merits, his Age, and former Services, he had hard measure. The Lord *Hussy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*. The Lord *Darcy* in his Tryal accused the Duke of *Norfolk*; that in the Treaty at *Doncaster*, he had encouraged the Rebels to continue in their demands. This the Duke denied, and desired a Tryal by Combate, and gave some presumptions to shew that the Lord *Darcy* bore him ill-will, and said this out of Malice. The King either did not believe this, or would not seem to believe it: And the Duke's great diligence in the Suppression of these Commotions set him beyond all jealousies. But after those Executions, the King wrote to the Duke in *July* next, to Proclaim an absolute Amnesty over all the North; which was received with great joy, every body being in fear of himself: and so the threatning storm was dissipated without the effusion of much blood, save what the Sword of Justice drew. At the same time the King of *Scotland* returning from *France* with his Queen, and touching on the Coast of *England*; many of the People fell down at his feet, praying him to assist them, and he should have all. But he was, it seems, bound up by the *French* King: and so went home without giving them any

The chief of the Rebels executed.

any encouragement. And thus ended this Rebellion, which was chiefly carried on by the Clergy, under the pretence of Religion. 1537.

A new Visitation of Monasteries.

And now the King was delivered of all his apprehensions that he had been in for some years, in fear of Stirs at home. But they being now happily composed; as he knew it would so overawe the rest of his discontented Subjects, that he needed fear nothing from them for a great while; so it encouraged him to go on in his other designs, of suppressing the rest of the Monasteries; and reforming some other Points of Religion. Therefore there was a new Visitation appointed for all the Monasteries of *England*. And the Visiters were ordered, to Examine all things that related either to their Conversation, to their affection to the King, and the Supremacy, or to their Superstition, in their several Houses: To discover what Cheats and Impostures there were, either in their Images, Relicks, or other miraculous things, by which they had drawn People to their Houses on Pilgrimages, and gotten from them any great Presents. Also to try how they were affected during the late Commotions, and to discover every thing that was amiss in them, and report it to the Lord Vice-gerent. In the Records of the whole Twenty Eighth year of the King's Reign, I find but one Original Surrender of any Religious House. The Abbot of *Furneſe* in *Lincolnſhire* valued at 960 *lib.* with thirty Monks resigning up that House to the King, on the 9th of *April*, which was very near the end of the year of the King's Reign, for it commenced on the 22d of *April*. Two other Surrenders are enrolled that year. The one was of *Bermondſey* in *Surrey*, the first of *June* in the twenty eighth of the King's Reign. The Preamble was, that they surrendred in hopes of greater Benevolence from the King. But this was the effect of some secret practice, and not of the Act of Parliament. For it was valued at 548 *lib.* and so fell not within the Act. The other was of *Buſtlisham* or *Biſhtam* in *Berkſhire*, made by *Barlow* Bishop of St. *Davids*, that was Commendator of it, and a great Promoter of the Reformation. It was valued at 327 *lib.* But in the following year they made a quicker Progress, and found strange Enormities in the greater Houses. It seems all the Houses under 200 *lib.* of Rent were not yet suppressed. For I find many within that value afterwards resigning their Houses. So that I am enclined to believe, that the first Visitation being made towards the Suppression of the lesser Monasteries, and that (as appears by their instructions) being not to be finished till they had made a report of what they had done to the Court of Augmentations, who were after the report made to determine what Pensions were to be reserved to the Abbot and other Officers; (which report was to be made in the Octaves of St. *Michael*, and after that, a new Commission was to be given for their Suppression;) when that was done, they went no further at that time. So that I cannot think there were many Houses Suppressed when these Stirs began: and after their first rising, it is not likely that great Progress would be made in a business that was like to inflame the People more, and encrease the number of the Rebels. Neither do I find any Houses suppressed by virtue of the former Act of Parliament till the twenty ninth year of the King's Reign.

Some of the great Abbots surrender their Houses.

And yet they made no great hast this year. For there are but

1537. twenty one Surrenders all this year, either in the Rolls, or Augmentation-Office. And now, not only ſmall Abbeys, but greater ones were ſurrendred to the King. The Abbots were brought to do it upon ſeveral Motives. Some had been faulty during the late Rebellion, and were liable to the King's diſpleaſure: and theſe to redeem themſelves, compounded the Matter by a reſignation of their Houſe. Others began to like the Reformation, and that made them the more willing to ſurrender their Houſes; ſuch as *Barlow*, Biſhop of St. *David's*, who not only ſurrendred up his own Houſe of *Buſhliſham*, but prevailed on many others to do the like: Others were convicted of great diſorders in their Converſation; and theſe not daring to ſtand a Tryal, were glad to accept of a Penſion for life, and deliver up their Houſe. Others were guilty of making great waſtes and Dilapidations. For they all ſaw the Diſſolution of their Houſes approaching, and ſo every one was induced to take all the care he could to provide for himſelf, and his kindred; ſo that the Viſitors found in ſome of the Richeſt Abbeys of *England*, as St. *Albans*, and *Battell*, ſuch depredations made, that at St. *Albans* an Abbot could not ſubſiſt any longer, the rents were ſo low; and in *Battell*, as all their furniture was old and torn, not worth an 100 *lib.* ſo both in Houſe and Chappel they had not 400 Marks worth of Plate. In other Houſes they found not above twelve or fifteen Ounces of Plate, and no furniture at all, but only ſuch things as they could not embezel, as the Walls, and Windows, Bells and Lead. In other Houſes, the Abbot and Monks were glad to accept of a Penſion for themſelves during life: and ſo being only concerned for their own particular intereſt, reſigned their Houſe to the King. Generally, the Monks had eight Marks a year Penſion, till they were provided for. The Abbots Penſions were proportioned to the Value of their Houſe, and to their Innocence. The Abbots of St. *Albans*, and *Tewksbury*, had 400 Marks a year a piece. The Abbot of St. *Edmundsbury* was more Innocent; for the Viſitors wrote from thence, that they could find no ſcandals in that Houſe: So he (it ſeems) was not eaſily brought to Reſign his Houſe, and had 500 Marks Penſion reſerved to him. And for their inferior Officers ſome had 30, ſome 10, or 8, and the loweſt 6 *lib.* Penſion.

In other places, upon a vacancy, either by death or deprivation, they did put in an Abbot only to reſign up the Houſe. For after the King's Supremacy was eſtabliſhed, all thoſe Abbots that had been formerly confirmed by the Pope, were placed in this manner. The King granted a *Conge d' elire* to the Prior and Convent, with a Miſſive Letter, declaring the name of the perſon whom they ſhould chooſe: then they returned an election to the King, who, upon that, gave his aſſent to it by a Warrant under the great Seal, which was certified to the Lord Vice-gerent; who thereupon Confirmed the Election, and returned him back to the King, to take the Oaths: upon which the Temporalities were reſtored. Thus all the Abbots were now placed by the King, and were generally pickt out to ſerve this turn. Others, in hope of advancement to Biſhopricks, or to be Suffragan Biſhops, as the inferior ſort of them were made generally, were glad to recommend themſelves to the King's favour, by a quick and cheerful Surrender of their Monaſtery. Upon ſome of theſe inducement

ducements it was, that the greateſt number of the Religious Houſes were reſigned to the King, before there was any Act of Parliament made for their ſuppreſſion. In ſeveral Houſes, the Viſitors, who were generally, either Maſters of Chancery, or Auditors of the Court of Augmentations, ſtudied not only to bring them to reſign their Houſes, but to Sign Confeſſions of their paſſed lewd and diſſolute lives. Of theſe, there is only one now extant, which (it is like) eſcaped the general raſure and deſtruction of all Papers of that kind, in Queen *Mary*'s time. But from the Letters that I have ſeen, I perceive there were ſuch Confeſſions made by many other Houſes. 1538.

Confeſſions of horrid Crimes made in ſeveral Houſes.

That Confeſſion of the Prior and *Benedictines* of St. *Andrews* in *Northampton* is to be ſeen in the Record of the Court of Augmentations. In which, with the moſt aggravating expreſſions that could be deviſed, they acknowledged their paſt ill life, "for which the Pitt of Hell was ready to "ſwallow them up. They confeſſed that they had neglected the Wor-"ſhip of God, lived in Idleneſs, Gluttony, and Senſuality, with many "other woful expreſſions to that purpoſe.

Collect. *Numb.* 3. *ſect.* 4.

Other Houſes, as the Monaſtery of *Betleſden*, reſigned with this preamble, "That they did profoundly conſider, that the manner and "trade of living, which they, and others of their pretended Religi-"on, had for a long time followed, conſiſted in ſome dumb ceremo-"nies, and other Conſtitutions, of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and other "foreign Potentates; as the Abbot of *Ciſteaux*, by which they were "blindly led, having no true knowledge of God's Laws; procuring "exemptions from their Ordinary and Dioceſan, by the Power of the "Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſubmitting themſelves wholly to a foreign "Power, who never came hither to reform their abuſes, which were "now found among them. But that now knowing the moſt per-"fect way of Living is ſufficiently declared by Chriſt and his Apo-"ſtles; and that it was moſt fit for them to be Governed by the "King, who was their Supream Head on Earth, they ſubmitted them-"ſelves to his Mercy, and ſurrendred up their Monaſtery to him on the "25th of *September* in the 30th year of his Reign. This writing was ſigned by the Abbot, the Sub-Prior, and nine Monks. There are five other Surrenders to the ſame purpoſe; by the *Gray*, and *White Friars* of *Stamford*, the *Gray-Friars* of *Coventry*, *Bedford*, and *Ailesbury*, yet to be ſeen. Some are reſigned upon this Preamble, "That they "hoped the King would of new found their Houſe; which was o-"therwiſe like to be ruined, both in Spirituals and Temporals. So did the Abbot of *Chertſey* in *Surrey*, with fourteen Monks on the 14th of *July* in the 29th year of this Reign, whoſe Houſe was valued at 744 *lib.* I have ſome reaſon to think that this Abbot was for the Reformation, and intended to have had his Houſe new founded to be a Houſe of true and well regulated devotion: And ſo I find the Prior of great *Malverne* in *Worceſterſhire* offered ſuch a Reſignation. He was recommended by Biſhop *Latimer* to *Cromwell*, with an earneſt deſire that his Houſe might ſtand, *not in Monkery, but ſo as to be converted to Preaching, Study, and Prayer.* And the good Prior was willing to compound for his Houſe by a Preſent of 500 Marks to the King, and of 200 to *Cromwell*. He is commended, for being an old worthy man, a good Houſe-keeper, and one that daily fed many poor

1538. people. To this *Latimer* adds; *Alas my good Lord! Shall we not see Two or Three in every Shire changed to such remedy.*

But the Resolution was taken once to extirpate all. And therefore though the Visitors interceeded earnestly for one Nunnery in *Oxfordshire*, *Godstow*, where there was great strictness of Life; and to which most of the young Gentlewomen of the County were sent to be bred; so that the Gentry of the Country desired the King would spare the House, yet all was uneffectual.

The form of most surrenders. Collect. *Numb.* 3. *Sect.* 1.

The General Form in which most of these Resignations begins, is "That the Abbot and Brethren, upon full deliberation, certain knowledge, of their own proper motion, for certain just and reasonable causes, specially moving them in their Souls and Consciences, did freely, and of their own accord, give and grant their Houses to the King, Others (it seems) did not so well like this preamble; and therefore did, without any reason or preamble, give away their Houses to the Visitors, as Feoffees in trust for the King's use. And thus they went on, procuring daily more surrenders. So that in the thirtieth year of the King's Reign there were 159 Resignations enrolled, of which the Originals of 155 do yet remain. And for the Readers Collect. *Numb.* 3. *Sect.* 3. further satisfaction, he shall find, in the Collection at the end of this Book, the names of all these Houses so surrendred, with other particulars relating to them, which would too much weary him, if inserted in the thread of this Work. But there was no Law to force any to make such Resignations. So that many of the great Abbots would not comply with the King in this matter, and stood it out till after the following Parliament that was in the 31th year of his Reign.

It was questioned by many whether these surrenders could be good in Law, since the Abbots were but Trustees and Tenants for Life. It was thought they could not absolutely alienate, and give away their House for ever. But the Parliament afterwards declared the Resignations were good in Law. For by their Foundations all was trusted to the Abbot and the Senior Brethren of the House; who putting the Covent-Seal to any Deed, it was of force in Law. It was also said, that they thus surrendring, had forfeited their Charters and Foundations; and so the King might seize and possess them with a good Title, if not upon the Resignation, yet upon Forfeiture. But others thought, that, whatsoever the Nicety of Law might give the King, yet there was no sort of equity in it, that a few Trustees, who were either bribed, or frighted, should pass away that which was none of theirs, but only given them in Trust and for Life. Other Abbots were more roughly handled. The Prior of *Wooburn* was suspected of favouring the Rebels, of being against the King's Supremacy, and for the Pope's, and of being for the General Council then summoned to *Mantua*. And he was dealt with to make a submission and acknowledgment. In an account of a long Conference which he had with a Privy Councellor under his own hand, I find that the great thing which he took offence at, was, That *Latimer* and some other Bishops Preached against the Veneration of the Blessed Virgin, and the other Saints: and that the *English* Bible then set out, differed in many things from the *Latin*; with several lesser matters. So that they looked on their Religion as changed,

Divers opinions about these.

Some Abbots attainted of Treason.

changed, and wondered that the Judgments of God upon Queen *Anne* had not terrified others from going on to ſubvert the Faith: yet he was prevailed with, and did again ſubmit to the King, and acknowledge his Supremacy; but he afterwards joyned himſelf to the Rebels and was taken with them, together with the Abbot of *Whaley*, and two Monks of his Houſe; and the Abbot of *Gervanx*, with a Monk of his Houſe; and the Abbot of *Sawley* in *Lancaſhire*, with the Prior of that Houſe; and the Prior of *Burlington*; who were all attainted of High Treaſon, and Executed. The Abbots of *Glaſtenbury* and *Reading*, were men of great Power and Wealth. The one Was rated at 3508. *lib.* and the other at 2116. *lib.* They ſeeing the ſtorm like to break out on themſelves, ſent a great deal of the Plate and Money that they had in their Houſe, to the Rebels in the North. Which being afterwards diſcovered, they were attainted of High Treaſon a year after this; but I mention it here of the affinity of the matter: Further particulars about the Abbot of *Reading* I have not yet diſcovered. But there is an account given to *Cromwell* of the proceedings againſt the Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* in two Letters which I have ſeen, the one was writ by the Sheriff of the County, the other by Sir *John Ruſſel*, who was preſent at his Tryal, and was reputed a man of as great Integrity and Vertue as any in that time; which he ſeems to have left as an Inheritance to that Noble Family that has deſcended from him. Theſe inform, that he was Indicted of Burglary, as well as Treaſon; for having broken the Houſe in his Monaſtery where the Plate was kept, and taken it out, which as Sir *William Thomas* ſays, was ſent to the Rebels. The evidence being brought to the Jury, who (as Sir *John Ruſſel* writes,) were as good and worthy men as had ever been on any Jury in that County; they found him guilty. He was carried to the place of Execution, near his own Monaſtery; where (as the Sheriff writes,) he acknowledged his guilt, and begged God and the King pardon for it. The Abbot of *Colcheſter* was alſo attainted of High Treaſon. What the particulars were I cannot tell. For the Record of their Attainders was loſt. But ſome of our own Writers deſerve a ſevere cenſure, who Write, It was for denying the King's Supremacy; whereas if they had not undertaken to Write the Hiſtory without any information at all, they muſt have ſeen that the whole Clergy, but moſt particularly the Abbots, had over and over again acknowledged the King's Supremacy. 1538.

For clearing which and diſcovering the Impudence of *Sander's* Relation of this matter, I ſhall lay before the Reader, the Evidences that I find of the Submiſſion of theſe and all the other Abbots to the King's Supremacy: Firſt, in the Convocation, in the 22d year of this Reign, they all acknowledged the King. *Supream Head of the Church of* England. They did all alſo ſwear to maintain the Act of the Succeſſion of the Crown, made in the 25th year of his Reign, in which the Pope's Power was plainly condemned. For in the proceedings againſt *More* and *Fiſher*, it was frequently repeated to them, that all the Clergy had ſworn it. It is alſo entred in the Journal of the Houſe of Lords, that all the Members of both Houſes ſwore it at their breaking up: And the ſame Journals inform us, that the Abbots of *Colcheſter* and *Reading* ſate in that Parliament, and as there

1537. there was no Protestation made against any of the Acts passed in that Session, so it is often entred, that the Acts were agreed to by the Unanimous consent of the Lords. It appears also by several Original Letters, that the Heads of all the Religious Houses in *England* had Signed that Position, *that the Pope had no more Jurisdiction in this Kingdom, than any foreign Bishop whatsoever.* And it was rejected by none but some *Carthusians*, and *Franciscans* of the *Observance*, who were proceeded against, for refusing to acknowledge it: When they were so pressed in it, none can imagine that a Parliamentary Abbot would have been dispenced with. And in the last Parliament, in which the second Oath about the Succession to the Crown was enacted, it was added, That they should also swear the King to be the Supream head of the Church. The Abbots of *Glassenbury* and *Reading* were then present, as appears by the Journals, and consented to it: So little reason there is for Imagining that they refused that, or any other Complyance that might secure them in their Abbeys.

In particular, the Abbot of *Reading* had so got into *Cromwell*'s good opinion, that in some differences between him and *Shaxton* Bishop of *Salisbury*, that was *Cromwell*'s creature, he had the better of the Bishop. Upon which, *Shaxton*, who was a proud ill-natured man, wrote a high expostulating Letter to *Cromwell*, Complaining of an Injunction he had granted against him at the Abbots desire. He also "shewed that in some contests between him and his Residentiaries, "and between him and the Major of *Salisbury*, *Cromwell* was always "against him: he likewise challenged him for not answering "his Letters. He tells him, God will judge him for abusing his "Power as he did; he prays God to have pity on him, and to turn "his heart, with a great deal more provoking Language. He also adds many insolent praises of himself; and his whole Letter is as extravagant a piece of vanity and insolence, as ever I saw. To this *Cromwell* wrote an answer, that shews him to have been indeed a great man. The Reader will find it in the Collection, and see from it how modestly and discreetly he carried his Greatness.

Collect. *Numb.* 8. But how justly soever these Abbots were attainted, the seizing on their Abbey-Lands, pursuant to those Attainders, was thought a great stretch of Law; since the Offence of an Ecclesiastical Incumbent is a Personal thing, and cannnot prejudice the Church; no more than a secular man, who is in an Office, does by being Attainted, bring any diminution of the Rights of his Office on his successors. It is true there were some words cast into the thirteenth Act of the Parliament, in the 26th year of this Reign, by which divers Offences were made Treason, that seemed to have been designed for such a purpose. The words are, that whatsoever Lands any Traytor had *of any Estate of Inheritance in use or possession, by any Right, Title or Means*, should be forfeited to the King. By which, as it is certain, Estates in Tayl were comprehended, so the Lands that any Traytor had in Possession or use, seem to be included; and that the rather, because by some following words their Heirs and Successors are for ever excluded. This either was not thought on when the Bishop of *Rochester* was attainted, or perhaps was not claimed, since the

the King intended not to leſſen the number of Biſhopricks, but rather to increaſe them. Beſides, the words of the Statute ſeem only to belong to an *Eſtate of Inheritance*: within which, Church-Benefices could not be included, without a great force put on them. 'Tis true the word *Succeſſor* favoured theſe ſeiſures, except that be thought an expletory word put in, out of form, but ſtill to be limited to an Eſtate of Inheritance. That word does alſo import, that ſuch Criminals might have Succeſſors. But if the whole Abbey was forfeited theſe Abbots could have no ſucceſſors: Yet it ſeems the ſeizures of theſe Abbeys were founded on that Statute, and this ſtretch of the Law occaſioned that Explanation, which was added of the words *Eſtate of Inheritance*, in the Statute made in *Edward* the Sixth's Reign about Treaſons: Where it is expreſſed that Traitors ſhould forfeit to the Crown, what Lands they had of any *Eſtate of Inheritance*, to which is added *in their own Right*, it ſeems on deſign to cut off all Pretence for ſuch Proceeding for the future, as had been in this Reign. But if there were any Illegality in theſe ſeiſures, the following Parliament did at leaſt tacitly juſtifie them. For they excepted out of the Proviſo's made concerning the Abbeys that were ſuppreſſed, ſuch as had been *forfeited and ſeized on by any Attainders of Treaſon.* 1538.

Another Surrender is not unlike theſe, but rather leſs Juſtifiable. Many of the *Carthuſian* Monks of *London* were executed for their open denying of the King's Supremacy, and for receiving Books from foreign parts againſt his Marriage and other proceedings; divers alſo of the ſame Houſe, that favoured them, but ſo ſecretly, that clear Proof could not be found to convict them, were kept Priſoners in their Cells, till they dyed. But the Prior was a worthy man, of whom *Thomas Bedyl*, one of the Viſitors, writes, *that he was a man of ſuch Charity that he had not ſeen the like, and that the eyes of the People were much on that Houſe, and therefore he adviſed that the Houſe might be converted to ſome good uſe.* But the Prior was made to reſign, with this Preamble, 'That many of that Houſe had offended the King, 'ſo that their goods might be juſtly confiſcated, and themſelves 'adjudged to a ſevere death: which they deſired to avoid, by an 'humble Submiſſion and Surrender of their Houſe to the King. But there were great Complaints made of the Viſitors, as if they had practiſed with the Abbots and Priors to make theſe Surrenders: and that they had conſpired with them to cheat the King, and had privately embezeled moſt of the Plate and Furniture. The Abbeſs of *Cheapſtow* complained in particular of Doctor *London*, one of the Viſitors, that he had been corrupting her Nuns: and generally it was cryed out on, that under-hand and ill practices were uſed. Therefore to quiet theſe reports, and to give ſome colour to juſtifie what they were about, all the foul Stories that could be found out, were publiſhed to defame theſe Houſes. *Battell*-Abbey was repreſented to be a little *Sodom*; ſo was Chriſt-Church in *Canterbury*, with ſeveral other Houſes. But for Whoredom and Adultery they found Inſtances without number; and of many other unnatural practices and ſecret Luſts, with arts to hinder Conceptions and make Abortions. But no ſtory became ſo publick, as a diſcovery made of the Prior of the *Croſſed Friars* in *London*; who on a Friday at eleven a Clock in the day was found in bed

1538. bed with a Whore. He fell down on his knees, and prayed those who surprized him, not to publish his shame: But they had a mind to make some advantage by it, and asked him Money. He gave them 30 *lib.* which he protested was all he had, but he promised them 30 *lib.* more: yet failing in the payment, a Sute followed on it: and in a Bill which I have seen given to *Cromwel*, then Master of the Rolls, the case is related.

The Superstition and cheats of these Houses discovered.

But all the stories of this kind served only to disgrace those Abbots or Monks that were so faulty. And the People generally said, there were personal crimes which ought to be punished: but they were no way satisfied with the Justice of the King's proceedings, against whole Houses for the faults of a few. Therefore another way was thought on, which indeed proved more effectual, both for recovering the People out of the Superstitious fondness they had for their Images and Relicks, and for discovering the secret Impostures that had been long practised in these Houses. And this was, to order the Visitors to examine well all the Relicks, and feigned Images, to which Pilgrimages were wont to be made. In this, Doctor *London* did great service. From *Reading* he writes, 'That the chief Relicks of 'Idolatry in the Nation were there: an Angel with one wing, that 'brought over the Spears head that pierced our Saviours side. To 'which he adds a long Inventory of their other Relicks, and says 'there were as many more as would fill Four Sheets of Paper. He 'also writes from other places that he had every-where taken down 'their Images and Trinkets. At St. *Edmundsbury*, as *John ap Rice* informed they found some of the Coals that roasted St. *Laurence*, the Parings of St. *Edmunds* Toes, St. *Thomas Becket's* Penknife, and Boxes with as many pieces of the Cross of our Saviour, as would make a large whole Cross. They had also Relicks against Rain, and for hindring weeds to spring. But to pursue this further were endless, the Relicks were so innumerable. And the value which the People had of them may be gathered from this; that a piece of St. *Andrews* finger set in an ounce of Silver, was laid to pledge by the House of *Westm.* for 40. *lib.* but the Visitors, when they suppressed that House, did not think fit to redeem it at so high a rate.

Images publickly broken.

For their Images, some of them were brought to *London*, and were there at St. *Paul's* Cross in the sight of all the People, broken; that they might be fully convinced of the jugling Impostures of the Monks. And in particular, the Crucifix of *Boxley* in *Kent*, commonly called *the Rood of Grace*; to which many Pilgrimages had been made, because it was observed sometimes to bow, and to lift it self up, to shake, and to stir head, hands, and feet, to roul the eyes, move the lips, and bend the brows: All which were looked on by the abused multitude, as the effects of a Divine Power. These were now publickly discovered to have been cheats. For the Springs were shewed, by which all these motions were made. Upon which *John Hilsey* then Bishop of *Rochester*, made a Sermon, and broke the Rood in pieces. There was also another famous Imposture discovered at *Hales* in *Glocestershire*; where the blood of Christ was shewed in a viol of Crystal, which the People sometimes saw, but sometimes they could not see it: So they were made believe, that they were not

not capable of ſo ſignal a favour, as long as they were in mortal ſin; and ſo they continued to make Preſents, till they bribed Heaven to give them the ſight of ſo bleſſed a Relick. This was now diſcovered to have been the Blood of a Duck, which they renewed every week: and the one ſide of the Vial was ſo thick, that there was no ſeeing through it, but the other was clear and tranſparent: And it was ſo placed near the Altar, that one in a ſecret place behind, could turn either ſide of it outward. So when they had drained the Pilgrims that came thither, of all they had brought with them, then they afforded them the favour of turning the clear ſide outward; who upon that went home very well-ſatisfied with their Journey, and the expence they had been at. There was brought out of *Wales* a huge Image of Wood, called *Darvel Gatheren*, of which one *Ellis Price*, Viſitor of the Dioceſs of St. *Aſaph*, gave this account, On the 6th of *April*, 1537; 'That the people of the Country had 'a great Superſtition for it, and many Pilgrimages were made to it; 'ſo that the day before he wrote, there were reckoned to be above 'five or ſix hundred Pilgrims there: Some brought Oxen and Cattel, 'and ſome brought Mony; and it was generally believed, that if 'any offered to that Image, he had power to deliver his Soul from 'Hell. So it was ordered to be brought to *London*, where it ſerved for fewel to burn Fryar *Forreſt*. There was an huge Image of our Lady at *Worceſter*, that was had in great reverence; which when it was ſtript of ſome veils that covered it, was found to be the Statue of a Biſhop. 1538. *Pilgrim. Inglish.*

Barlow Biſhop of St. *Davids* did alſo give many advertiſements of the Superſtition of his Country, and of the Clergy and Monks of that Dioceſs, who were guilty of heatheniſh Idolatry, groſs Impiety, and Ignorance, and of abuſing the people with many evident forgeries: about which he ſaid, he had good evidence when it ſhould be called for. But that which drew moſt Pilgrims and preſents in thoſe parts, was an Image of our Lady, with a Taper in her hand; which was believed to have burnt nine Years, till one forſwearing himſelf upon it, it went out; and was then much reverenced and worſhipped. He found all about the Cathedral ſo full of ſuperſtitious Conceits, that there was no hope of working on them; therefore he propoſed the tranſlating the Epiſcopal Seat from St. *Davids* to *Caermaerden*; which he preſſed by many Arguments, and in ſeveral Letters, but with no ſucceſs. Then many rich Shrines of our Lady of *Walſingham*, of *Ipſwich*, and *Iſlington*, with a great many more, were brought up to *London*, and burnt by *Cromwel's* Orders.

But the richeſt Shrine in *England*, was that of *Thomas Becket*, called *St. Thomas of Canterbury the Martyr*: who being raiſed up by King *Henry* the 2d, to the Arch-biſhoprick of *Canterbury*, did afterwards give that King much trouble, by oppoſing his Authority, and exalting the Pope's. And though he once conſented to the Articles agreed on at *Clarendon*, for bearing down the Papal, and ſecuring the Regal Power; yet he ſoon after repented of that only piece of Loyalty, of which he was guilty all the while he was Arch-biſhop. He fled to the *Pope*, who received him as a Confeſſor for the deareſt Article of the *Roman* Belief: The King and Kingdom were Excommuni- *Thomas Becket's Shrine broken.*

1538. cated, and put under an Interdict upon his Account. But afterwards upon the Interceſſion of the *French* King, King *Henry* and he were reconciled, and the Interdict was taken off. Yet his unquiet Spirit could take no reſt, for he was no ſooner at *Canterbury*, than he began to embroyl the Kingdom again: and was proceeding by Cenſures againſt the Arch-biſhop of *York*, and ſome other Biſhops, for crowning the King's Son in his abſence. Upon the news of that, the King being then in *Normandy*, ſaid, *If he had faithful Servants, he would not be ſo troubled with ſuch a Prieſt*; whereupon ſome zealous or officious Courtiers, came over and killed him: For which, as the King was made to undergo a ſervere Penance, ſo the Monks were not wanting in their ordinary Arts to give out many miraculous ſtories concerning his Blood. This ſoon drew a Canonization from *Rome*, and he being a Martyr for the Papacy, was more extolled than all the Apoſtles or Primitive Saints had ever been. So that for 300 Years, he was accounted one of the greateſt Saints in Heaven, as may appear from the accounts in the Leger-Books, of the Offerings made to the three greateſt Altars in Chriſt's Church in *Canterbury*. The one was to Chriſt, the other to the Virgin, and the third to St. *Thomas*. In one Year there was offered at Chriſt's Altar, 3 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* To the Virgins Altar, 63 *l.* 5 *s.* 6 *d.* But to St. *Thomas*'s Altars 832 *l.* 12 *s.* 3 *d.* But the next Year the Odds grew greater; for there was not a penny offered at Chriſts Altar, and at the Virgins, only 4 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.* But at St. *Thomas*'s 954 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* By ſuch Offerings it came, that his Shrine was of ineſtimable value. There was one Stone offered there by *Lewis* the 7th of *France*, who came over to viſit it, in a Pilgrimage, that was believed the Richeſt in *Europe*. Nor did they think it enough to give him one day in the Kalendar the 29th of *December*; but unuſual honours were deviſed, for this Martyr of the Liberties of the Church, greater than any that had been given to the Martyrs for Chriſtianity. The day of raiſing his Body, or, as they called it, of his Tranſlation, being the 7th of *July*, was not only a holy-day, but every 50th Year, there was a Jubilee for 15 days together, and Indulgence was granted, to all that came to viſit his Shrine: as appears from the Record of the ſixth Jubilee after his Tranſlation, *Anno* 1420; which bears, that there were then about an hundred thouſand ſtrangers come to viſit his Tomb. The Jubilee began at twelve a clock on the Virgil of the Feaſt, and laſted fifteen days. By ſuch Arts they drew an incredible deal of Wealth to his Shrine. The Riches of that, together with his diſloyal practices, made the King reſolve both to un-ſhrine and un-Saint him at once. And then his Skull, which had been much worſhipped, was found an Impoſture. For the true Skull, was lying with the reſt of his bones in his Grave. The Shrine was broken down, and carryed away; the Gold that was about it, filling two Cheſts, which were ſo heavy, that they were a load to eight ſtrong Men to carry them out of the Church. And his Bones were, as ſome ſay, burnt, ſo it was underſtood at *Rome*; but others ſay, they were ſo mixed with other dead Bones, that it would have been a Miracle indeed to have diſtinguiſhed them afterwards. The King alſo ordered his Name to be ſtruck out of the Kalender, and the Office for his Feſtivity to be daſht out of all Breviaries.

Sonner's Antiquities of *Canterbury*.

And

And thus was the Superſtition of *England* to Images and Relicks extirpated. 1538.

Yet the King took care to qualifie the diſtaſte which the Articles publiſhed the former Year had given. And though there was no Parliament in the Year 1537, yet there was a Convocation; upon the concluſion of which, there was printed an Explanation of the chief Points of Religion, ſigned by nineteen Biſhops, eight Arch-Deacons, and ſeventeen Doctors of Divinity and Law. In which there was an Expoſition of the Creed, the ſeven Sacraments, the ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the ſalutation of the Virgin, with an Account of Juſtification and Purgatory. But this Work was put in a better Form afterwards, where the Reader will find a more particular account of it. When all theſe Proceedings of the King's were known at *Rome*, all the Satyrical Pens there were employed to paint him out, as the moſt Infamous Sacrilegious Tyrant that ever was. They repreſented him as one that made War with Heaven, and the Saints that were there: That committed outrages on the Bodies of the Saints, which the Heatheniſh Romans would have puniſhed ſeverely for any that commited the like on thoſe that were dead, how mean or bad ſoever they had been. All his proceedings againſt the Prieſts or Monks that were attained and executed for high-Treaſon, were repreſented as the effects of ſavage and barbarous Cruelty. His ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries, and devouring what the Devotion of former Ages had conſecrated to God, and his Saints, was called Revanous and Impious Sacrilege; nor was there any thing omitted that could make him appear to poſterity, the blackeſt Tyrant that ever wore a Crown. They compared him to *Pharaoh*, *Nabuchadonoſor*, *Belſhazzar*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Diocletian*; but chiefly to *Julian* the Apoſtate. This laſt Parallel liked them beſt, and his Learning, his Apoſtacy, and pretence of Reforming, were all thought copied from *Julian*; only they ſaid his Manners were worſe. Theſe things were every day printed at *Rome*, and the Informations that were brought out of *England* were generally addreſſed to Cardinal *Pool*, whoſe ſtyle was alſo known in ſome of them. All which poſſeſt the King with the deepeſt and moſt implacable hatred to him that ever he bore to any perſon; and did provoke him to all theſe Severities that followed on his Kindred and Family.

New Articles about Religion publiſhed.

Invectives againſt the King printed at *Rome*.

But the malice of the Court of *Rome* did not ſtop there. For now the Pope publiſhed all theſe Thunders which he had threatned three Years before. The Bull of Depoſition is printed in *Cherubins Bullarium Romanum*, which ſince many have the confidence to deny matters of Fact, though moſt publickly acted, ſhould be found in the Collection Papers, the ſubſtance of it is as follows. 'The Pope being God's 'Vicar on Earth; and according to *Jeremy*'s Prophecy, ſet over Na- 'tions and Kingdoms, *to root out and deſtroy*; and having *the Supream* '*Power over all the Kings in the whole World*; was bound to proceed 'to due correction, when milder courſes were ineffectual: therefore 'ſince King *Henry*, who had been formerly a *Defender of the Faith*, 'had fallen from it; had contrary to an Inhibition made, put away 'his Queen, and marryed one *Anne Bolein*, and had made impious 'and hurtful Laws; denying the Pope to be the Supream Head of

Collect. Num. 9.

The Pope's Bulls againſt the King.

1538. 'the Church, but assuming that Title to himself; and had required 'all his subjects under pain of death to swear it; and had put the 'Cardinal of *Rochester* to death, because he would not consent to 'these Heresies; and by all these things had rendred himself unwor- 'thy of his Regal Dignity; and had hardened his heart (as *Pharaoh* 'did) against all the Admonitions of Pope *Clement* the 7th: there- 'fore since these his crimes were so notorious, He, in imitation of what 'the Apostle did to *Elimas* the Magician, proceeds to such Censures 'as he had deserved; and with the advice of his Cardinals, does 'first exhort him and all his Complices, to return from their errours, 'to annull the Acts lately made, and to proceed no farther upon 'them: which he requires him and them to do, under the pains of 'Excommunication and Rebellion, and of the King's losing his King- 'dom, whom he required within 90 days, to appear at *Rome*, by 'himself or Proxy, and his Complices within 60 days, to give an 'account of their Actions; otherwise he would then proceed to a fur- 'ther sentence against them. And Declares, that if the King and his 'Complices do not appear, he has fallen from the right to his Crown, 'and they from the right to their Estates; and when they die, they 'were to be denied Christian Burial. He puts the whole Kingdom 'under an Interdict; and declares all the King's Children by the said '*Anne*, and the Children of all his Complices, to be under the 'same pains, though they be now under age; and incapacitates them 'for all honours or employments; and declares all the Subjects or 'Vassals of the King's or his Complices, absolved from all Oaths or 'Obligations to them, and requires them to acknowledg them no 'more. And declares him and them Infamous, so that they might nei- 'ther be Witnesses nor make Wills. He requires all other persons 'to have no dealings with him or them, neither by Trading, nor any 'other way, under the pain of Excommunication; the annulling their 'Contracts, and the exposing goods so traded in, to all that should 'catch them. And that all Clergy-men should within five days after 'the expiration of the time prefixed, go out of the Kingdom; (leav- 'ing only so many Priests as would be necessary for Baptizing In- 'faints, and giving the Sacrament to such as died in Penitence) un- 'der the pains of Excommunication and Deprivation. And Charges 'all Noble-men and others in his Dominions, under the same pains, 'to rise up in Arms against him, and to drive him out of his King- 'dom; and that none should take Arms for him, or any way assist 'him: and Declares all other Princes absolved from any Confede- 'racies made, or to be made, with him; and earnestly obtests the Em- 'perour and all Kings, and requires other Princes under the former 'pains, to trade no more with him; and in case of their disobedience 'he puts their Kingdoms under an Interdict. And requires all 'Princes and Military persons, in the virtue of Holy Obedience, to 'make War upon him, and to force him to return to the Obedience 'of the Apostolick See; and to seize on all Goods, or Merchandizes 'belonging to the King or his Complices, where-ever they could find 'them; and that such of his Subjects that were seized on, should 'be made Slaves. And requires all Bishops, three days after the 'time that was set down was elapsed, to intimate this Sentence in all

'their

'their Churches, with putting out of Candles, and other Ceremonies 1538.
'that ought to be uſed, in the moſt ſolemn and publick manner that
'might be. And all who hindred the Publication of this Sentence, are
'put under the ſame Pains. He ordained this Sentence to be affixed at
'*Rome*, *Tournay*, and *Dunkirk*; which ſhould ſtand for a ſufficient
'publication; and concludes, that if any ſhould endeavour to oppoſe,
'or enervate any of the premiſes, he ſhould incur the indignati-
'on of Almighty God, and the Holy Apoſtles, St. *Peter* and *Paul*.
'Dated at *Rome* the 30th of *Auguſt*, 1535. But the Pope found the Princes of Chriſtendom liked the precedent, of uſing a King in that manner ſo ill, that he ſuſpended the Execution of this Bull till this time, that the ſuppreſſion of Abbies, and the burning of *Thomas Beckets* Bones (for it was ſo repreſented at *Rome*, though our Writers ſay they were buried;) did ſo inflame the Pope, that he could forbear no longer; and therefore by a new ſentence he did all he could to ſhake him in his Throne.

'The Preamble of it was, That as our Saviour had pity on St. *Peter*
'after his fall, ſo it became St. *Peter*'s Succeſſors to imitate our Saviour
'in his Clemency; and that therefore though he having heard of King
'*Henry*'s Crimes, had proceeded to a ſentence againſt him; (Here the
'former Bull was recited.) Yet ſome other Princes who hoped he
'might be reclaimed by gentler methods, had interpoſed for a ſuſpen-
'ſion of the Sentence: and he being eaſie to believe, what he ſo ear-
'neſtly deſired, had upon their Interceſſion ſuſpended it. But now he
'found they had been deceived in their hopes, and that he grew
'worſe and worſe; and had done ſuch diſhonour to the Saints, as to
'raiſe St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*'s Body, to arraign him of High Trea-
'ſon, and to burn his Body, and Sacrilegiouſly to rob the Riches that
'had been offered to his Shrine, as alſo to ſuppreſs St. *Auſtin*'s Abbey
'in *Canterbury*; and that having thruſt out the Monks, he had put
'in wild Beaſts into their grounds, having transformed himſelf into a
'Beaſt. Therefore he takes off the Suſpenſion, and publiſhes the
'Bull, commanding it to be executed: Declaring that the affix-
'ing it at *Diepe* or *Bulloign* in *France*, at St. *Andrews* or *Calliſtren*,
'(that is *Callſtream*, a Town near the border of *England*,) in *Scotland*
'or *Tuam*, or *Artifert* in *Ireland*, or any two of theſe, ſhould be
'a ſufficient publication. Dated the 17th of *December*, *Anno Dom*
'1538.

No Man can read theſe Bulls, but he muſt conclude that if the Pope be the Infallible and Univerſal Paſtor of the Church, whom all are bound to obey, he has a full authority over all Kings, to proceed to the higheſt Cenſures poſſible: and ſince the matters of fact, enumerated in the Sentence as the grounds of it, were certainly true; then the Pope is either cloathed with the powers of Depoſing Princes; or if otherwiſe, he lied to the world when he pretended to it thus, and taught falſe Doctrine, which cannot ſtand with Infallibility: And the pretended grounds of the Sentence as to matter of fact, being evidently true, this muſt be a juſt Sentence; and therefore all that acknowledged the Infallibility of that See, were bound to obey it, and all the Rebellions that followed, during the reign of the King or his Children, were founded on this Sentence, and muſt be juſtified by it; otherwiſe the

Popes

1538. Pope's Infallibility must fall to the ground. But this was to be said for the Pope, that though he had raised the several branches of this Sentence, higher than any of his Predecessors had ever done; yet as to the main he had very good and authentick Precedents for what he did, from the Depositions of Emperours or Kings, that were made by former Popes for about 500 Years together. This I thought needful to be more fully opened, because of the present Circumstances we are now in; since hereby every one that will consider things, must needs see that the belief of the Pope's Infallibility does necessarily infer the acknowledgment of their power of deposing Heretical Kings. For it is plain, the Pope did this *ex Cathedra*, and as a Pastor feeding and correcting his Flock.

But not content with this, he also wrote to other Princes, inflaming them against the King; particularly to the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*. To the last of these he sent a *Breve*; declaring King *Henry* an Heretick, a Schismatick, a manifest Adulterer, a publick Murtherer, a Rebel, and convict of High Treason against him, the Pope his Lord; for which Crimes he had deposed him, and offered his Dominions to him, if he would go and invade them. And thus the breach between him and the Pope was past reconciling: and at *Rome* it was declared equally meritorious to fight against him, as against the *Turk*. But *Card. Pool* made it more meritorious in his Book. Yet the thunders of the *Vatican* had now lost their force; so that these had no other effect but to enrage the King more against all such as were suspected to favour their Interests, or to hold any correspondence with Cardinal *Pool*. Therefore he first procured a Declaration against the Pope's pretentions, to be signed by all the Bishops of *England*: in which, after they declared against the Pope's Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, upon the grounds formerly touched, they concluded, 'That 'the People ought to be instructed, that Christ did expressly forbid his 'Apostles or their Successors to take to themselves the Power of 'the Sword, or the Authority of Kings. And that, if the Bishop of 'Rome, or any other Bishop assumed any such Power, he was a Ty- 'rant and Usurper of other Mens Rights, and a Subverter of the 'Kingdom of Christ. This was subscribed by 19 Bishops, (all that were then in *England*) and 25 Doctors of Divinity and Law. It was some time before *May* 1538. For *Edward Fox* Bishop of *Hereford*, who was one that signed it, died the 8th of *May* that Year. There was no Convocation called by Writ for doing this. For as there is no mention of any such Writ in the Registers, so if it had been done by Convocation, *Cromwell* had signed it first; but his hand not being at it, it is more probable that a meeting of the Clergy was called by the King's Missive Letters; or that, as was once done before, the Paper was drawn at *London*, and sent over the Kingdom to the Episcopal Sees, for the Bishops Hands to it.

Lesley, Hist. Scot.

The Clergy in *England* declared against these.

There is another Original Paper extant, signed at this time by eight Bishops: from which I conjecture those were all that where then about *London*. It was to shew, 'That by the Commission which 'Christ gave to Church-men, they were only Ministers of his Gos- 'pel to instruct the People in the Purity of the Faith: But that by 'other places of Scripture, the Authority of Christian Princes over 'all

Collect. Num. 10

'all their Subjects, as well Biſhops and Prieſts, as others, was alſo 1538.
'clear. And that the Biſhops and Prieſts have charge of Souls with-
'in their Cures; Power to adminiſter Sacraments, and to teach the
'Word of God: To the which Word of God, Chriſtian Princes ac-
'knowledg themſelves ſubject; and that in caſe the Biſhops be neg-
'ligent, it is the Chriſtian Prince's Office to ſee them do their du-
'ty. This being ſigned by *John Hilſey* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, muſt be after the Year 1537, in which he was Conſecrated; and *Latimer* and *Shaxton* alſo ſigning, it muſt be before the Year 1539, in which they reſigned. But I believe it was ſigned at the ſame time that the other was: And the deſign of it was, to refute thoſe Calumnies ſpread at *Rome*, as if the King had wholly ſuppreſſed all Eccleſiaſtical Officers, and denyed them any Divine Authority, making them wholly dependent on the Civil Power, and acting by Commiſſion only from him. And therefore they explained the Limits of both theſe Powers, in ſo clear and moderate a way, that it muſt have ſtopt the Mouths of all Oppoſers. But whether there was any publick uſe made of this Paper, I can by no means diſcover.

The King did alſo ſet forward the Printing of the *Engliſh* Bible, which was finiſhed this Year, at *London*, by *Graſton* the Printer, who printed 1500 of them at his own Charge. This Bible *Cromwel* preſented to the King, and procured his Warrant, allowing all his Subjects, in all his Dominions, to read it, without controul or hazard. For which, the Arch-biſhop wrote *Cromwel* a Letter of moſt hearty thanks, 'dated the 13th of *Auguſt*. Who did now rejoyce that he 'ſaw this day of Reformation, which he concluded was now riſen in '*England* ſince the Light of God's Word did ſhine over it with-'out any Cloud. The Tranſlation had been ſent over to *France* to be Printed at *Paris*: the workmen in *England* not being judged able to do it, as it ought to be. Therefore in the Year 1537, it was recommended to *Bonner*'s Care, who was then Ambaſſador at *Paris*, and was much in *Cromwel*'s favour, who was ſetting him up againſt *Gardiner*. He procured the King of *France*'s leave to print it at *Paris*, in a large Volume: but upon a complaint made by the *French* Clergy, the Preſs was ſtopt, and moſt of the Copies were ſeized on, and publickly burnt: but ſome Copies were conveyed out of the way, and the Work-men and Forms were brought over to *England*: where it was now finiſhed and publiſhed. And Injunctions were given out in the King's name, by *Cromwel*, to all Incumbents, 'to pro-'vide one of theſe Bibles, and ſet it up publickly in the Church, *Collect. Num.* 11. 'and not to hinder or diſcourage the reading of it, but to encourage 'all perſons to peruſe it, as being the true lively Word of God, which 'every Chriſtian ought to believe, embrace, and follow, if he expected 'to be ſaved. And all were exhorted, not to make conteſts about 'the Expoſition or ſence of any difficult place, but to refer that to 'Men of higher judgment in the Scriptures. Then ſome other Rules 'were added, about inſtructing the people in the Principles of 'Religion, by teaching the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and ten Com-'mandments in *Engliſh*: And that in every Church there ſhould be 'a Sermon made every quarter of a Year at leaſt, to declare to 'the people the true Goſpel of Chriſt, and to exhort them to the 'works

The Bible printed in *Engliſh*.

New Injunctions ſet out by the King.

1538. 'works of Charity, Mercy, and Faith: and not to truſt in other 'Mens works, or Pilgrimages to Images, or Relicks, or ſaying o- 'ver Beads, which they did not underſtand; ſince theſe things tend- 'ed to Idolatry and Superſtition, which of all offences did moſt pro- 'voke God's Indignation. They were to take down all Images, which 'were abuſed by Pilgrimages, or Offerings made to them; and to 'ſuffer no Candles to be ſet before any Image; only there might be 'Candles before the Croſs, and before the Sacrament, and about the Se- 'pulchre: And they were to inſtruct the people, that Images ſer- 'ved only as the Books of the unlearned, to be rememberances of the 'Converſations of them whom they repreſented: but if they made 'any other uſe of Images, it was Idolatry: for remedying whereof, 'as the King had already done in part, ſo he intended to do more 'for the aboliſhing ſuch Images, which might be a great offence to 'God, and a danger to the Souls of his Subjects. And if any of 'them had formerly magnified ſuch Images, or Pilgrimages, to ſuch 'purpoſes, they were ordered openly to recant, and acknowledg 'that in ſaying ſuch things they had been led by no ground in Scrip- 'ture; but were deceived by a vulgar error, which had crept in- 'to the Church, through the avarice of thoſe who had profit by 'it. They were alſo to diſcover all ſuch as were Letters of the read- 'ing of God's Word in *Engliſh*, or hindred the Execution of theſe 'Injunctions. Then followed Orders for keeping of Regiſters in their 'Pariſhes; for Reading all the King's Injunctions once every quarter 'at leaſt: That none were to alter any of the Holy-days without di- 'rections from the King: And all the Eves of the Holy-days for- 'merly abrogated, were declared to be no faſting-days: The 'Commemoration of *Thomas Becket* was to be clean omitted: The 'kneeling for the Avies after Sermon were alſo forbidden; which 'were ſaid in hope to obtain the Pope's Pardon. And whereas in their 'Proceſſions they uſed to ſay ſo many Suffrages with an *Ora pro nobis* 'to the Saints, by which they had not time to ſay the Suffrages to God 'himſelf, they were to teach the pople, that it were better to omit 'the *Ora pro nobis*, and to ſing the other Suffrages which were moſt 'neceſſary and moſt effectual.

Theſe Injunctions ſtruck at three main Points of Popery: containing encouragments to the vulgar, to read the Scriptures in a known Tongue, and putting down all worſhip of Images, and leaving it free for any Curate to leave out the Suffrages to the Saints. So that they were looked on as a deadly blow to that Religion. But now thoſe of that party did ſo artificially comply with the King, that no advantages could be found againſt any of them for their diſobedience. The King was Maſter at Home, and no more to be diſobeyed. He had not only broken the Rebellion of his own Subjects, and ſecured himſelf by Alliance from the dangers threatned him by the Pope; but all their expectations from the Lady *Mary* were now clouded: For on the 12th of *October* 1537, Queen *Jane* had born him a Son; who was Chriſtned *Edward*: the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* being one of his God-Fathers. This very much encouraged all that were for Reformation, and diſheartned thoſe who were againſt it. But the joy for this young Prince was qualified by the Queen's death,

Prince *Edward* born.

two

two days after; which afflicted the King very much: for of all his Wives, ſhe was the deareſt to him. And his grief for that loſs is given as the reaſon, why he continued two Years a Widower. But others thought he had not ſo much tenderneſs in his Nature, as to be much or long troubled for any thing. Therefore the ſlowneſs of his marrying was aſcribed to ſome Reaſons of State. But the Birth of the Prince was a great diſappointment to all thoſe whoſe hopes reſted on the Lady *Mary*'s ſucceeding her Father: Therefore they ſubmitted themſelves with more than ordinary Compliance to the King. 1538.

Great Compliances by the Popiſh Party.

Gardiner was as buſie as any in declaiming againſt the Religious Houſes, and took occaſion in many of his Sermons to commend the King for ſuppreſſing them: The *Arch-biſhop* of *York* had recovered himſelf at Court: and I do not find that he interpoſed in the Suppreſſion of any of the Religious Houſes, except *Hexham*, about which he wrote to *Cromwel*, that it was a great Sanctuary when the *Scots* made Inroads: And ſo he thought that the continuing of it might be of great uſe to the King. He added, in that Letter, 'That he did 'carefully ſilence all the Preachers of Novelties. But ſome of theſe 'boaſted, that they would ſhortly have Licences from the King, as 'he heard they had already from the *Arch biſhop* of *Canterbury*; but 'he deſired *Cromwel* to prevent that miſchief. This is all that I find of him.

There is a Pardon granted to *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, on the 3d of *July*, in the 30th Year of his Reign, being this Year, for having acted by Commiſſion from *Rome*, and ſued out Bulls from thence. If theſe Crimes were done before the Separation from *Rome*, they were remitted by the General Pardon. If he took a particular Pardon, it ſeems ſtrange that it was not enrolled till now. But I am apt to believe it was rather the Omiſſion of a Clerk, than his being guilty of ſuch a Tranſgreſſion about this time; for I ſee no cauſe to think the King would have pardoned ſuch a Crime in a Biſhop, in thoſe days. All that Party had now, by their compliance and ſubmiſſion, gained ſo much on the King, that he began to turn more to their Counſels, than he had done of late Years. *Gardiner* was returned from *France*, where he had been Ambaſſador for ſome Years: He had been alſo in the Emperor's Court, and there were violent preſumptions, that he had ſecretly reconciled himſelf to the Pope, and entered into a Correſpondence with him. For one of the Legates Servants diſcourſed of it at *Ratisbone*, to one of Sir *Henry Knevet*'s Retinue (who was joyned in the Embaſſy with *Gardiner*,) whom he took to be *Gardiner*'s Servant, and with whom he had an old acquaintance. The Matter was traced, and *Knevet* ſpoke with the *Italian* that had firſt let it fall, and was perſwaded of the truth of the thing: But *Gardiner* ſmelling it out, ſaid, That *Italian*, upon whoſe Teſtimony the whole Matter depended, was corrupted to ruin him; and complained of it to the Emperor's Chancellor *Granvel*: Upon which *Ludovico* (that was the *Italian* Name) was put in Priſon. And it ſeems the King either looked on it as a Contrivance of *Gardiner*'s Enemies, or at leaſt ſeemed to do ſo, for he continued ſtill to employ him. Yet on many occaſions he expreſſed great contempt of him, and uſed him not

1538. not as a Councellor, but as a Slave. But he was a Man of great cunning, and had obſerved the King's Temper exactly, and knew well to take a fit occaſion for moving the King in any thing, and could improve it dextrouſly. He therefore repreſented to the King, that nothing would ſo ſecure him both at home, and abroad, againſt all the miſchief the Pope was contriving, as to ſhew great zeal againſt Hereticks, chiefly the *Sacramentaries*, (by that name they branded all that denied the Corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Euchariſt.) And the King being, all his life, zealous for the belief of the Corporal Preſence, was the more eaſily perſwaded to be ſevere on that Head: And the rather, becauſe the Princes of *Germany*, whoſe friendſhip was neceſſary to him, being all *Lutherans*, his proceedings againſt the *Sacramentaries* would give them no offence.

Gardiner ſtirs up the King againſt thoſe called *Sacramentaries.*

An occaſion at that time preſented it ſelf as opportunely as they could have wiſhed, one *John Nicolſon*, alias *Lambert*, was then queſtioned by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* for that opinon. He had been Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Company at *Antwerp*; where being acquainted with *Tindall* and *Frith*, he improved that knowledg of Religion, which was firſt infuſed in him by *Bilney*: But Chancellor *More* ordered the Merchants to diſmiſs him; ſo he came over to *England*, and was taken by ſome of Arch-biſhop *Warham*'s Officers, and many Articles were objected to him. But *Warham* died ſoon after, and the change of Counſels that followed occaſioned his Liberty. So he kept a School at *London*, and hearing Doctor *Taylor*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, preach of the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, he came to him upon it, and offered his Reaſons why he could not believe the Doctrine he had preached: Which he put in Writing, digeſting them into ten Arguments. *Taylor* ſhewed this to Doctor *Barns*, who as he was bred among the *Lutherans*, ſo had not only brought over their Opinions, but their Temper with him: He thought that nothing would more obſtruct the progreſs of the Reformation than the venting that Doctrine in *England*. Therefore *Taylor* and he carryed the Paper to *Cranmer*, who was at that time alſo of *Luther*'s Opinon, which he had drunk in from his Friend *Oſiander*. *Latimer* was of the ſame belief. So *Lambert* was brought before them, and they ſtudied to make him retract his Paper: But all was in vain, for *Lambert*, by a fatal reſolution appealed to the King.

And *Lambert* in particular.

Who had appealed to the King.

This *Gardiner* laid hold on, and perſuaded the King to proceed ſolemnly and ſeverely in it. The King was ſoon prevailed with, and both Intereſt and Vanity concurred to make him improve this opportunity, for ſhewing his Zeal and Learning. So Letters were written to many of the Nobility and Biſhops, to come and ſee this Tryal; in which the King intended to ſit in Perſon, and to manage ſome part of the Argument. In *November*, on the day that was prefixed, there was a great appearance in *Weſtminer-Hall*, of the Biſhops, and Clergy, the Noblity, Judges, and the King's Council; with an incredible number of Spectators. The King's Guards were all in White, and ſo was the Cloth of State.

When the Priſoner was brought to the Bar, The Tryal was opened by a Speech of Doctor *Dayes*, which was to this effect: 'That this Aſſembly was not at all convened to diſ-

And was publickly tried at *Weſtminſter.*

'pute

'pute about any Point of Faith; but that the King being Supream 1538.
'Head, intended openly to condemn and confute that Man's Hereſy
'in all their preſence. Then the King commanded him to declare his Opinion about the Sacrament. To which *Lambert* began his anſwer with a Preface, acknowledging the King's great Goodneſs, that he would thus hear the Cauſes of his Subjects, and commending his great Judgment and Learning. In this the King interrupted him, telling him in Latin, That he came not there to hear his own Praiſes ſet forth, and therefore commanded him to ſpeak to the Matter. This he uttered with a ſtern Countenance; at which *Lambert* being a little diſordered, the King asked him again, Whether was Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament, or not? He anſwered in the words of St. *Auſtine*, *It was his Body in a certain manner.* But the King bad him anſwer plainly, Whether it was Chriſt's Body, or not? So he anſwered, *That it was not his Body.* Upon which the King urged him with the words of Scripture, *This is my Body*; and then he commanded the Arch-biſhop to confute his Opinion, who ſpoke only to that part of it, which was grounded on the Impoſſibility of a Bodies being in two places at once. And that he confuted from Chriſt's appearing to St. *Paul*; ſhewing that though he is always in Heaven, yet he was ſeen by St. *Paul* in the Air. But *Lambert* affirmed, that he was then only in Heaven; and that St. *Paul* heard a Voice, and ſaw a Viſion, but not the very Body of Chriſt. Upon this they diſputed for ſome time: in which it ſeems the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* thought *Cranmer* argued but faintly, for he interpoſed in the Argument.

Arguments brought againſt him.

Tonſtal's Arguments run all upon God's Omnipotency, that it was not to be limited by any appearances of Difficulties, which flowed from our want of a right underſtanding of things; and our Faculties being weak, our Notions of Impoſſibilities were proportioned to theſe. But *Stokesly* thought he had found out a Demonſtration that might put an end to the whole Controverſy; for he ſhewed, that in Nature we ſee one Subſtance changed into another, and yet the Accidents remain. So when Water is boiled, till it evaporates into Air, one Subſtance is changed into another, and moiſture that was the Accident remains, it being ſtill moiſt. This (as one of the Eye-witneſſes relates) was received with great applauſe, and much joy appeared in the Biſhops looks upon it. But whether the Spectators could diſtinguiſh well between Laughter for Joy, and a ſcornful ſmile, I cannot tell: For certainly this Crotchet muſt have provoked the latter rather; ſince it was a Sophiſm, not to be forgiven any above a junior Sophiſter; thus from an accidental converſion, where the Subſtance was ſtill the ſame, only altered in its Form and Qualities, (according to the Language of that Philoſophy, which was then moſt in vogue,) to infer a ſubſtantial mutation, where one Subſtance was annihilated, and a new one produced in its place. But theſe Arguments it ſeems diſorder'd *Lambert* ſomewhat; and either the King's ſtern looks, the variety of the Diſputants, ten, one after another, engaging with him, or the greatneſs of the Preſence, with the length of the Action, which continued five hours, put him in ſome confuſion; it is not improbable but they might in the end bring him to be quite ſilent. This one that was preſent ſaid, flowed from his being ſpent and wearied; and that he ſaw

1538. what he said was little considered: but other ascribed it to his being confounded with the Arguments that were brought against him. So the general applause of the Hall, gave the Victory on the King's side. When he was thus silent, the King asked him, If he was convinced by the Arguments, and whether he would live or die? He answed, *That he committed his Soul to God, and submitted his Body to the King's Clemency.* But the King told him, If he did not recant, he must die, for he would not be a Patron of Hereticks; and since he would not do that, the King ordered *Cromwel* to read the Sentence, (which he, as the King's Vice-gerent, did,) declaring him an incorrigible Heretick, and condemning him to be burnt. Which was soon after executed in *Smithfield*, in a most barbarous manner; for when his Legs and Thighs were burnt to the stumps, there not being fire enough to consume the rest of him suddenly, two of the Officers raised up his Body on their Halberds, he being yet alive and crying out, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and then they let him fall down into Fire, where he was quickly consumed to Ashes. He was a learned and good Man. His answers to the Articles objected to him by *Warham*, and a Book which in his imprisonment he wrote for justifying his Opinion, which he directed to the King, do shew both great Learning for those times, and a very good Judgment.

He is condemned.

And burned.

This being done, the Party that opposed the Reformation perswaded the King, that he had got so much reputation to himself by it, that it would effectually refute all aspersions, which had been cast on him, as if he intended to change the Faith: neither did they forget to set on him, in his weak side, and magnifie all that he had said, as if the Oracle had uttered it: By which they said, it appeared he was indeed a Defender of the Faith, and the Supream Head of the Church. And he had so good a conceit of what was done, that he intended to pursue these Severities further; and therefore soon after he resolved on summoning a Parliament, partly for confirming what he had done, and compleating what remained to be done further, in the suppression of the Monasteries; and likewise for making a new Law for punishing some Opinions, which were then spreading about the Sacrament, and some other Articles, as will soon appear.

The Popish Party gain ground at Court.

Now the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*'s Interest at Court, suffered a great diminution. His chief Friend among the Bishops, was *Fox*, Bishop of *Hereford*, who was much esteemed, and imployed by the King. He was a Privy-Councellor, and had been imployed in a Negotiation with the Princes of *Germany*, to whom he was a very acceptable Minister. They proposed, That the King would receive the *Ausburg* Confession, except in such things as should be altered in it by common Consent, and defend it in a free Council, if any such were called; and that neither of them should acknowledg any Council called by the Pope: That the King should be called the Patron of their League, and they should mutually assist one another, the King giving 100000 Crowns a Year towards the defence of the League.

The Bishop of *Winchester* being then in *France*, did much dissuade the King from making a Religious League with them; against which he

he gave ſome plauſible politick Reaſons, for his Conſcience never ſtrugled with a Maxim of State. But the King liked moſt of the Propoſitions; only he would not accept the Title of Defender of their League, till ſome Differences in the Doctrine were agreed. So they were to have ſent over *Sturmius* as their Agent; and *Melanthon*, *Bucer*, and *George Draco*, to confer with the King's Divines. But upon Queen *Ann's* fall, this vaniſhed; and though the King entered into a Civil League with them, and had frequently a mind to bring over *Melanthon*, for whom he had a great value, yet it never took effect. There were three things in which the *Germans* were more poſitive, than in any other Point of Reformation. Theſe were, the Communion in both kinds, the Worſhip in a known Tongue, and an allowance for the marriage of the Clergy. All the people had got theſe things in their heads; ſo that it was generally believed, that if the Pope had in time conſented to them, the Progreſs of the Reformation had been much ſtopped. The expreſs words of the Inſtitution, and the Novelty of the contrary Practice, had engaged that Nation very early for Communion in both kinds. Common ſenſe made them all deſire to underſtand what they did and ſaid in the Worſhip of God; and the lewd and diſſolute practices of the unmarried Clergy, were ſo publick, that they thought the honour of their Families, of which that Nation is extremely ſenſible, could not be ſecured, unleſs the Clergy might have Wives of their own. But at theſe the King ſtuck more, than at other things that were more diſputable. For in all other Points that were material, he had ſet up the Doctrine of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion; and there was good ground to hope that the Evidence of at leaſt two of theſe would have brought over the King to a fuller agreement, and firmer union with them. But the Biſhop of *Hereford's* death gave a great blow to that deſign. For though that Party thought they had his room well filled, when they had got *Bonner* to be his Succeſſor; yet they found afterwards what a fatal miſtake they committed, in raſing him now to *Hereford*, and tranſlating him within a few months to *London*, vacant by *Stokesley's* death. But during the vacancy of the See of *Hereford*, *Cranmer* held a viſitation in it, where he left ſome Injunctions (to be found in the *Collection*) which chiefly related to the encouraging of reading the Scriptures, and giving all due obedience to the King's Injunctions. For the other Biſhops that adhered to *Cranmer*, they were rather clogs than helps to him. *Latimer's* ſimplicity and weakneſs made him be deſpiſed: *Shaxton's* proud and litigious humour drew hatred on him: *Barlow* was not very diſcreet; and many of the Preachers whom they cheriſhed, whether out of an unbridled forwardneſs of temper, or true zeal that would not be managed and governed by politick and prudent Meaſures, were flying at many things that were not yet aboliſhed. Many complaints were brought of theſe to the King. Upon which, Letters were ſent to all the Biſhops in the King's Name, to take care, that as the People ſhould be inſtructed in the Truth, ſo they ſhould not be unwarily charged with too many Novelties; ſince the publiſhing theſe, if it was not tempered with great diſcretion, would raiſe much contention, and other inconveniencies that might be of dangerous conſequence. But it ſeems this Caveat did not produce what was deſigned by

1538.

The King's correſpondence with the *German* Princes.

Bonner's diſſimulation.

Coll. Numb. 12.

1538. by it, or at least the opposite Party were still bringing in new Complaints: for I have seen an Original Letter of *Cromwel's* to the Bishop of *Landaffe*, bearing date the 6th of *January*; in which he makes mention of the King's Letter sent to that purpose, and requires him to look to the execution of them, both against the violence of the new Preachers, and against those that secretly carried on the pretended Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; otherwise he threatens to proceed against him in another manner. All these things concurred to lessen *Cranmer's* Interest in the Court; nor had he any firm Friend there but *Cromwel*, who was also careful to preserve himself: There was not a Queen now in the King's Bosom to favour their Motions. Queen *Jane* had been their Friend, though she came in *Anne Bolleyn's* room that had supported them most. The King was observed to be much guided by his Wives, as long as they kept their Interest with him. Therefore *Cromwel* thought the only way to retrieve a Design that was almost lost, was to engage the King in an Alliance with some of the Princes of *Germany*; from whence he had heard much of the Beauty of the Lady *Anne* of *Cleave*, the Duke of *Cleve's* Sister, whose elder Sister was married to the Duke of *Saxony*.

Coll. Numb. 13.

A new Parliament.

But while he was setting this on foot, a Parliament was summoned to meet the 28th of *April*. To which all the Parliamentary Abbots had their Writs. The Abbots of *Westminster*, St. *Albans*, St. *Edmundsbury*, St. *Mary York*, *Glassenbury*, *Gloucester*, *Ramsey*, *Evesham*, *Peterborough*, *Reading*, *Malmesbury*, *Croyland*, *Selby*, *Thorny*, *Winchelcomb*, *Waltham*, *Cirencester*, *Tewkesbury*, *Colchester*, and *Tavestoke*, sate in it. On the 5th of *May*, the Lord Chancellor acquainted them, that the King being most desirous to have all his Subjects of one Mind in Religion; and to quiet all Controversies about it, had commanded him to move to them, that a Committee might be appointed for examining these different Opinions, and drawing up Articles for an agreement which might be reported and considered to the House. To this the Lords agreed, and named for a Committee *Cromwel* the Vice-gerent, the two Arch-bishops, the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Bangor*, *Carlisle*, and *Worcester*: Who were ordered to go about it with all haste, and were dispensed with for their attendance in the House, till they had ended their Business. But they could come to no agreement; for the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, having the Bishops of *Ely* and *Worcester* to second him, and being favoured by *Cromwel*, the other side could carry nothing against them: Nor would either Party yield to the other, so that 11 days passed in these Debates.

The six Articles are proposed.

On the 16th of *May*, the Duke of *Norfolk* told the Lords, That the Committee that was named, had made no progress, for they were not of one Mind; which some of the Lords had objected, when they were first named. Therefore he offered some Articles to the Lords consideration, that they might be examined by the whole House, and that there might be a perpetual Law made for the observation of them after the Lords had freely delivered their Minds about them. The Articles were.

'*First*, Whether in the Eucharist, Christ's real Body was present 'without any Transubstantiation? (so it is in the Journal, *absque Transubstantiatione*) it seems so the Corporal Presence had been

'established,

'eſtabliſhed, they would have left the manner of it indefinite. 1539.

'*Secondly*, Whether that Sacrament was to be given to the Laity in 'both kinds?

'*Thirdly*, Whether the Vows of Chaſtity, made either by Men or 'Women, ought to be obſerved by the Law of God?

Fourthly, Whether by the Law of God private Maſſes ought to be 'celebrated?

'*Fifthly*, Whether Prieſts by the Law of God might marry?

'*Sixthly*, Whether Auricular Confeſſion were neceſſary by the Law 'of God?

Againſt theſe the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* argued long. For the firſt, he was then in his Opinion a *Lutheran*, ſo he was not like to ſay much againſt it. But certainly he oppoſed the ſecond much; ſince there was not any thing for which thoſe with whom he held correſpondence were more earneſt, and ſeemed to have greater advantages, both from Chriſt's own words in the Inſtitution, and the conſtant practice of the Church for 12 Ages. Reaſons againſt them.

For the *Third*, It ſeemed very hard to ſuppreſs ſo many Monaſteries, and ſet the Religious Perſons at liberty, and yet bind them up to Chaſtity. That ſame Parliament by another Act, abſolved them from their vow of Poverty, giving them power to purchaſe Lands: now it was not reaſonable to bind them up to ſome parts of their Vow, when they abſolved them from the reſt. And it was no ways prudent to bind them up from Marriage, ſince, as long as they continued in that State, they were ſtill capable to re-enter into their Monaſteries, when a fair occaſion ſhould offer; whereas they upon their marrying, did effectually lay down all poſſible pretenſions to their former Houſes.

For the *Fourth*, The aſſerting the Neceſſity of private Maſſes, was a plain condemnation of the King's Proceedings in the ſuppreſſion of ſo many Religious Houſes, which were Societies chiefly dedicated to that purpoſe. For if theſe Maſſes did profit the Souls departed, the deſtroying ſo many Foundations could not be juſtified. And for the living, theſe private Maſſes were clearly contrary to the firſt Inſtitution, by which that which was bleſſed and conſecrated was to be diſtributed: And it was to be a Communion, and ſo held by the Primitive Church, which admitted none, ſo much as to ſee the celebration of that Sacrament, but thoſe who received it: Laying Cenſures upon ſuch as were preſent at the reſt of that Office, and did not ſtay and Communicate.

For the *Fifth*, it touched *Cranmer* to the quick, for he was then married. The Scripture did in no place enjoyn the Celibat of the Clergy. On the contrary, Scripture ſpeaks of their Wives, and gives the Rules of their living with them. And St. *Paul*, in expreſs words, condemns all Mens leaving their Wives, without exception; ſaying, *That the Man hath not Power over his own body, but the Wife.* In the Primitive Church, though thoſe that were in Orders, did not marry, yet ſuch as were married before Orders, kept their Wives, of which there were many Inſtances; and when ſome moved in the Council of *Nice*, that all that had been married, when they entred into Orders, ſhould put away their Wives: it was rejected, and ever ſince the

Greek

1539. *Greek* Churches have allowed their Priests to keep their Wives. Nor was it ever commanded in the Western Church, till the Popes began their Usurpation. Therefore the prohibition of it being only grounded on the Papal Constitutions, it was not reasonable to keep it up, since that Authority on which it was built, was now overthrown.

What was said concerning Auricular Confession, I cannot so easily recover. For though *Cranmer* argued three days against these Articles, I can only gather the substance of his Arguments from what himself wrote on some of these Heads afterwards. For nothing remains of what passed there, but what is conveyed to us in the Journal, which is short and defective.

On the 24th of *May*, the Parliament was Prorogued to the 30th, upon what reason it does not appear. It was not to set any of the Bills backward; for it was agreed, that the Bills should continue in the State in which they were then, till their next meeting. When they met again, on the 30th of *May*, being *Friday*, the Lord Chancellor intimated to them, that not only the Spiritual Lords, but the King himself, had taken much pains to bring things to an agreement, which was effected. Therefore he moved in the King's Name, that a Bill might be brought in for punishing such as offended against these Articles. So the Lords appointed the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, and St. *Davids*, and Doctor *Petre*, a Master of Chancery, (afterwards Secretary of State) to draw one Bill; and the Arch-bishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Duresm*, and *Winchester*, and Doctor *Tregonnel*, another Master of Chancery, to draw another Bill about it; and to have them both ready, and to offer them to the King by *Sunday* next. But the Bill that was drawn by the *Arch-bishop* of *York*, and those with him, was best liked: yet it seems the Matter was long contested, for it was not brought to the House before the 7th of *June*; and then the Lord Chancellor offered it, and it was read the first time. On the 9th of *June*, it had the second reading, and on the 10th it was engrossed, and read the third time. But when it passed, the King desired the *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury* to go out of the House, since he could not give his consent to it; but he humbly excused himself, for he thought he was bound in Conscience to stay and vote against it. It was sent down to the House of Commons, where it met with no great opposition; for on the 14th it was agreed to, and sent up again: And on the 28th it had the force of a Law by the Royal Assent.

The Title of it was an Act *for abolishing Diversity of Opinions in certain Articles concerning Christian Religion.* It is said in the Preamble, that the King, 'considering the blessed effects of Union, and the mischiefs 'of discord, since there were many different Opinions, both among 'the Clergy and Laity, about some Points of Religion, had called 'this Parliment, and a Synod at the same time for removing those 'differences, where six Articles were proposed, and long debated by 'the Clergy: And the King himself had come in Person to the Par- 'liament, and Council, and opened many things of high Learning 'and great Knowledg about them; And that he, with the Assent of 'both Houses of Parliament, had agreed on the following Articles.

An Act past for them.

'*First*,

'*First*, That in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the Conſecration, 1539.
'there remained no Subſtance of Bread and Wine, but under theſe
'forms the Natural Body and Blood of Chriſt were preſent: *Secondly*,
'That Communion in both kinds was not neceſſary to Salvation to all
'Perſons by the Law of God; but that both the Fleſh and Blood of
'Chriſt were together in each of the kinds. *Thirdly*, That Prieſts,
'after the Order of Prieſthood, might not Marry by the Law of God.
'*Fourthly*, That Vows of Chaſtity ought to be obſerved by the Law
'of God. *Fifthly*, That the uſe of private Maſſes ought to be con-
'tinued; which as it was agreeable to God's Law, ſo Men received
'great benefit by them. *Sixthly*, That Auricular Confeſſion was ex-
'pedient and neceſſary, and ought to be retained in the Church.
'The Parliament thanked the King for the pains he had taken in
'theſe Articles: And Enacted, That if any, after the 12th of *July*,
'did ſpeak, preach, or write againſt the firſt Article, they were to
'be judged Hereticks, and to be burnt without any abjuration; and
'to forfeit their real and perſonal Eſtate to the King. And thoſe
'who preached, or obſtinately diſputed againſt the other Articles,
'were to be judged Felons; and to ſuffer death as Felons, without
'benefit of Clergy. And thoſe, who either in Word or Writing, ſpake
'againſt them, were to be Priſoners during the King's pleaſure, and
'forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, for the firſt time: And
'if they offended ſo the ſecond time, they were to ſuffer as Felons.
'All the Marriages of Prieſts are declared void; and if any Prieſt did
'ſtill keep any ſuch Woman, whom he had ſo married, and lived
'familiarly with her, as with his Wife, he was to be judged a Fe-
'lon. And if a Prieſt lived carnally with any other Woman, he was
'upon the firſt Conviction to forfeit his Benefices, Goods, and Chat-
'tels, and to be impriſoned during the King's pleaſure; and upon the
'ſecond Conviction, was to ſuffer as a Felon. The Women ſo of-
'fending, were alſo to be puniſhed in the ſame manner as the Prieſts;
'and thoſe who contemned, or abſtained from Confeſſion, or the Sa-
'crament, at the accuſtomed times, for the firſt offcence were to for-
'feit their Goods and Chattels, and be impriſoned; and for the ſe-
'cond, were to be adjudged of Felony. And for the Execution of
'this Act, Commiſſions were to be iſſued out to all *Arch-biſhops*,
'and *Biſhops*, and their Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, and ſuch o-
'thers in the ſeveral Shires as the King ſhall name, to hold their
'Seſſions quarterly, or oftener; and they were to proceed upon Pre-
'ſentments, and by a Jury. Thoſe Commiſſioners were to ſwear,
'that they ſhould execute their Commiſſion indifferently, without
'favour, affection, corruption, or malice. All Eccleſiaſtical incumbents
'were to read this Act in their Churches once a quarter. And in
'the end a Proviſo was added, concerning Vows of Chaſtity. That
'they ſhould not oblige any, except ſuch as had taken them at or
'above the age of 21 Years; or had not been compelled to take
'them.

This Act was received, by all that ſecretly favoured Popery, with great joy; for now they hoped to be revenged on all thoſe who had hitherto ſet forward a Reformation. It very much quieted the Bigots; who were now perſwaded that the King would not ſet up He- Which is variouſly cenſured

1539. resie, since he passed so severe an Act against it; and it made the total Suppression of Monasteries go the more easily through. The Popish Clergy liked all the Act very well, except that severe branch of it against their unchast practices. This was put in by *Cromwel*, to make it cut with both edges. (Some of our inconsiderate Writers, who never perused the Statutes, tell us it was done by a different Act of Parliament; but greater Faults must be forgiven them who write upon hear-say.) There was but one comfort that the poor Reformers could pick out of the whole Act, that they were not left to the Mercy of the Clergy, and their Ecclesiastical Courts, but were to be tried by a Jury; where they might expect more candid and gentle dealing. Yet the denying them the benefit of Abjuration, was a severity beyond what had ever been put in practise before: So now they began to prepare for new Storms, and a heavy Persecution.

An Act about the Suppression of the greater Monasteries.

The other chief business of this Parliament was, the Suppression of Monasteries. It is said in the Preamble of that Act, 'That divers 'Abbots, Priors, and other Heads of Religious Houses, had, since the '4th of *February* in the 27th Year of the King's Reign, without co'straint, of their own accord, and according to the due course of 'the Common Law, by sufficient Writings of Record, under their 'Covent-Seals, given up their Houses, and all that belonged to them, 'to the King. Therefore all Houses that were since that time sup'pressed, dissolved, relinquished, forfeited or given up, are confir'med to the King, and his Successors for ever: And all Monasteries that 'should thereafter be suppressed, forfeited, or given up, are also con'firmed to the King and his Successors. And all these Houses, with 'the Rents belonging to them, were to be disposed of by the Court 'of Augmentations for the King's Profit; excepting only such as were 'come into the King's Hands by Attainders of Treason, which be'longed to the Exchequer. Reserving to all persons, except the Pa'trons, Founders, and Donors of such Houses, the same right to any 'parts of them, or jurisdiction in them, which they could have claim'ed if that Act had never been made. Then followed many Clauses 'for Annulling all Deeds and Leases, made within one Year before 'the Suppression of any Religious House, to the prejudice of it, or 'different from what had been granted formerly. And all Churches 'or Chappels, which belonged to these Monasteries, and were for'merly exempted from the Visitation or Jurisdiction of their Ordina'ry, are declared to be within the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the 'Diocess, or of any other that should be appointed by the King.

This Act passed in the House of Peers, without any Protestation made by any of the Abbots, though it appears by the Journal, that at the first reading of it there were eighteen Abbots present, at the second reading twenty, and seventeen at the third reading, and the Abbots of *Glastenbury*, *Colchester*, and *Reading*, were among those who were present; so little reason there is to think they were attainted for any open withstanding the King's Proceedings, when they did not protest against this Act, which was so plainly levelled at them. It was soon dispatched by the Commons; and offered to the Royal Assent By it, no Religious Houses were suppressed, as is grenerally taken for granted; but only the Surrenders, that either had been, or were to be

be made, were confirmed. The laſt Proviſo for Annulling all Exemptions of Churches and Chappels, had been a great happineſs to the Church, if it had not been for that Clauſe; *That the King might appoint others to viſit them*; which in a great degree did enervate it. For many of thoſe who afterwards purchaſed theſe Lands, with the Impropriated Tithes, got this likewiſe in their Grants, that they ſhould be the Viſitors of the Churches and Chappels formerly exempted: from whence great diſorders have ſince followed in theſe Churches, which not falling within the Biſhop's Juriſdiction, are thought not liable to his Cenſures; ſo that the Incumbents in them, being under no Reſtraints, have often been ſcandalous to the Church; and given occaſion to thoſe who were diſaffected to the Hierarchy, to cenſure the Prelates for thoſe offences which they could not puniſh; ſince the Offenders were thus excepted out of their Juriſdiction. This abuſe, which firſt ſprang from the Ancient Exemptions that were Confirmed or Granted by the See of *Rome*, has not yet met with an effectual Remedy. 1539.

Upon the whole Matter, this Suppreſſion of Abbies was univerſally cenſured; and beſides the common Exceptions which thoſe that favoured the old Superſtition, made, it was queſtioned, whether the Lands that formerly belonged to Religious Houſes, ought to have returned to the Founders and Donors by way of *Reverter*, or to have fallen to the Lords of whom the Lands were holden by the way of *Eſcheat*, or to have come to the Crown? It is true, by the *Roman* Law, or at leaſt by a Judgment of the Senate in *Theodoſius*'s time, the Endowments of the Heatheniſh Temples were, upon a full debate, whether they ſhould return to the right Heirs, or be Confiſcated? in the end adjudged to the *Fiſc*, or the Emperor's Exchequer. upon this reaſon, that by the Will of the Donors, they were totally alienated from them and their Heirs. But in *England* it went otherwiſe. And when the Order of the Knights-Templers was diſſolved, it was then judged in favour of the Lord by Eſcheat. For though the Founders and Donors had totally alienated theſe Lands from themſelves and their Heirs, yet there was no reaſon from thence to conclude any thing that might wrong the Superior Lord of his Right in the caſe of an Eſcheat. And this muſt have held good, if thoſe Alienations and Endowments had been abſolute, without any condition. But the Endowments being generally rather of the nature of Covenants and Contracts, and made in conſideration of ſo many Maſſes to be ſaid for their Souls; then it was moſt juſt; that, upon a non-performance of the Condition, and when that publick Error and Cheat, which the Monks had put upon the World, was diſcovered, the Lands ſhould have returned to the Founders and Patrons, and their Heirs and Succeſſors. Nor was there any grounds for the Lords to pretend to them by Eſcheat, eſpecially where there Anceſtors had conſented to, and confirmed thoſe Endowments. Therefore there was no need of excluding them by any ſpecial Proviſo. But for the Founders and Donors, certainly if there had not been a particular Proviſo made againſt them, they might have recovered the Lands which their Anceſtors had ſuperſtitiouſly given away; and the Surrenders which Religious Perſons made to the Crown, could not have cut off

1539. their Title. But this Act did that effectually. It is true, many of the greateſt of them were of Royal Foundation, and theſe would have returned to the Crown without Diſpute.

Another about the erecting new Biſhopricks.

On the 23 of *May*, in the Seſſion of Parliament, a Bill was brought in by *Cromwel*, for giving the King Power to erect new Biſhopricks by his Letters Patents. It was read that day for the firſt, ſecond, and third time; and ſent down to the Commons. The Preamble of it was, 'That it was known what ſlothful and ungodly Life had been 'led by thoſe who were called Religious. But that theſe Houſes 'might be converted to better uſes; that God's Word might be better 'ſet forth, Children brought up in Learning, Clarks nouriſhed in the 'Univerſities, and that old decayed Servants might have Livings, 'poor People might have Alms-Houſes to maintain them; Readers 'of *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and *Latin*, might have good Stipends; daily Alms 'might be miniſtred, and Allowance might be made for mending 'of the High-ways, and Exhibition for Miniſters of the Church, for 'theſe ends. If the King thought fit to have more Biſhopricks or Cathe-'dral Churches erected out of the Rents of theſe Houſes, full Power was 'given to him to erect, and found them, and to make Rules and 'Statutes for them, and ſuch Tranſlations of Sees or Diviſions of them 'as he thought fit. But on this Act I muſt add a ſingular Remark. The Preamble, and material parts of it, were drawn by the King himſelf; and the firſt draught of it under his hand is yet extant; which ſhews his extraordinary application and underſtanding of Buſineſs. But in the ſame Paper there is a Liſt of the Sees which he intended to found; of which what was done afterwards came ſo far ſhort, that I know nothing to which it can be ſo reaſonably imputed, as the declining of *Cranmer*'s Intereſt at Court; who had propoſed the Erecting of new Cathedrals and Sees, with other things mentioned in the Preamble of the Statute, as a great mean for reforming the Church. The Sees which the King then deſigned, with the Abbies out of which they were to be Erected, follow, as in the Paper under the King's own Hand.

The King's deſign about theſe.

Eſſex { *Waltham.* *Hartford.* { St. *Albans.*

Bedfordſhire and *Buckinghamſhire.* } *Dunſtable.* *Newenham.* *Clowſtown.* — *Oxford* and *Berkſhire.* } *Oſnay* and *Tame.*

Northampton and *Huntington.* } *Peterborough.* — *Middleſex.* } *Weſtminſter.*

Leiceſter and *Rutland.* } *Leiceſter.* — *Gloceſterſhire.* } St. *Peters.*

Lancaſhire. { *Fountains*, and the Arch-deaconry of *Richmond.*

Suffolk. { *Edmonds-bury.* — *Stafford* and *Salop.* } *Shrewsbury.*

Nottingham and *Derby.* } *Welbeck.* *Werſop.* *Thurgarton.* — *Cornwal.* } *Lanceſton.* *Bedmynne.* *Wardreth.*

Over

Over these is written, *The Bishopricks to be made.* In another corner of the Page he writes as follows. 1539.

'*Places to be altered according to our device, which have Sees in them.* '*Christ's Church* in *Canterbury*, St. *Swithins*, *Ely*, *Duresm*, *Rochester*, with a part of *Leeds*, *Worcester*, and all others having the same. Then a little below; *Places to be altered into Colledges and Schools: Burton* super *Trent.* More is not written in that Paper. But I wonder much, that in this List *Chester* was forgotten; yet it was erected before any of them: for I have seen a Commission under the Privy-Seal to the Bishop of *Chester*, to take the Surrender of the Monastery of *Hamond* in *Shropshire*, bearing date the 24*th* of *August* this Year. So it seems the See of *Chester* was erected and endowed before the Act passed, though there is among the Rolls a Charter for endowing and founding of it afterwards. *Bristol* is not mentioned in this Paper, though a See was afterwards erected there. It was not before the end of the next Year that these Sees were founded; and there was in that interval so great a Change made, both of the Councels and Ministers, that no wonder the things now designed were never accomplished.

An Act about the King's Proclamations.

Another Act passed in this Parliament, concerning the obedience due to the King's Proclamations. There had been great Exceptions made to the Legality of the King's Proceedings in the Articles about Religion, and other Injunctions published by his Authority, which were complained of as contrary to Law; since by these the King had, without consent of Parliament, altered some Laws, and had laid Taxes on his Spiritual Subjects. Upon which an Act passed, which sets 'forth in the Preamble, the contempt and disobedience of the King's 'Proclamations, by some who did not consider what a King by his 'Royal Power might do; which if it continued, would tend to the 'disobedience of the Laws of God, and the dishonour of the King's 'Majesty, (who may full ill bear it.) Considering also, that many oc-'casions might require speedy Remedies, and that delaying these till 'a Parliament met, might occasion great Prejudices to the Realm; 'and that the King by his Royal Power given of God, might do ma-'ny things in such cases; Therefore it is Enacted, That the King 'for the time being, with Advice of his Council, might set forth Pro-'clamations with Pains and Penalties in them, which were to be o-'beyed as if they were made by an Act of Parliament. But this 'was not to be so extended, that any of the King's Subjects should 'suffer in their Estates, Liberties, or Persons, by virtue of it: Nor 'that by any of the King's Proclamations, Laws or Customs were to 'be broken and subverted. Then follow some Clauses about the publishing of Proclamations, and the way of prosecuting those who contemned and disobeyed them. It is also added, 'That if any of-'fended against them, and in further contempt went out of the 'Realm, he was to be adjudged a Traitor. This also gave Power to 'the Counsellors of the King's Successor, if he were under Age, to 'set forth Proclamations in his Name, which were to be obeyed in 'the same manner with those set forth by the King himself. This Act gave great Power to the Judges, since there were such Restrictions in some branches of it, which seemed to lessen the great extent

of

1539. of the other parts of it; so that the Expositors of the Law had much referred to them: upon this Act were the great changes of Religion in the Non-age of *Edward* the 6th grounded.

An Act about precedence.

There is another Act, which but collaterally belongs to Ecclesiastical Affairs; and therefore shall be but slightly touched. It is the Act of the Precedency of the Officers of State, by which the Lord Vicegerent has the precedence of all Persons in the Kingdom, next the Royal Family: and on this I must make one Remark, which may seem very improper for one of my Profession; especially when it is an animadversion on one of the greatest Men that any Age has produced, the most Learned Mr. *Selden*. He, in his Titles of Honour, says, 'That this Statute was never printed in the Statute-Book, and 'but incorrectly by another, and that therefore he inserts it literally as 'is in the Record. In which there are two mistakes. For it is printed in the Statute-Book that was set out in that King's Reign, though left out in some later Statute-Books; and that which he prints, is not exactly according to the Record. For as he prints it, the Bishop of *London* is not named in the precedency; which is not according to the Parliament-Roll, in which the Bishop of *London* has the precedence next the Arch-bishop of *York*; and though this is corrected in a Posthumous Edition; yet in that set out by himself, it is wanting: Nor is that Omission among the Errors of the Press, for though there are many of these gathered to be amended, this is none of them. This I do not take notice of out of any vanity, or humour of Censuring a Man so great in all sorts of Learning; but my design is only to let ingenious Persons see, that they ought not to take things on trust easily, no not from the greatest Authors.

Some Acts of Attaindors.

These are all the publick Acts that relate to Religion, which were passed in this Parliament. With these there passed an Act of Attaindor of the Marquess of *Exeter*, and the Lord *Montacute*, with many others, that were either found to have had a great hand in the late Rebellion; or were discovered to hold Correspondence with Cardinal *Pool*, who was then trafficking with Foreign Princes, and projecting a League among them against the King. But of this I shall give a more full account at the end of this Book; being there to open the grounds of all the Attaindors that were passed in these last Years of the King's Reign. There is one remarkable thing that belongs to this Act.

Some were to be attainted in absence; others they had no mind to bring to make their answer, but yet designed to attaint them. Such were the Marchioness of *Exeter*, and the Countess of *Sarum*, Mother to Cardinal *Pool*, whom by a gross mistake, *Speed* fancies to have been condemned without Arraignment or Tryal, as *Cromwel* had been by Parliament. For she was now condemned a Year before him. About the Justice of doing this there was some debate; and to clear it, *Cromwel* sent for the Judges, and asked their Opinions, Whether a Man might be attainted in Parliament, without being brought to make his answer? They said, it was a dangerous question. That the Parliament ought to be an example to all inferior Courts; and that when any Person was charged with a Crime, he, by the common Rule of Justice

Printed for Rich: Chiſwell at ye Rose and Crown in St. Pauls Church y

Justice and Equity should be heard to plead for himself. But the Parliament being the Supream Court of the Nation, what way soever they proceeded, it must be good in Law; and it could never be questioned, whether the Party was brought to answer or not. And thus a very ill Precedent was made, by which the most innocent Person in the World might be ruined. And this, as has often been observed in the like cases, fell very soon heavily on the Author of the Counsel, as shall appear. 1539.

When the Parliament was Prorogued, on the 28th of *June*, the King apprehended that the *Arch-bishop* of *Canterbury* might be much cast down with the Act for the six Articles, sent for him, and told him, That he had heard how much, and with what Learning he had argued against it, and therefore he desired he would put all his Arguments in writing, and bring them to him. Next day he sent the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and the Lord *Cromwel*, to dine with him. Ordering them to assure him of the King's constant and unshaken kindness to him, and to encourage him all they could. When they were at Table with him at *Lambeth*, they run out much on his commendation, and acknowledged he had opposed the Act with so much Learning, Gravity, and Eloquence; that even those that differed from him, were much taken with what he said, and that he needed fear nothing from the King. *Cromwel* saying, that this difference the King put between him, and all his other Councellors; that when Complaints were brought of others, the King received them, and tried the truth of them; but he would not so much as hearken to any Complaint of the *Arch bishop*. From that he went on to make a Parallel between him and Cardinal *Wolsey*: That the one lost his Friends by his haughtiness and pride, but the other gained on his Enemies by his gentleness and mildness. Upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* said, he might best speak of the Cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his Man. This nettled *Cromwel*, who answered, That though he had served him, yet he never liked his manners: and that though the Cardinal had designed, (if his attempt for the Popedom had been successful,) to have made him his Admiral; yet he had resolved not to accept of it, nor to leave his Country. To which the Duke of *Norfolk* replied, with a deep Oath, *That he Lied*; with other reproachful language. This troubled *Cranmer* extreamly, who did all he could to quiet and reconcile them. But now the Enmity between those two great Ministers broke out to that height, that they were never afterwards hearty friends.

The King's care of *Cranmer*. *Antiq. Brit. in vita* Cran.

But *Cranmer* went about that which the King had commanded: and made a Book of the Reasons that led him to oppose the six Articles, in which the places out of the Scriptures, the Authorities of the ancient Doctors, with the arguments drawn from these, were all digested in a good method. This he commanded his Secretary to write out in a fair hand, that it might be given the King. The Secretary returning with it from *Croydon*, where the *Arch-bishop* was then, to *Lambeth*, found the Key of his Chamber was carried away by the *Arch-bishops* Almoner: So that he being obliged to go over to *London*, and not daring to trust the Book to any others keeping, carried it with himself; where both he, and the Book, met with an un-lookt-for

Cranmer writes his Reasons against the six Articles.

1539. for encounter. Some others that were with him in the Wherry, would needs go to the *Southwark* ſide, to look on a Bear-baiting that was near the River, where the King was in Perſon. The Bear broke looſe into the River, and the Dogs after her. They that were in the Boat leaped out, and left the poor Secretary alone there. But the Bear got into the Boat, with the Dogs about her, and ſunk it. The Secretary apprehending his Life was in danger, did not mind his Book, which he loſt in the Water. But being quickly reſcued, and brought to Land, he begun to look for his Book, and ſaw it floating in the River. So he deſired the Bearward to bring it to him; who took it up; but before he would reſtore it, put it into the hands of a Prieſt that ſtood there, to ſee what it might contain. The Prieſt reading a little in it, found it a Confutation of the ſix Articles: and told the Bearward, that whoſoever claimed it, would be hanged for his pains. But the *Arch-biſhop's* Secretary thinking to mend the matter, ſaid, it was his Lord's Book. This made the Bearward more intractable, for he was a ſpiteful Papiſt, and hated the *Arch-biſhop*; ſo that no offers nor entreaties could prevail with him to give it back. Whereupon *Morice*, (that was the Secretary's Name,) went and opened the matter to *Cromwell* the next day; *Cromwell* was then going to Court, and he expected to find the Bearward there, looking to deliver the Book to ſome of *Cranmer's* Enemies; he therefore ordered *Morice* to go along with him. Where, they as had expected, they found the Fellow with the Book about him; upon whom *Cromwell* called, and took the Book out of his hands, threatning him ſeverely for his preſumption in medling with a Privy-Councellor's Book.

Proceedings upon that Act.

But though *Cranmer* eſcaped this hazard, yet in *London* the ſtorm of the late Act was falling heavily on them that were obnoxious. *Shaxton* and *Latimer*, the Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Wroceſter*, within a week after the Seſſion of Parliament, as it appears, reſigned their Biſhopricks. For on the 7th of *July* the Chapters of theſe Churches Petitioned the King for his leave to fill thoſe Sees, they being then vacant by the free Reſignation of the former Biſhops. Upon which the *Congé d' Elire* for both was granted. Nor was this all, but they being preſented, as having ſpoken againſt the ſix Articles, were put in Priſon, where the one lay till the King died, and the other till a little before his death, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place. There were alſo Commiſſions iſſued out, for proceeding upon that Statute: and thoſe who were Commiſſioned for *London*, were all ſecret favourers of Popery; ſo they proceeded moſt ſeverely, and examined many Witneſſes againſt all who were preſented: whom they Interrogated not only upon the expreſs words of the Statute; but upon all ſuch collateral or preſumptive circumſtances, as might entangle them, or conclude them guilty. So that in a very little while 500 Perſons were put in Priſon, and involved in the breach of the Statute. Upon this not only *Cranmer* and *Cromwell*, but the Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Audly* the Chancellor repreſented to the King how hard it would be, and of what ill conſequence, to execute the Law upon ſo many Perſons. So the King was prevailed with to pardon them all; and I find no further proceeding upon this Statute till *Cromwell* fell.

But the oppoſite Party uſed all the Arts poſſible to inſinuate themſelves

selves into the King. And therefore, to shew how far their compliance would go, *Bonner* took a strange Commission from the King, on the 12th of *November* this Year. It has been certainly enrolled; but it is not there now, so that I judg it was razed in that suppression of Records, which was in Queen *Mary*'s time. But, as Men are commonly more careless at home, *Bonner* has left it on Record in his own Register. Whether the other Bishops took such Commissions from this King, I know not. But I am certain there is none such in *Cranmer*'s Register: and it is not likely, if any such had been taken out by him, that ever it would have been razed. The Commission it self will be found in the Collection of Papers at the End. The substance of it is, 'That since all Jurisdictions, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, *Coll. Numb.* 14. 'flowed from the King as Supream Head, and he was the Foundation 'of all Power; it became those who exercised it only (*Precario*) at the 'King's Courtesy, gratefully to acknowledg, that they had it only of 'his bounty; and to declare that they would deliver it up again, when 'it should please him to call for it. And since the King had consti- 'tuted the Lord *Cromwel* his Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical Affairs; yet 'because he could not look into all those Matters, therefore the King, 'upon *Bonner*'s Petition, did empower him in his own stead, to ordain 'such as he found worthy, to present and give Institution, with all 'the other parts of Episcopal Authority, for which he is duly Com- 'missionated; and this to last during the King's Pleasure only. And 'all the Parts of the Episcopal Function being reckoned up, it con- 'cluded with a strict Charge to the Bishop to Ordain none but such, 'of whose Integrity, good Life and Learning, he had very good assu- 'rance. For as the Corruptions of the Christian Doctrine, and of 'Mens Manners, had chiefly proceeded from ill Pastours; so it was 'not to be doubted, but good Pastours, well chosen, would again reform 'the Christian Doctrine, and the Lives of Christians. After he had taken this Commission, *Bonner* might well have been called one of the *King's Bishops*. The true reason of this profound Compliance, was, That the Popish Party apprehended that *Cranmer*'s great Interest with the King, was chiefly grounded on some Opinions he had, of the Ecclesiastical Officers being as much subject to the King's Power, as all other Civil Officers were. And this having endeared him so much to the King, therefore they resolved to out-do him in that Point. But there was this difference, that *Cranmer* was once of that Opinion, and if he followed it at all, it was out of Conscience: But *Bonner*, against his Conscience, (if he had any) complied with it. 1539.

Now followed the final dissolution of the Abbeys; there are 57 Surrenders upon Record this Year. The Originals of about 30 of these are yet to be seen. Thirty seven of them were Abbies or Priories, and 20 Nunneries. The good House of *Godstow* now fell, with the rest, though among the last of them. Now the great Parliament Abbots surrendred apace; as those of *Westminster*, St. *Albans*, St. *Edmundsbury*, *Canterbury*, St. *Mary* in *York*, *Selby*, St. *Peter*'s in *Glocester*, *Cirencester*, *Waltham*, *Winchcombe*, *Malmsbury* and *Battel*. Three others were attainted; *Glassenbury*, *Reading*, and *Colchester*. The Deeds of the rest are lost. Here it will not be unacceptable to the Reader, to know who were the Parliamentary Abbots. There were in all 28, as they Dissolution of the great Abbies.

1539. were commonly given. *Fuller* has given a Catalogue of them in three places of this History of *Abbies*; but as every one of these differs from the others; so none of them are according to the Journals of Parliament; The Lord *Herbert* is also mistaken in his account. I shall not rise higher in my enquiry than this Reign, for anciently many more Abbots and Priors sate in Parliament, beside other Clergy that had likewise their Writs; and of whose right to sit in the House of Commons, there was a Question moved in *Edward* the Sixth's Reign, as shall be opened in its proper place. Much less will I presume to determine so great a Point in Law, Whether they sate in the House of Lords as being a part of the Ecclesiastical State, or as holding their Lands of the King by Baronage? I am only to observe the Matter of Fact, which is, That in the Journals of Parliament in this Reign, these 28 *Abbots* had their Writs, *Abington*, St. *Albans*, St. *Austins Canterbury*, *Battel*, St. *Bennets* in the *Holm*, *Berdeny*, *Cirencester*, *Colchester*, *Coventry*, *Croyland*, St. *Edmunds-bury*, *Evesham*, *Glassenbury*, *Gloucester*, *Hide*, *Malmsbury*, St. *Mary's* in *York*, *Peterborough*, *Ramsey*, *Reading*, *Selby*, *Shrewsbury*, *Tavenstock*, *Teuksbury*, *Thorney*, *Waltham*, *Westminster* and *Winchelcomb*; to whom also the Prior of St. *Johns* may be added. But besides all these, I find, that in the 28*th* Year of this King, the *Abbot* of *Burton* upon *Trent* sate in Parliament. Generally *Coventry* and *Burton* were held by the same Man, as one Bishop held both *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, though two different Bishopricks; but in that Year they were held by two different Persons, and both had their Writs to that Parliament. The method used in the suppression of these Houses, will appear by one compleat Report made of the Suppression of the Abbey of *Teuksbury*, which out of many I copied, and is in the *Collection*. From it the Reader will see, what Provision was made for the Abbot, the Prior, the other Officers, and the Monks, and other Servants of the House; and what Buildings they ordered to be defaced, and what to remain; and how they did estimate the Jewels, Plate, and other Ornaments. But Monasteries were not sufficient to stop the Appetite of some that were about the King; for Hospitals were next look'd after. One of these was this Year surrendred by *Thomas Thirleby*, with two other Priests; he was Master of St. *Thomas* Hospital in *Southwark*, and was designed Bishop of *Westminster*, to which he made his way by that Resignation. He was a learned and modest Man, but of so fickle or cowardly a Temper, that he turned always with the Stream in every change that was made, till Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown; but then, being ashamed of so many turns, he resolved to shew he could once be firm to somewhat.

Collect. Numb. 3. *Sect.* 5.

Some Hospitals surrendred

Now were all the Monasteries of *England* suppressed, and the King had then in his hand the greatest opportunity of making Royal and Noble Foundations, that ever King of *England* had. But whether out of Policy, to give a general Content to the Gentry, by selling to them at low Rates, or out of easiness to his Courtiers, or out of an unmeasured lavishness in his Expence, it came far short of what he had given out he would do, and what himself seemed once to have designed. The clear yearly value of all the suppressed Houses is cast up, in an Account then stated to be, *viz.* 131607 *l.* 6 *s.* 4 *d.* as the Rents were

The Abbeys sold or given away.

were then rated, but was at leaſt ten times ſo much in true value. Of which he deſigned to convert 18000. *l.* into a Revenue for eighteen Biſhopricks and Catherdrals. But of theſe he only erected ſix, as ſhall be afterwards ſhewn. Great ſums were indeed laid out on building and fortifying many Ports, in the Channel, and other parts of *England*, which were raiſed by the Sale of Abbey-Lands. 1539.

At this time many were offering Projects for Noble Foundations, on which the King ſeemed very earneſt: But it is very likely, that before he was aware of it, he had ſo out-run himſelf in his Bounty, that it was not poſſible for him to bring theſe to any effect. Yet I ſhall ſet down one of the Projects, which ſhews the greatneſs of his Mind that deſigned it; that is, of Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, who was afterwards one of the wiſeſt Miniſters that ever this Nation bred. The King deſigned to found a Houſe for the Study of the Civil Law, and the purity of the *Latin* and *French* Tongues? So he ordered Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, and two others, *Thomas Denton*, and *Robert Cary*, to make a full Project, of the Nature, and Orders of ſuch a Houſe, who brought it to him in a writing; the Original whereof is yet extant. The deſign of it was, that there ſhould be frequent Pleadings, and other Exerciſes in the *Latine* and *French* Tongues: and when the King's Students were brought to ſome ripeneſs, they ſhould be ſent with his Ambaſſadors to Foreign Parts, and trained up in the knowledg of Foreign Affairs; and ſo the Houſe ſhould be the Nurſery for Ambaſſadors. Some were alſo to be appointed to write the Hiſtory of all Embaſſies, Treaties, and other foreign Tranſactions: as alſo of all Arraignments, and Publick Tryals at Home. But before any of them might write on theſe Subjects, the Lord Chancellor was to give them an Oath, that they ſhould do it truly, without reſpect of Perſons, or any other corrupt Affection. This noble Deſign miſcarried. But if it had been well laid, and regulated, it is eaſie to gather what great and publick Advantages might have flowed from it. Among which, it is not inconſiderable, that we ſhould have been delivered from a Rabble of ill-Writers of Hiſtory, who have without due care or enquiry, delivered to us the Tranſactions of that time ſo imperfectly, that there is ſtill need of enquiring into Regiſters and Papers for theſe Matters. Which in ſuch a Houſe had been more certainly and clearly conveyed to Poſterity, than can be now expected at ſuch a diſtance of time, and after ſuch a raſure of Records, and other confuſions, in which many of theſe Papers have been loſt. And this help was the more neceſſary, after the ſuppreſſion of Religious Houſes: in moſt of which a Chronicle of the Times was kept, and ſtill filled up as new Tranſactions came to their knowledg. It is true, moſt of theſe were written by Men of weak Judgments, who were more punctual in delivering Fables and Trifles, than in opening obſervable Tranſactions. Yet ſome of them were Men of better Underſtandings; and it is like were directed by their Abbots, who being Lords of Parliament, underſtood Affairs well: only an invincible humor of lying, when it might raiſe the credit of their Religion, or Order, or Houſe, runs through all their Manuſcripts.

A Project of a Seminary for Miniſters of State.

In Biblioth. Nob. D.D. *Gul. Pierpoint.*

One thing was very remarkable, which was this Year granted, at

1539. *Cranmer*'s Intercession. There was nothing could so much recover Reformation, that was declining so fast, as the free use of the Scriptures; and though these had been set up in the Churches a Year ago, yet he pressed, and now procured leave for private Persons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their Houses. So this was granted by Letters Patents directed to *Cromwel*, bearing date the 13th of *November*, The substance of which was, 'That the King was desirous to have 'his Subjects attain the knowledg of God's Word; which could not 'be effected by any means so well, as by granting them the free and 'liberal use of the Bible in the English Tongue; which to avoid dis-'sension, he intended should pass among them only by one Transla-'tion. Therefore *Cromwel* was charged to take care, that for the space 'of five Years, there should be no Impression of the Bible, or any part 'of it, but only by such as should be assigned by him. But *Gardiner* opposed this all he could; and, one day, in a Conference before the King, he provoked *Cranmer* to shew any difference between the Authority of the Scriptures, and of the Apostolical Canons, which he pretended were equal to the other Writings of the Apostles. Upon which, they disputed for some time. But the King perceived solid Learning, tempered with great Modesty, in what *Cranmer* said; and nothing but vanity and affectation in *Gardiner*'s reasonings. So he took him up sharply, and told him, that *Cranmer* was an old and experienced Captain, and was not to be troubled by Fresh-men and Novices.

A Proclamation about the free use of the Scriptures.

Coll. Numb. 15.

The King designs to marry *Ann* of *Cleve*.

The great Matter of the King's Marriage came on at this time. Many Reports were brought the King of the Beauty of *Anne* of *Cleve*, so that he inclined to ally himself with that Family. Both the Emperor, and the King of *France*, had courted him to Matches which they had projected. The Emperor proposed the Dutchess of *Milan*, his Kinswoman, and Daughter to the King *Denmark*. He was then designing to break the League of *Smalcald*, and to make himself master of *Germany*: And therefore he took much pains with the King, to divide him from the Princes there; which was in great part effected by the Statute for the six Articles: Upon which the Ambassadors of the Princes had complained, and said, That whereas the King had been in so fair a way of Union with them, he had now broke it off, and made so severe a Law about Communion in one kind, Private Masses, and the Celibate of the Clergy, which differed so much from their Doctrine, that they could entertain no further correspondence with him, if that Law was not mitigated. But *Gardiner* wrought much on the King's Vanity and Passions; and told him, that it was below his Dignity, and high Learning, to have a Company of dull *Germans*, and small Princes, dictate to him in Matters of Religion. There was also another thing which he oft made use of, (though it argues somewhere a great Ignorance of the Constitution of the Empire,) That King could not expect these Princes would ever be for his Supremacy; since if they acknowledged that in him, they must likewise yield to the Emperor. This was a great Mistake; for as the Princes of *Germany* never acknowledged the Emperor to have a Soveraignty in their Dominions; so they did acknowledg the Diet, in which the Soveraignty of the Empire lies, to

to have a Power of making or changing what Laws they pleaſed a- 1539.
bout Religion. And in things that were not determined by the Diet, every Prince pretended to it as highly in his own Dominions, as the King could do in *England*. But as untrue as this Allegation was, it ſerved *Gardiner*'s turn; for the King was ſufficiently irritated with it againſt the Princes, ſo that there was now a great coldneſs in their correſpondence. Yet the Project of a Match with the Dutcheſs of *Milan* failing, and theſe propoſed by *France* not being acceptable, *Cromwel* moved the King about an Alliance with the Duke of *Cleve*; who, as he was the Emperor's Neighbour in *Flanders*, had alſo a pretenſion to the Dutchy of *Guelders*, and his eldeſt Daughter was married to the Duke of *Saxony*. So that the King having then ſome apprehenſions of a War with the Emperor, this ſeemed a very proper Alliance to give him a Diverſion.

There had been a Treaty between her Father, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, in order to a Match between the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, and her. But they both being under Age, it went no further than a Contract between their Fathers. *Hans Holbin* having taken her Picture, ſent it over to the King. But in that he beſtowed the common complement of his Art, ſomewhat too liberally, on a Lady that was in way to be Queen. The King liked the Picture, better than the Original, when he had the occaſion afterwads to compare them. The Duke of *Saxony*, who was very zealous for the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, finding the King had declined ſo much from it, diſſwaded the Match. But *Cromwel* ſet it on mightily; expecting a great Support from a Queen of his own making: whoſe Friends being all *Lutherans*, it tended alſo to bring down the Popiſh Party at Court, and again to recover the ground they had now loſt. Thoſe that had ſeen the Lady, did much commend her Beauty, and Perſon. But ſhe could ſpeak no Language but *Dutch*; to which the King was a ſtranger. Nor was ſhe bred to Muſick, with which the King was much taken. So that except her Perſon had charmed him, there was nothing left for her to gain upon him by. After ſome months Treaty, one of the Counts Palatine of the *Rhine*, with other Ambaſſadors from the Duke of *Saxony*, and her Brother the Duke of *Cleves*, (for her Father was lately dead) came over, and concluded the Match.

In the end of *December*, ſhe was brought over to *England*: And the King being impatient to ſee her, went down *Incognito* to *Rocheſter*. But when he had a ſight of her, finding none of theſe charms which he was made believe were in her, he was ſo extreamly ſurprized, that he not only did not like her, but took an Averſion to her, which he could never after overcome. He ſwore they had brought over a *Flanders* Mare to him, and was very ſorry he had gone ſo far, but glad it had proceeded no further. And preſently he reſolved, if it were poſſible, to break off the Matter, and never to yoke himſelf with her. But his Affairs were not then in ſuch a condition, that he could ſafely put that Affront on the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Cleves*, which the ſending back of this Lady would have done. For the *Germans*, being of all Nations moſt ſenſible of every thing in which the Honour of their Family is touched; he knew they would reſent ſuch an injury. And it was not ſafe for him to adventure that at ſuch

Who comes over to *England*.

But is much diſliked by the King.

1539. a time. For the Emperor was then in *Paris*, whither he had gone to an Enterview with *Francis*. And his Reception was not only as magnificent as could be, but there was all the evidence possible of hearty Friendship and Kindness. The King also understood, that between them there was somewhat projected against himself. And now *Francis*, that had been as much obliged by him, as possibly one Prince could be by another, was not only forgetful of it, but intended to take advantage from the Distractions and Discontents of the *English*, to drive them out of *France*, if it were possible. And it is not to be doubted but the Emperor would gladly have embroiled these two Kings, that he might have a better opportunity both to make himself Master of *Germany*, and to force the King of *England* into an Alliance, by which the Lady *Mary* should be Legitimated, and the Princes of *Germany* be left destitute of a Support, which made them insolent and Intractable. The King apprehended the Conjunction of those two great Princes against himself, which was much set forward by the Pope; and that they would set up the King of *Scotland* against him, who with that Foreign Assistance, and the Discontents at home, would have made War upon great Advantages; especially those in the North of *England*, being ill-affectd to him: And therefore he judged it necessary for his Affairs, not to lose the Princes of *Germany*. Only he resolved, first, to try if any Nullities or Pre-contracts could excuse him fairly at their hands. He returned to *Greenwich* very melancholy. He much blamed the Earl of *Southampton*, who being sent over to receive her at *Callice*, had written an high Commendation of her Beauty. But he excused himself, that he thought the thing was so far gone, that it was decent to write as he had done. The King lamented his condition in that Marriage; and expressed great trouble, both to the Lord *Russel*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and others about him. The last of those told him, this was one 'Advantage that Mean Persons had over Princes: That great Prin-'ces must take such Wives as are brought them, whereas meaner Per-'sons go and chuse Wives for themselves. But when the King saw *Cromwel*, he gave his grief a freer vent to him. He finding the King so much troubled, would have cast the chief blame on the Earl of *Southampton*, for whom he had no great kindness: And said, when he found her far short of what Reports and Pictures had made her, he should have staied her at *Callice*, till he had given the King notice of it. But the Earls Commission being only to bring her over; he said, It had been too great a presumption in him, to have interposed in such a manner. And the King was convinced he was in the right. So now, all they had to insist on, was the clearing of that Contract that had passed between her and the Marques of *Lorain*: which the Ambassadors, who had been with the King, had undertaken should be fully done, and brought over with her in due form of Law. So after the Lady was bought in great State to *Greenwich*, the Council met, and sent for the Ambassadors of the Duke of *Cleve* that conducted her over; and desired to see what they had brought for clearing the breach of that Contract with the Marques of *Lorain*. But they had brought nothing, and made no account of it; saying, that the Contract was in their Minority, when they could give no

no conſent; and that nothing had followed on it, after they came to be of Age. But this did not ſatisfy the King's Council, who ſaid, theſe were but their words, and they muſt ſee better proofs. The King's Marriage was annulled with *Anne Boleyn*, upon a pre-contract; therefore he muſt not again run the like hazard. So *Oliſſeger* and *Hogeſden*, the Ambaſſadors from *Cleve*, did, by a formal Inſtrument, proteſt before *Cromwel*, That in a Peace made between their late Maſter, *John* Duke of *Cleve*, and *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain*, one of the Conditions was, that this Lady being then under Age, ſhould be given in marriage to *Francis* Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was likewiſe under Age; which Treaty they affirmed they ſaw and read. But that afterwards *Henry de Groſſe*, Ambaſſador of *Charles* Duke of *Guelders*, upon whoſe Mediation that Peace had been concluded, declared in their hearing, that Eſpouſals were Annulled, and of no Effect; and that this was regiſtred in the Chancery of *Cleve*, of which they promiſed to bring an authentical Extract within three months to *England*. Some of the Councellors, who knew the King's ſecret diſlike of her Perſon, would have inſiſted more on this. But the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, ſaid, If there was no more than that, it could be no juſt hindrance to the Solemnization of the Marriage. So the King ſeeing there was no remedy, and being much preſſed, both by the Miniſters of *Cleve*, and by the Lord *Cromwel*, married her on the 6th of *January*: But expreſſed ſo much averſion and diſlike of her, that every Body about him took notice of it. Next day the Lord *Cromwel* asked him how he liked her then. He told him, *He was not every Man*; therefore he would be free with him: He liked her worſe than he did. He ſuſpected ſhe was no Maid: and had ſuch ill ſmells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he ſhould ever conſummate the Marriage. This was ſad news to *Cromwel*, who knew well how delicate the King was in theſe Matters; and that ſo great a Misfortune muſt needs turn very heavy on him, that was the chief Promoter of it. He knew his Enemies would draw great advantages from this; and underſtood the King's Temper too well, to think his Greatneſs would laſt long, if he could not induce the King to like the Queen better. But that was not to be done; for though the King lived five months with her in that State, and very oft lay in the Bed with her, yet his Averſion rather encreaſed than abated. She ſeemed not much concerned at it: and, as their Converſation was not great, ſo ſhe was of an heavy Compoſition, and was not much diſpleaſed, to be delivered from a Marriage in which ſhe had ſo little ſatisfaction. Yet one thing ſhews that ſhe wanted not Capacity; for ſhe learned the Engliſh Language very ſoon: and before her Marriage was annulled, ſhe ſpoke Engliſh freely, as appears by ſome of the Depoſitions.

1539.

1540.

But yet marries her.

And could never love her.

There was an Inſtrument brought over from *Cleve*, taken out of the Chancery there; by which it appeared, That *Henry de Groſſe*, Ambaſſador from the Duke of *Guelders*, had, on the 15th of *February*, in the Year 1535, declared the Nullity of the former Contract, in expreſs words, which are ſet down in High Dutch, but thus put in Latine; *Sponſalia illa progreſſum ſuum non habitura*, (I will not anſwer for

1540. for the *Latine*,) *ex quo dictus Dux Carolus admodum doleret, & propterea quædam fecisset, & amplius facturus esset.* And *Pallandus*, that was Ambassador from the Duke of *Cleves* in the Duke of *Guelder's* Court, wrote to his Master, *Illustrissimum Ducem Gueldriæ certo scio prima illa Sponsalia inter Domicellam Annam fore inania & progressum suum non habitura.* When this was shewed the King, his Council found great exceptions to it, upon the Ambiguity of the word *Sponsalia*; it not being expressed, whether they were Espousals by the words of the Present, or of the Future Tense; and intended to make use of that when there should be a fit opportunity for it.

A Parliament called. On the 12th of *April* a Session of Parliament was held. The Journal shews, that neither the Abbot of *Westminster*, nor any other Abbot was present. After the Lord Chancellor had opened the Reasons for the King's meeting them at that time, as they related to the Civil Government; *Cromwel*, as Lord Vice-gerent, spake next in the King's Name, and said, 'There was nothing which the King so much desired, as a firm Union among all his Subjects, in which he placed his chief security. He knew there were many Incendiaries, and much Cockle grew up with the Wheat. The rashness and licentiousness of some, and the inveterate Superstition and stiffness of others to the Ancient Corruptions, had raised great dissentions, to the great regret of all good Christians. Some were called Papists, others Heretics; which bitterness of Spirit seemed the more strange, since now the Holy Scriptures, by the King's great care of his People, were in all their hands, in a Language which they understood, but these were grosly perverted by both sides, who studied rather to justify their Passions out of them, than to direct their belief by them. The King leaned neither to the right nor to the left Hand, neither to the one nor the other Party, but set the pure and sincere Doctrine of the Christian Faith only before his Eyes: And therefore was now resolved to have this set forth to his Subjects without any corrupt mixtures; and to have such decent Ceremonies continued, and the true use of them taught, by which all Abuses might be cut off, and Disputes about the Exposition of the Scriptures cease, and so all his Subjects might be well instructed in their Faith, and directed in the reverent Worship of God; and resolved to punish severely all Transgressors, of what sort or Sect soever they were. The King was resolved, That Christ, that is, Gospel of Christ, and the Truth should have the Victory. And therefore had appointed some Bishops and Divines to draw up an Exposition of those things that were necessary for the Institution of a Christian Man: Who were, the two Arch-bishops, the Bishop of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Rochester*, *Hereford*, and St. *Davids*, and Doctors, *Thirleby*, *Robertson*, *Cox*, *Day*, *Oglethorp*, *Redman*, *Edgeworth*, *Crayford*, *Symonds*, *Robins*, and *Tresham*. He also had appointed others to examine what Ceremonies should be retained, and what was the true use of them; who were the Bishops of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Sarum*, *Chichester*, *Worcester*, and *Landaff*. The King had also commanded the Judges, and other Justices of the Peace, and Persons commissioned for the execution of the Act formerly passed, to proceed against all Transgressors, and punish them accord-

Where *Cromwel* speaks as Lord Vice-gerent.

'to Law. And he Concluded with an high Commendation of the 'King, whose due Praises, he said, a Man of far greater Eloquence 'than himself was, could not fully set forth. The Lords approved of this Nomination, and ordered that these Committees should sit constantly on *Mondays*, *Wednesdays*, and *Fridays*: and on other days they were to sit in the afternoon. But their Proceedings will require so full a Relation, that I shall first open the other Affairs that passed in this Session, and leave these to the last. 1540.

On the 14th of *April* the King created *Cromwel* Earl of *Essex*; the Male Line of the *Bourchiers*, that had carried that Title, being extinguished. This shews that the true Causes of *Cromwel*'s fall, must be found in some other thing, than his making up the King's Marriage: who had never thus raised his Title, if he had intended so soon to pull him down. He is made Earl of *Essex*.

On the 22d of *April*, a Bill was brought in for Suppressing the Knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*. Their first Foundation was to be a Guard to the Pilgrims that went to the Holy Land. For some Ages, that was extolled as the highest expression of devotion and a reverence to our Savour, to go and view the Places of his abode; and chiefly the places where he was Crucified, Buried, and ascended to Heaven. Upon which, many entered into a Religious Knighthood, who were to defend the Holy Land, and conduct the Pilgrims. Those were of two sorts; The *Knights-Templars*, and *Hospitallers*. The former were the greater and richer, but the other were also very considerable. The Popes and their Clergy did every where animate all Princes, and great Persons, to undertake Expeditions into these Parts; Which were very costly and dangerous, and proved fatal to almost all the Princes that made them. Yet the belief of the Pains of Purgatory, from which all were delivered by the Pope's Power, who went on this Expedition; such as died in it being also reckoned Martyrs; wrought wonderfully on a blind and superstitious Age. But such as could not go, were perswaded, That if on their death-beds they vowed to go upon their recovery, and left some Lands to maintain a Knight that should go thither and fight against the Infidels, it would do as well. Upon this, great and vast Endowments were made. But there were many Complaints made of the *Templars*, for betraying and robbing the Pilgrims, and other horrid abuses, which may reasonably be believed to have been true; though other Writers of that Age lay the blame rather on the Covetousness of the King of *France*, and the Pope's Malice to them: Yet in a General Council the whole Order was Condemned, and Suppressed, and such of them as could be taken, were cruelly put to death. The Order of the *Hospitallers* stood, yet did not grow much after that. They were beaten out of the *Holy Land* by the *Sultans*, and lately out of the Isle of *Rhodes*, and were at this time in *Malta*. Their great Master depended on the Pope and the Emperor: so it was not thought fit, to let a House, that was subject to a Forreign Power, stand longer. And it seems they would not willingly surrender up their House, as others had done. Therefore it was necessary to force them out of it by an Act of Parliament; which on the 22d of *April* was read the first time, and on the 26th the 2d time, and one the 29th the third time; by which both The suppression of the Knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*.

1540. their House in *England*, and another they had in *Kilmainam* in *Ireland*, were suppressed; great Pensions being reserved by the Act to the Priors, a 1000 *l.* to him of St. *John's* near *London*, and 500 Marks to the other, with very considerable allowances for the Knights, which in all amounted near to 3000 *l.* yearly. But on the 14th of *May*, the Parliament was Prorogued to the 25th, and a Vote passed, that their Bills should remain in the State they were in.

Cromwel's Fall. Upon their next meeting, as they were going on in their Business, a great Change of Court broke out. For on the 13th of *June*, at the Council Table, the Duke of *Norfolk*, in the King's Name challenged the Lord *Cromwel* of High Treason, and Arresting him, sent him Prisoner to the Tower. He had many Enemies among all sorts of Persons. The Noblity despised him, and thought it lessened the greatness of their Titles, to see the Son of a Black-Smith raised so many degrees above them. His aspiring to the Order of the Garter, was thought inexcusable vanity: and his having so many places heaped on him, as Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Chamberlain of *England*, and Lord Vice-gerent, with the Mastership of the Rolls, with which he had but lately parted, drew much envy on him. All the Popish Party hated him out of measure. The Suppression of the Abbies was laid wholly at his door: The Attaindors, and all other servere proceedings, were imputed to his Counsels. He was also thought to be the Person that had kept the King and the Emperor at such distance: And therefore the Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Gardiner*, beside private Animosities, hated him on that account. And they did not think it impossible, if he were out of the way, to bring on a Treaty with the Emperor; which they hoped would open the way for one with the Pope. But other more secret Reasons wrought his ruine with the King. The fear he was in of a Conjunction between the Emperor and *France* did now abate: For he understood that it went no further than Complements. And though he clearly discovered, having sent over the Duke of *Norfolk* to *Francis*, that he was not to depend much on his friendship; yet at the same time he knew that the Emperor would not yield up the Dutchy of *Milan* to him, upon which his heart was much set. So he saw they could come to no agreement; Therefore he made no great account of the loss of *France*, since he knew the Emperor would willingly make an Alliance with him: The hopes of which made him more indifferent, whether the *German* Princes were pleased with what he did, or not, since he had now attained the end he had proposed to himself in all his Negotiations with them, which was, to secure himself from any trouble the Emperor might give him. Therefore *Cromwell's* Counsels were now disliked, for he had always enclined the King to favour those Princes against the Emperor. Another secret cause was, That as the King had an unconquerable aversion to his Queen, so he was taken with the Beauty and Behaviour of Mistress *Katherine Howard*, Daughter to the Lord *Edmond Howard*, a Brother of the Duke of *Norfolks*. And as this designed Match raised the credit of her Uncle, so the ill consequences of the former, drew him down who had been the chief Counsellor in it. The King also found his Government was grown uneasie, and therefore judged it was no ill Policy to cast over all that had been done a-

The King in love with Mistress Katherine Howard.

mis-

miſs, upon a Miniſter who had great Power with him: and being now in diſgrace, all the blame of theſe things would be taken off from the King, and laid on him, and his Ruin would much appeaſe Diſcontents, and make them more moderate in cenſuring the King, or his Proceedings. It is ſaid, that other Particulars were charged on him, which loſt him the King's Favour. If this be true, it is like they related to the encouragement he was ſaid to have given to ſome Reformers, in the oppoſition they made to the ſix Articles; upon the Execution of which the King was now much ſet. His Fall was ſo ſecretly carried, that though he had often before looked for it, knowing the King's uneaſie and jealous temper, yet at that time he had no apprehenſions of it, till the Storm broke upon him. In his Fall he had the common fate of all diſgraced Miniſters, to be forſaken by his Friends, and inſulted over by his Enemies. Only *Cranmer* retained ſtill ſo much of his former ſimplicity, that he could never learn theſe Court Arts. Therefore he wrote to the King about him next day, 'He much magnified his diligence in the King's Service and 'Preſervation, and diſcovering all Plots as ſoon as they were made: 'That he had always loved the King above all things, and ſerved 'him with great fidelity and ſucceſs: That he thought no King of '*England* had ever ſuch a Servant; upon that account he had loved 'him, as one that loved the King above all others. But if he was 'a Traytor, he was glad it was diſcovered. But he prayed God 'earneſtly, to ſend the King ſuch a Chancellor in his ſtead, who could 'and would ſerve him as he had done. This ſhews both the firmneſs of *Cranmer*'s friendſhip to him, and that he had a great Soul, not turned by the changes of Mens Fortunes, to like or diſlike them, as they ſtood or declined from their greatneſs. And had not the King's Kindneſs for *Cranmer* been deeply rooted, this Letter had ruined him. For he was the moſt impatient of Contradiction, in ſuch caſes, that could be. *Cromwel*'s ruin was now decreed; and he who had ſo ſervily complied with the King's Pleaſure in procuring ſome to be Attainted the Year before, without being brought to make their Anſwer, fell now under the ſame ſeverity. For whether it was that his Enemies knew, That if he were brought to the Bar, he would ſo juſtifie himſelf, that they would find great difficulties in the Proceſs; or whether it was that they blindly reſolved to follow that injuſtifiable Precedent, of paſſing over ſo neceſſary a Rule to all Courts, of giving the Party accuſed an hearing; the Bill of Attaindor was brought into the Houſe of Lords, *Cranmer* being abſent that day, as appears by the Journal, on the 17th of *June*, and read the firſt time, and on the 19th was read the ſecond and third time, and ſent down to the Commons. By which it appears, how few Friends he had in that Houſe, when a Bill of that nature went on ſo haſtily. But it ſeems he found in the Houſe of Commons ſomewhat of the ſame meaſure, which ten Years before he had dealt to the Cardinal, though not with the ſame ſucceſs. For his Matter ſtuck ten days there. At length a new Bill of Attaindor was brought up, conceived in the Houſe of Commons, with a Proviſo annexed to it. They alſo ſent back the Bill which the Lords ſent to them. But it is not clear from the Journals what they meant by thoſe two Bills. It ſeems they rejected

1540.

Cranmer's friendſhip to Cromwel.

1540. cted the Lords Bill, and yet sent it up with their own, either in respect to the Lords, or that they left it to their choice, which of the two Bills they would offer to the Royal Assent. But though this be an unparliamentary way of proceeding, I know no other sense which the words of the Journal can bear, which I shall set down in the Margent, that the Reader may judg better concerning it. * And that very day the King assented to it, as appears by the Letter written the next day by *Cromwel* to the King.

* Journal *Procer. Parag.* 58. *Item Billa attinctura* Tho. Cromwel *Comitis* Essex *de crimine Hæresis & Læsæ Majestatis, per Communes de novo concepta, & Assensa, & simul cum provisione eidem annexa. Quæ quidem Billa* 10, 2do, & 3tio, *lecta est; & proviso ejusdem concernens Decanatum* Wellensem *ter lecta est, & communi omnium Procerum consensu nemine discrepante expedita; & simul cum ea referebatur Billa Attinctura quæ prius missa erat in Domum Communium.*

Cromwel's Attainder. Collect. Num. 16.

The Act said, 'That the King having raised *Thomas Cromwel* from 'a base Degree, to great Dignities and high Trusts; yet he had now, 'by a great number of Witnesses, Persons of Honour, found him to 'be the most Corrupt Traitor, and Deceiver of the King and the 'Crown, that had ever been known in his whole Reign. He had 'taken upon him to set at liberty divers Persons put in Prison for Mi- 'prision of Treason, and others that were suspected of it. He had 'also received several Bribes, and for them granted Licenses to carry 'Mony, Corn, Horses, and other things out of the Kingdom, con- 'trary to the King's Proclamations. He had also given out many 'Commissions without the King's knowledge; and being but of a base 'Birth, he said, *That he was sure of the King.* He had granted ma- 'ny Pass-ports, both to the King's Subjects and Forreigners, for pas- 'sing the Seas without search. He being also an Heretick, had dis- 'persed many Erroneous Books among the King's Subjects, particu- 'larly some that were contrary to the Belief of the Sacrament. And 'when some had informed him of this, and had shewed him those 'Heresies in Books printed in *England*, he said, *They were good*, and 'that he found no fault in them; and said, *It was as lawful for ma- 'ry Christian Man to be the Minister of that Sacrament, as a Priest.* And 'whereas the King had constituted him Vice-gerent for the Spiritu- 'al Affairs of the Church; he had, under the Seal of that Office, li- 'censed many that were suspected of Heresie, to Preach over the 'Kingdom; and he had, both by Word and in Writing, suggested to 'several Sheriffs, That it was the King's Pleasure they should discharge 'many Prisoners, of whom some were Indicted, others apprehended 'for Heresie. And when many particular Complaints were brought 'to him of detestable Heresies, with the Names of the Offenders, he 'not only defended the Hereticks, but severely checkt the Informers; 'and vexed some of them by Imprisonment, and other ways; the 'particulars of all which were too tedious to be recited. And he 'having entertained many of the King's Subjects about himself, whom 'he had infected with Heresie, and imagining he was by force able 'to defend his Treasons and Heresies; on the last of *March*, in the '30th Year of the King's Reign, in the Parish of St. *Peters the Poor* 'in *London*, when some of them complained to him of the new 'Preachers, such as *Barnes* and others, he said; *Their Preaching was* 'good; and said also, among other things, *That if the King would* 'turn from it, yet he would not turn: And if the King did turn, and

'all

Printed for Richard Chiſwell at the Roſe and Crowne in S.t Pauls Churchyard.

'*all his People with him, he would fight in the Field in his own Perſon,* 1540.
'*with his Sword in his hand againſt him, and all others:* And then he
'pulled out his Dagger, and held it up, and ſaid, *or elſe this Dagger*
'*thruſt me to the heart, if I would not die in that quarrel againſt them*
'*all; and I truſt if I live one Year or two, it ſhall not be in the King's*
'*Power to reſiſt, or lett it, if he would:* And ſwearing a great Oath,
'ſaid, *I would do ſo indeed.* He had alſo by Oppreſſion and Bribery
'made a great Eſtate to himſelf; and extorted much Mony from
'the King's Subjects, and being greatly enriched, had treated the No-
'bility with much contempt. And on the laſt of *January*, in the 31th
'Year of the King's Reign, in the Pariſh of St. *Martins* in the Fields,
'when ſome had put him in mind to what the King had raiſed him,
'he ſaid, *If the Lords would handle him ſo, he would give them ſuch a*
'*Break-faſt as was never made in* England, *and that the proudeſt of them*
'*ſhould know it.* For all which Treaſons and Hereſies, he was At-
'tainted to ſuffer the pains of Death, for Hereſie and Treaſon, as
'ſhould pleaſe the King, and to forfeit all his Eſtate and Goods to the
'King's uſe, that he had on the laſt of *March* in 31ſt Year of the
'King's Reign, or ſince that time. There was added to this Bill, a
'Proviſo; That this ſhould not be hurtful to the Biſhop of *Bath* and
'*Wells*, and to the Dean and Chapter of *Wells*; with whom, it ſeems,
he had made ſome exchanges of Lands.

From theſe Particulars, the Reader will clearly ſee, why he was not brought to make his Anſwer, moſt of them relating to Orders and Directions he had given, for which it is very probable he had the King's Warrant. And for the matter of Hereſie, it has appeared how far the King had proceeded towards a Reformation, ſo that what he did that way, was moſt likely done by the King's Order: But the King now falling from theſe things, it was thought they intended to ſtifle him by ſuch an Attaindor; that he might not diſcover the ſecret Orders or Directions given him for his own Juſtification. For the particulars of Bribery and Extortion, they being mentioned in general Expreſſions, ſeem only caſt into the heap to defame him. But for thoſe Treaſonable words, it was generally thought that they were a Contrivance of his Enemies: ſince it ſeemed a thing very extravagant, for a Favourite, in the height of his Greatneſs, to talk ſo rudely. And if he had been guilty of it, *Bedlam* was thought a fitter place for his Reſtraint than the *Tower*. Nor was it judged likely that he having ſuch great and watchful Enemies at Court, any ſuch Diſcourſes could have lain ſo long ſecret: Or if they had come to the King's knowledge, he was not a Prince of ſuch a temper as to have forgiven, much leſs imployed and advanced a Man after ſuch diſcourſes. And to think, that during theſe fifteen Months, after the words were ſaid to have been ſpoken, none would have had the Zeal for the King, or the Malice to *Cromwel*, as to repeat them, were things that could not be believed. The formality of drawing his Dagger, made it the more ſuſpected; for this was to affix an overt-Act to theſe words, which in the Opinion of many Lawyers, was neceſſary to make words Treaſonable. But as if theſe words had not been ill enough, ſome Writers ſince have made them worſe; as if he had ſaid, *He would thruſt his Dagger in the King's Heart:* About which *Fuller* hath made another

Cenſures paſt upon it.

Story

1540. story to excuse these words, as if they had not been meant of the King, but of another. But all that is founded on a Mistake, which, if he had looked in the Record, he had corrected.

The King designs a Divorce from his Queen.

Cromwel's Fall was the first step towards the King's Divorce. For on the 24th of *June* he sent his Queen to *Richmond*, pretending the Country Air would agree better with her. But on the 6th of *July* a motion was made, and assented to in the House of Lords, that they should make an Address to the King, desiring him to suffer his Marriage with the Queen to be tryed. Upon which, the Lord Chancellor, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *Duresm*, were sent down to the Commons, to represent the Matter to them, and to desire their concurrence in the Address. To which they agreed, and ordered twenty of their number to go along with the Peers. So the whole House of Lords, with these Commoners, went to the King; and told him, they had a Matter of great consequence to propose to him, but it was of that Importance, that they first begged his leave to move it. This being obtained, they desired the King would order a Tryal to be made of the validity of his Marriage. To which the King consented, and made a deep Protestation, as in the presence of God, that he should conceal nothing that related to it, and all its Circumstances; And that there was nothing that he held dearer than the Glory of God, the Good of the Common-wealth, and the Declaration of Truth. So a Commission was issued out to the Convocation to try it.

It's referr'd to the Convocation.

On the 7th of *July* it was brought before the Convocation, of which the Reader will see a fuller account in the Collection at the end, than is needful to be brought in here. The Case was opened by the Bishop of *Wincheſter*, and a Committee was appointed to consider it; and they deputed the Bishop of *Duresm*, and *Wincheſter*, and *Thirleby*, and *Richard Leighton* Dean of *York*, to examine the Witnesses that day. And the next day they received the King's own Deposition; with a long Declaration of the whole Matter, under *Cromwell*'s hand, in a Letter to the King; and the Depositions of most of the Privy Councellors, of the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Russel* then Admiral, of Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Doctor *Chambers*, and Doctor *Butts*, the King's Physicians, and of some Ladies that had talked with the Queen. All which amounted to this; that the King expected that the Precontract with the Marquess of *Lorrain*, should have been more fully cleared. That the King always disliked her, and married her but sore against his heart; and since that time he had never consummated the Marriage. So the substance of the whole Evidence being considered, it amounted to these three particulars. *First*, That there had been a Contract between the Marquess of *Lorrain* and the Queen, which was not sufficiently cleared: for it did not yet appear whether these Espousals were made by the Parties themselves, or in the words of the Present Tense. Then it was said, That the King having married her against his Will, he had not given a pure, inward, and compleat consent: And since a Man's Act is only what is inward, extorted or forced promises do not bind. And *Thirdly*, That he had never consummated the Marriage. To which was added the great interest the whole Nation had in the King's having more Issue, which they saw he could

Collect. Num. 17. *Collect. Num.* 18.

Reasons pretended for it.

could never have by the Queen. This was furiously driven on by the Popish Party. And *Cranmer*, whether overcome with these Arguments, or rather with fear, for he knew it was contrived to send him quickly after *Cromwel*, consented with the rest. So that the whole Convocation, without one disagreeing Vote, judged the Marriage null, and of no force: and that both the King, and the Lady, were free from the Bond of it. 1540. Convocation agree to it. *Coll. Numb.* 19.

This was the greatest piece of Compliance that ever the King had from the Clergy. For as they all knew there was nothing of weight in that præcontract; so they laid down a most pernicious Precedent, for invalidating all publick Treaties and Agreements: since if one of the Parties being unwilling to it, so that his consent were not inward, he was not bound by it, there was no safety among Men more. For no Man can know whether another consents inwardly: And when a Man does any thing with great aversion, to infer from thence, that he does not inwardly consent, may furnish every one with an excuse, to break loose from all Engagements: For he may pretend he did it unwillingly, and get his Friends to declare that he privately signified that to them. And for that Argument, which was taken from the want of Consummation; they had forgotten what was pleaded on the King's behalf ten Years before, That consent without Consummation, made a Marriage compleat; by which they concluded, that though Prince *Arthur* had not consummated his Marriage with Queen *Katherine*, yet his consent did so compleat it, that the King could not afterwards lawfully marry her. But as the King was resolved on any terms to be rid of this Queen, so the Clergy were also resolved not to incur his displeasure: In which they rather sought for reasons to give some colour to their Sentence, than past their Judgment upon the strength of them. This only can be said for their excuse, that these were as just and weighty Reasons, as used to be admitted by the Court of *Rome* for a Divorce; and most of them being Canonists, and knowing how many Precedents there were to be found for such Divorces, they thought they might do it, as well as the Popes had formerly done. It is censured.

On the 9th of *July*, Sentence was given: Which was signed by both Houses of Convocation; and had the two Arch-Pishops Seals put to it; of which whole Tryal the Record does yet remain, having escaped the Fate of the other Books of Convocation. The Original depositions are also yet extant.

Only I shall add here a reflection upon *Cromwel*'s Misfortune, which may justly abate the loftiness of haughty Men. The day after he was attainted, being required to send to the King a full account under his hand of the business of his Marriage; which account he sent, as will be found in the Collection; he Concludes it with these abject words: *Coll. Numb.* 17.

'I, a most woful Prisoner, ready to take the death, when it shall 'please God and your Majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me 'continually to call to your Grace for Mercy, and Grace for 'mine Offences. And thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you. 'Written at the *Tower* this *Wednesday* the last of *June*, with 'the heavy heart, and trembling hand, of your Highness most 'heavy, and most miserable Prisoner, and poor slave, *Thomas Cromwel.*

And

1540. 'And a little below that, *Most Gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.*

Report made to the Parl.

On the 10th of *July*, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* reported to the House of Lords, That the Convocation had judged the Marriage Null, both by the Law of God, and the Law of the Land. The Bishop of *Winchester* delivered the Judgment in Writing; which being read, he enlarged on all the Reasons of it. This satisfied the Lords, and they sent down *Cranmer* and him to the Commons, to give them the same account. Next day the King sent the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, to let the Queen know what was done: who was not at all troubled at it, and seemed not ill-pleased. They told her, that the King would by Letters Patents Declare her his Adopted Sister, and give her precedence before all the Ladies of *England*, next his Queen and Daughters: and assign her an Estate of 3000 *l.* a Year; and that she had her choice, either to live in *England*, or to return home again. She accepted the offer, and under her hand declared her consent and approbation of the Sentence; and chose to live still in *England*, where she was in great Honour, rather than return under that disgrace to her own Country. She was also desired to write to her Brother, and let him know, that she approved of what was done in her Matter, and that the King used her as a Father, or a Brother; and therefore to desire him, and her other Friends, not to take this Matter ill, or lessen their Friendship to the King. She had no mind to do that, but said it would be time enough when her Brother wrote to her, to send him such an answer. But it was answered, That much depended on the first Impressions that are received of any Matter. She in conclusion said, she should obey the King in every thing he desired her to do. So she wrote the Letter, as they desired it; and the day following, being the 12th of *July*, the Bill was brought into the House for annulling the Marriage, which went easily through both Houses.

The Queen consents to it.

Coll. Numb. 20.

An Act about the Incontinence of Priests.

On the 16th of *July*, a Bill was brought in, for moderating the Statute of the six Articles in the Clauses that related to the Marriage of the Priests, or their Incontinency with other Women. On the 17th, it was agreed by the whole House, without a contradicting Vote, and sent down to the Commons; who the 21th, sent it up again. By it the Pains of death were turned to Forfeitures of the Goods and Chattels, and the Rents of their Ecclesiastical Promotions to the King.

Another about Religion.

On the 20th of *July*, a Bill was brought in concerning a Declaration of the Christian Religion, and was then read the first, 2d, and 3d, time, and passed without any opposition, and sent down to the Commons; who agreeing to it, sent it up again the next day. 'It contained, that 'the King, as Supream Head of the Church, was taking much pains 'for an Union among all his Subjects in Matters of Religion; and for 'preventing the further progress of Heresie, had appointed many of 'the Bishops, and the most learned Divines, to declare the principal 'Articles of the Christian Belief, with the Ceremonies, and way of 'God's Service to be observed. That therefore a thing of that weight 'might not be rashly done, or hasted through, in this Session of Parliament;

'liament; but be done with that care which was requiſite; There- 1540.
'fore it was Enacted, That whatſoever was determined by the Arch-Bi-
'ſhops, Biſhops, and the other Divines, now Commiſſionated for
'that effect, or by any others appointed by the King, or by the whole
'Clergy of *England*, and publiſhed by the King's Authority concer-
'ning the Chriſtian Faith, or the Ceremonies of the Church, ſhould
'be believed and obeyed by all the King's Subjects; as well as if the
'particulars ſo ſet forth had been enumerated in this Act, any Cu-
'ſtom or Law to the contrary notwithſtanding. To this a ſtrange
'Proviſo was added, which deſtroyed the former Clauſe; That no-
'thing ſhould be done or determined by the Authority of this
'Act, which was contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom.
But whether this Proviſo was added by the Houſe of Commons, or originally put into the Bill, does not appear. It was more likely it was put in at the firſt by the King's Council: for theſe contradictory Clauſes raiſed the Prerogative higher, and left it in the Judge's power to determine which of the two ſhould be followed; by which all Eccleſiaſtical Matters were to be brought under Tryals at Common Law: for it was one of the great deſigns, both of the Miniſters and Lawyers at this time, to bring all Eccleſiaſtical Matters to the Cognizance of the Secular Judge.

But another Bill paſſed, which ſeems a little odd, concerning the circumſtances of that time. 'That whereas many Marriages had been
'annulled in the time of Popery, upon the pretence of Precontracts,
'or other degrees of Kindred, than thoſe that were prohibited by the
'Law of God: Therefore, after a Marriage was conſummated, no
'pretence of any precontract, or any degrees of Kindred or Alliance,
'but thoſe mentioned in the Law of God, ſhould be brought or made
'uſe of, to annul it; ſince theſe things had been oft pretended,
'only to diſſolve a Marriage, when the Parties grew weary of each o-
'ther, which was contrary to God's Law. Therefore it was Enacted, That
'no pretence of precontract, not conſummated, ſhould be made uſe
'of to annul a Marriage duly ſolemnized and conſummated; and
'that no degrees of kindred, not mentioned by the Law of God, ſhould
'be pleaded to annul a Marriage. This Act gave great occaſion of cenſuring the King's former proceedings againſt Queen *Ann Boleyn*, ſince, that which was now condemned had been the pretence for diſſolving his Marriage with her. Others thought the King did it on deſign to remove that Impediment out of the way of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s ſucceeding to the Crown; ſince that judgment upon which ſhe was Illegitimated, was now indirectly cenſured: And that other branch of the Act, for taking away all prohibitions of Marriages, within any degrees but thoſe forbidden in Scripture, was to make way for the King's Marriage with *Katherine Howard*, who was Couſin-German to Queen *Ann Boleyn*; for that was one of the prohibited degrees by the Canon Law.

The Province of *Canterbury* offered a Subſidy of four ſhillings in the pound, of all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, to be payed in two years, and that in acknowledgment of the great liberty they enjoyed by being delivered from the Uſurpations of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and in recompence of the great charges the King had been at, and was ſtill to Subſidies granted by the Clergy.

1540. be at, in building Havens, Bulwarks, and other Forts, for the defence of his Coasts, and the security of his Subjects. This was confirmed in Parliament. But that did not satisfie the King; who had husbanded the Money that came in by the sale of Abbey Lands, so ill, that now he wanted Money, and was forced to ask a Subsidy for his Marriage of the Parliament: this was obtained with great difficulty. For it was said, That if the King was already in want, after so vast an income, especially being engaged in no War, there would be no end of his necessities; nor could it be possible for them to supply them. But it was answered, That the King had laid out a great Treasure in fortifying the Coast: and though he was then in no visible War, yet the charge he was at in keeping up the War beyond Sea, was equal to the expence of a War; and much more to the advantage of his People, who were kept in Peace and Plenty. This obtained a Tenth, and four 15ths. After the passing of all these Bills, and many other that concerned the Publick, with several other Bills of Attainder, for some that favoured the Pope's Interests, or Corresponded with Cardinal *Pool*; which shall be mentioned in another place, the King sent in a General Pardon, with the Ordinary Exceptions; and in particular, excepted *Cromwell*, the Countess of *Sarum*, with many others, then in Prison; Some of them were put in for opposing the King's Supremacy, and others for transgressing the Statute of the six Articles: On the 24th of *July* the Parliament was dissolved.

And Laicy.

Cromwell's Death. And now *Cromwell*, who had been six weeks a Prisoner, was brought to his Execution. He had used all the endeavours he could for his own preservation. Once he wrote to the King in such melting terms, that he made the Letter to be thrice read, and seemed touched with it. But the charms of *Katherine Howard*, and the endeavours of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Bishop of *Winchester* at length prevailed. So a Warrant was sent to cut off his Head, on the 28*th* of *July* at *Tower-hill*. When he was brought to the Scaffold, his kindness to his Son made him very cautious in what he said; he declined the purging of himself, but said, he was by Law condemned 'to die, and thanked God for bringing him to that death, for his 'Offences. He acknowledged his Sins against God, and his Offences 'against his Prince, who had raised him from a base degree. He 'declared that he died in the Catholick Faith, not doubting of any 'Article of Faith, or of any Sacrament of the Church: and denied 'that he had been a Supporter of those who delivered ill Opinions: 'He confessed he had been seduced, but now died in the Catholick 'Faith, and desired them to pray for the King, and for the Prince, 'and for himself: and then prayed very fervently for the remission 'of his past Sins, and admittance into Eternal Glory: and having given the Sign, the Executioner cut off his Head very barbarously.

His Character. Thus fell that great Minister, that was raised meerly upon the strength of his natural Parts. For as his Extraction was mean, so his Education was low: All the learning he had, was, that he had got the New-Testament in Latin by heart. His great wisdom, and dexterity in business, raised him up through several steps, till he was become as great as a Subject could be. He carryed his greatness with wonder-

wonderful temper and moderation; and fell under the weight of popular *Odium*, rather than Guilt. The disorders in the Suppression of Abbeys were generally charged on him. Yet when he fell, no Bribery, nor cheating of the King, could be fastned on him; though such things come out in swarms on a disgraced Favourite, when there is any ground for them. By what he spoke at his death, he left it much doubted of what Religion he dyed. But it is certain he was a *Lutheran*. The term *Catholick Faith* used by him in his last speech seemed to make it doubtful, but that was then used in *England*, in its true sense, in Opposition to the Novelties of the See of *Rome*, as will afterwards appear, on another occasion. So that his profession of the Catholick Faith was strangely perverted, when some from thence concluded that he dyed in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. But his praying in *English*, and that only to God through Christ, without any of those tricks that were used when those of that Church died, shewed he was none of theirs. With him the Office of the King's Vice-gerent in Ecclesiastical affairs died, as it rose first in his Person: and as all the Clergy opposed the setting up a new Officer, whose Interest should oblige him to oppose a Reconciliation with *Rome*, so it seems none were fond to succeed in an Office, that proved so fatal to him that had first carryed it. The King was said to have lamented his death, after it was too late; but the fall of the new Queen, that followed not long after, and the miseries which fell also on the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Family, some years after, were looked on as the Scourges of Heaven, for their cruel prosecution of this unfortunate Minister. 1540.

With his fall, the progress of the Reformation, which had been by his endeavours so far advanced, was quite stopt. For all that *Cranmer* could do after this, was to keep the ground they had gained. But he could never advance much further. And indeed every one expected to see him go next. For, as one *Gostwick*, Knight for *Bedfordshire*, had named him in the House of Commons, as the Supporter and Promoter of all the Heresie that was in *England*; so the Popish Party reckoned they had but half done their work, by destroying *Cromwell*; and that it was not finished till *Cranmer* followed him. Therefore all possible endeavours were used to make discoveries of the Encouragement, which, as was believed he gave to the Preachers of the condemned Doctrines. And it is very probable, that had not the Incontinence of *Katherine Howard* (whom the King declared Queen on the 8*th* of *August*,) broken out not long after, he had been Sacrificed the next Session of Parliament. Designs against *Cranmer*.

But now I return to my proper business, to give an account of Church-matters for this year; with which these great Changes in Court had so great a Relation, that the Reader will excuse the digression about them.

Upon *Cromwell*'s fall, *Gardiner*, and those that followed him, made no doubt but they should quickly recover what they had lost of late years. So their greatest attempt was upon the Translation of the Scriptures. The Convocation Books (as I have been forced often to lament,) are lost; so that here I cannot stir, but as *Fuller* leads me: who assures the World that he Copied out of the Records with his

1540. own Pen what he publiſhed. And yet I doubt he has miſtaken himſelf in the year; and that which he calls the Convocation of this year, was the Convocation of the year 1542. For he tells us, That their *7th* Seſſion was the *10th* of *March*. Now in this year the Convocation did not ſit down till the *13th* of *April*, but that year it ſate all *March*, So likewiſe he tells us of the Biſhops of *Weſtminſter*, *Glocester* and *Peterborough*, bearing a ſhare in this Convocation: whereas theſe were not Conſecrated before Winter, and could not ſit as Biſhops in this Synod. And beſides, *Thirleby* ſate at this time in the lower Houſe; as was formerly ſhewn in the Proceſs about *Ann* of *Cleves* Marriage. So that their attempt againſt the New Teſtament belongs to the year 1542.

A Commiſſion ſits about Religion.

But they were now much better employed, though not in the way of Convocation. For a ſelect number of them ſate by virtue a Commiſſion from the King confirmed in Parliament. Their firſt work was to draw up a Declaration of the Chriſtian Doctrine, *for the neceſſary erudition of a Chriſtian Man*. They thought that to ſpeak of Faith in general, ought naturally to go before an Expoſition of the Chriſtian Belief: and therefore with that they began.

An Explanation of Faith.

The Church of *Rome*, that deſigned to keep her Children in ignorance, had made no great account of Faith; which they generally taught, conſiſted chiefly in an Implicite Believing whatever the Church propoſed; without any explicite knowledge of particulars. So that a Chriſtian Faith, as they had explained it, was a Submiſſion to the Church. The Reformers finding that this was the Spring of all their other errors, and that which gave them colour and Authority; did on the other hand ſet up the ſtrength of their whole Cauſe on an Explicite believing the truth of the Scriptures, becauſe of the Authority of God, who had revealed them. And ſaid, that as the great Subject of the Apoſtles Preaching, was *Faith*, ſo that which they every where taught, was to read and believe the Scriptures. Upon which followed nice Diſputing, what was that ſaving Faith by which the Scriptures ſay, *we are Juſtified*. They could not ſay it was barely crediting the Divine Revelation, ſince in that ſenſe the Devils believed. Therefore they generally placed it, at firſt, in their being aſſured that they ſhould be ſaved by Chriſt dying for them. In which, their deſign was to make Holineſs and all other graces neceſſary requiſites in the Compoſition of Faith; though they would not make them formally parts of it. For ſince Chriſt's death has its full virtue and effect upon none but thoſe who are regenerate, and live according to his Goſpel; none could be aſſured that he ſhould be ſaved by Chriſt's death, till he firſt found in himſelf theſe neceſſary qualifications which are delivered in the Goſpel. Having once ſettled on this phraſe, their followers would needs defend it, but really made it worſe by their Explanations. The Church of *Rome*, thought they had them at great advantages in it, and called them *Solifidians*, and ſaid they were againſt good works: though whatever unwary expreſſions ſome of them threw out, they always declared good works indiſpenſably neceſſary to Salvation. But they differed from the Church of *Rome*, in two things that were material: There was alſo a third, but the there difference was more in the manner of expreſſion. The

one was, what were good works? The Church of *Rome* had generally delivered, that works which did not immediate honour to God or his Saints, where more valuable, than works done to other men: and that the honour they did to Saints in their Images and Relicks, and to God in his Priests, that were dedicated to him, where the highest pieces of Holiness, as having the best Objects. This was the foundation of all that Trade, which brought in both Riches and Glory to their Church. On the other hand, the Reformers taught, That justice and mercy, with other good works done in obedience to God's Commandments, were only necessary. And for these things, so much magnified at *Rome*, they acknowledged there ought to be a decent splendor in the worship of God; and good provision to be made for the encouragement of those who dedicated themselves to his Service in the Church: and that what was beyond these, was the effect of Ignorance and Superstition. The other main difference was about the Merit of good Works: which the Friars had raised so high, that People were come to think they bought and sold with Almighty God, for Heaven, and all other his Blessings. This the Reformers judged was the height of Arrogance: and therefore taught that good works were indeed absolutely necessary to Salvation; but that the purchase of Heaven was only by the Death and Intercession of Jesus Christ. With these material differences they joyned another that consisted more in words? Whether Obedience was an essential part of Faith; The Reformers said it certainly accompanied and followed Faith; but thought not fit to make it an Ingredient in the nature of Faith. These things had been now much canvassed in disputes: And it was thought by many, that men of ill lives made no good use of some of the Expressions of the Reformers, that separated Faith from good works, and came to perswade themselves, that if they could but attain to a firm assurance, That they should be saved by Christ, all would be well with them. Therefore now when they went about to state the true Notion of Faith, *Cranmer* commanded Doctor *Redmayn*, who was esteemed the most learned and judicious Divine of that time, to write a short Treatise on these Heads: which he did with that solidity and clearness, that it will sufficiently justifie any advantageous Character that can be given of the Author; and according to the Conclusions of that Treatise they laid down the nature of Faith, thus: That it stands in two several senses in Scripture, 'The one is the perswasion 'of the truths, both of natural and revealed Religion, wrought in 'the mind by God's holy Spirit: And the other is such a belief as be-'gets a submission to the Will of God, and hath Hope, Love, and 'Obedience to God's Commandments joyned to it: which was *Abra-'ham's* Faith, and that which according to St. *Paul* wrought by Cha-'rity, and was so much commended in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. 'That this was the Faith which in Baptism is professed, from which 'Christians are called the *Faithful*, And in those Scriptures where it 'is said, That we are justified by Faith, they declared, we may not 'think that we be justified by Faith, as it is a separate vertue from 'Hope and Charity, Fear of God, and Repentance; but by it is meant 'Faith, neither only, nor alone, but with the foresaid vertues coup-'led together; containing (as is aforesaid) the obedience to the 'whole

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1540. 'whole Doctrine and Religion of Christ. But for the Definition of 'Faith, which some proposed, as if it were a certainty that one was 'Predestinated, they found nothing of it, either in the Scriptures, 'or the Doctors, and thought that could not be known: for though 'God never failed in his Promises to Men, yet such was the frailty of 'Men, that they often fail'd in their promises to God, and so did for- 'feit their right to the promises, which are all made upon conditions 'that depend on us.

Cranmer's Opinion about it.

Upon this occasion I shall digress a little, to shew with what care *Cranmer* considered so weighty a point. Among his other Papers, I find a Collection of a great many places out of the Scripture, concerning Justification by Faith, together with a vast number of Quotations out of *Origen*, *Basil*, *Jerome*, *Theodoret*, *Ambrose*, *Austin*, *Prosper*, *Chrysostom*, *Gennadius*, *Beda*, *Hesychius*, *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius*; together with many later writers, such as *Anselm*, *Bernard*, *Peter Lombard*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, *Lyranus*, and *Bruno*; in which the sense of those Authors in this point did appear; all drawn out with his own hand. To this is added another Collection of many places of the Fathers, in which they speak of the *merit of good works*: and at the end of the whole Collection he writes these words, 'This Proposition that we 'justified by Christ only, and not by our good works, is a very true 'and necessary Doctrine of St. *Paul*'s, and the other Apostles, taught 'by them, to set forth thereby the Glory of Christ, and the Mercy of 'God through Christ. And after some further discourse to the same 'purpose, he concludes, Although all that be justified must of neces- 'ty have Charity, as well as Faith; yet neither Faith nor Charity 'be the worthiness nor merits of our Justification: but that is to be 'ascribed only to our Saviour Christ, who was offered upon the Cross 'for our sins, and rose again for our Justification. This I set down to let the World see that *Cranmer* was not at all concerned in those nicties, which have been so much enquired into since that time, about the instrumentality of Faith in Justification; all that he then considered, being, That the glory of it might be ascribed only to the Death and Intercession of Jesus Christ.

They explain the Apostles Creed.

After this was thus laid down, there followed an Explanation of the Apostles Creed; full of excellent matters; being a large Paraphrase on every Article of the Creed, with such serious and practical Inferences, that I must acknowledg, after all the practical Books we have had, I find great Edification in reading that over and over again. The Style is strong, nervous, and well-fitted for the weakest capacities. There is nothing in this that is controverted between the Papists and the Reformers; except the Definition of *the Holy Catholick Church*, which they give us thus: *That it comprehends all Assemblies of men over the whole World, that receive the Faith of Christ: who ought to hold an unity of Love, and brotherly Agreement together, by which they become members of the Catholick Church.* Upon which a long excursion is made, to shew the injustice and unreasonableness of the Plea of the Church of *Rome*; who place the Unity of the Catholick Church, in a submission to the Bishop of their City; without any ground from Scripture, or the Ancient Writers.

From

From that they proceeded to Examine the ſeven Sacraments: And here fell in ſtiff debates, which remain in ſome Authentick Writings, that give a great light to their proceedings. The method which they followed was this. First, the whole buſineſs they were to conſider, was divided into ſo many heads; which were propoſed as Queries, and theſe were given out to ſo many Biſhops and Divines: And at a prefixed time every one brought his opinion in writing, upon all the Queries. So concerning the ſeven Sacraments, the Queries were given out to the two Arch-Biſhops, the Biſhop of *London*, *Rocheſter* and *Carliſle*, (though the laſt was not in the Commiſſion,) And to the Biſhops of *Dureſm*, *Hereford*, and St. *Davids*. For though the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was in this Commiſſion, yet he did nothing in this particular; but I imagine that he was gone out of Town, and that the Biſhop of *Carliſle* was appointed to ſupply his abſence. The Queries were alſo given to Doctor *Thirleby*, then Biſhop Elect of *Weſtminſter*, to Doctor *Robertſon*, *Day*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, (though not in the Commiſſion) *Symmonds*, *Treſham*, *Coren*, (though not in the Commiſſion,) *Edgeworth*, *Oglethorp*, *Crayford*, *Wilſon*, and *Robins*. When their Anſwers were given in, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an Extract of the Particulars, in which they agreed or diſagreed: which the one did in *Latin*, and the other in *Engliſh*; only thoſe who compared them, it ſeems, doing it for the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, took no notice of his Opinions in the Extract they made. And of theſe, the Original anſwers of the two Arch-Biſhops, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter* and *Carliſle*, and theſe Doctors, *Day*, *Robertſon*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, *Symmonds*, *Treſham*, *Coren*, *Edgeworth*, and *Oglethorp*, are yet extant. But the Papers given in by the Biſhops of *Duteſm*, *Hereford* and St. *Davids*, and the Elect of *Weſtminſter*, and Doctors, *Crayford*, *Wilſon* and *Robins*, though they are mentioned in the Extracts made out of them, yet are loſt. This the Reader will find in the Collection; which, though it be ſomewhat large, yet I thought ſuch pieces were of too great Importance, not to be communicated to the World; ſince it is perhaps as great an Evidence of the ripeneſs of their proceedings, as can be ſhewed in any Church, or any Age of it. And though other Papers of this ſort do not occur in this King's Reign: yet I have reaſon to conclude from this Inſtance, that they proceeded with the ſame maturity in the reſt of their deliberations. In which I am the more confirmed, becauſe I find another inſtance like this, in the Reformation that was further carried on in the ſucceeding Reign of *Edward* the 6th; of many Biſhops and Divines giving in their Opinions under their hands, upon ſome heads then examined and changed. In *Cranmer*'s Paper ſome ſingular opinions of his, about the nature of Eccleſiaſtical Offices will be found; but as they are delivered by him with all poſſible modeſty, ſo they were not eſtabliſhed as the Doctrine of the Church, but laid aſide as particular conceits of his own, and it ſeems that afterwards he changed his opinion. For he ſubſcribed the Book that was ſoon after ſet out; which is directly contrary to thoſe opinions ſet down in theſe Papers. *Cranmer* was for reducing theſe Sacraments to two, but the Popiſh party was then prevalent, ſo the old number of ſeven was agreed to.

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The ſeven Sacraments.

With great maturity.

Collect. *Numb.* 21.

Baptiſm

1540. Baptism was explained in the same manner that had been done three years before, in the Articles then set out: only the matter of Original Sin was more enlarged on.

Secondly, Pennance was formally placed in the absolution of the Priest; which by the former Articles was only declared a thing desirable, and not to be contemned if it might be had; yet all merit of good works was rejected, though they were declared necessary: and sinners were taught to depend wholly on the Sufferings of Christ; with other good directions about Repentance.

Thirdly, In the Explanation of the Eucharist, Transubstantiation was fully asserted: as also the Concomitancy of the Blood with the Flesh; so that Communion in both kinds was not necessary. The use of hearing Mass, though one did not Communicate, was also asserted. To which were added very good Rules about the disposition of mind that ought to accompany this Sacrament.

Fourthly, Matrimony was said to be Instituted of God, and Sanctified by Christ: The degrees in the *Mosaical* Law were declared obligatory, none else: and the Bond of Marriage was declared not separable on any account.

Fifthly, Orders were to be administred in the Church, according to the New-Testament: but the particular forms, of Nominating, Electing, Presenting, or Appointing Ecclesiastical Ministers, was left to the Laws of every Country, to be made by the assent of the Prince. The Office of Church-men was to Preach, Administer the Sacraments, to Bind and Loose, and to pray for the whole Flock: But they must execute these, with such limitation as was allowed by the Laws of every Kingdom. The Scripture, they said, made express mention only of the two Orders of Priests and Deacons. To these the Primitive Church had added some Inferior degrees, which were also not to be contemned. But no Bishop had any Authority over other Bishops by the Law of God. Upon which followed a long Digression, confuting the pretensions of the Bishops of *Rome*; with an Explanation of the King's Authority in Ecclesiastical Matters; which was before hand set down in another place, to shew what they understood by the King's being *Supream Head of the Church*.

Sixthly, Confirmation was said to have been used in the Primitive Church, in Imitation of the Apostles; who by laying on their hands conferred the Holy-Ghost, in an extraordinary manner. And therefore was of great advantage, but not necessary to Salvation.

Seventhly, Extream-unction was said to have been derived from the practice of the Apostles, mentioned by St. *James*, for the health both of Body and Soul: and though the sick Person was not always recovered of his bodily sickness by it, yet remission of sins was obtained by it; and that which God knew to be best for our bodily condition, to whose will we ought always to submit. But this Sacrament was only fruitful to those who by Pennance were restored to the State of Grace.

The Ten Commandments.

Then followed an Explanation of the Ten Commandments, which contains many good Rules of Morality, drawn from every one of them. The 2d Commandment *Gardiner* had a mind to have shortned, and to cast into the first. *Cranmer* was for setting it down as it was in the

the Law of *Moſes*. But a temper was found: it was placed as a Diſtinct Commandment, but not at full length; the words, *For I the Lord thy God*, &c. being left out, and only thoſe that go before being ſet down. In the Explanation of this Commandment, Images were ſaid to be profitable for putting us in mind of the great Bleſſings we have received by our Saviour, and of the vertues and holineſs of the Saints, by which we were to be ſtirred up to imitate them: So that they were not to be deſpiſed, though we be forbidden to do any godly honour to them. And therefore the Superſtition of preferring one Image to another, as if they had any ſpecial vertue in them, or the adorning them richly, and making Vows and Pilgrimages to them, is condemned; yet the Cenſing of Images, and Kneeling before them, are not condemned: but the People muſt be taught, that theſe things were not to be done to the Image it ſelf, but to God and his honour. To the third Commandment, they reduced the Invocation of Gods name for his Gifts. And they condemned the Invocation of Saints, when ſuch things were prayed for from them, which were only given by God. This was the giving his Glory to Creatures: yet to pray to Saints as Interceſſors is declared lawful, and according to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church. Upon the *4th* Commandment a Reſt from labour every *7th* day is ſaid to be Ceremonial, and ſuch as only obliged *Jews*: but the Spiritual ſignification of Reſt among Chriſtians, was to abſtain from Sin, and other Carnal pleaſures. But beſides that, we were alſo bound by this Precept ſometimes to ceaſe from labour, that we may ſerve and worſhip God both in publick and private: And that on the days appointed for this purpoſe, People ought to examine their lives, the paſt week, and ſet to amendment, and give themſelves to prayer, reading and meditation. Yet in caſes of neceſſity, ſuch as ſaving their Corn or Cattel, Men ought not ſuperſtitiouſly to think that it is a Sin to work on that day; but to do their work without ſcruple. Then follow very profitable Expoſitions of the other Commandments, with many grave and weighty admonitions concerning the duties by them enjoyned, and againſt thoſe ſins which are too Common in all Ages. 1540.

After that, an Explanation of the Lord's Prayer was added. In the Preface to which, it is ſaid, that it is meet and requiſite that the unlearned People ſhould make their Prayers in their Mother-Tongue; whereby they may be the more ſtirred to Devotion, and to mind the things they prayed for. Then followed an Expoſition of the Angels Salutation of the Bleſſed Virgin: In which, the whole Hiſtory of the Incarnation of Chriſt was opened, and the *Ave Maria* explained; which Hymn was chiefly to be uſed, in Commemoration of Chriſt's Incarnation, and likewiſe to ſet forth the praiſes of the Bleſſed Virgin. The next Article is about Free-will, which they ſay muſt be in Man, otherwiſe all Precepts and Exhortations are to no purpoſe. They defined it *a power of the will, joyned with Reaſon, whereby a reaſonable creature, without conſtraint, in things of reaſon, diſcerneth and willeth good and evil; but chooſeth good by the aſſiſtance of God's grace, and evil of it ſelf.* This was perfect in the State of Innocency, but is much impaired by *Adam*'s Fall, and now by an eſpecial grace (offered to all Men, but enjoyed only by thoſe who by their free-will do accept the ſame,) The Lord's Prayer.

The *Ave Maria*.

Free-will.

1540. it was restored, that with great watchfulness we may serve God acceptably. And as many places of Scriptures shew, That free-will is still in man, so there be many others which shew that the grace of God is necessary, that doth both prevent us, and assist us, both to begin, and perform every good work. Therefore all men ought most gratefully to receive and follow the motions of the Holy Ghost, and to beg God's grace with earnest devotion, and a stedfast Faith: which he will grant to all that so ask it, both because he is naturally good, and he has promised to grant our desires. For he is not the Author of Sin, nor the Cause of Man's Damnation; but this Men draw on themselves, who by vice have corrupted those Natures which God made good. Therefore all Preachers were warned so to moderate themselves in this high point, that they neither should so preach the Grace of God as to take away Free-will, nor so extol Free-will, as injury might be done to the Grace of God.

Justification. After this they handled Justification. Having stated the miseries of Man by nature, and the guilt of Sin, with the unspeakable goodness of God in sending Christ to redeem us by his death, who was the Mediator between God and Man; They next shew how Men are made partakers of the Blessings which he hath procured. Justification is the making of us righteous before God, whereby we are reconciled to him, and made heirs of Eternal life: that by his Grace we may walk in his ways, and be reputed just and righteous in the day of Judgment, and so attain Everlasting Happiness. God is the chief cause of our Justification: yet man prevented by Grace is by his free consent and obedience a worker toward the attaining his own Justification. For though it is only procur'd through the merits of Christ's death, yet every one must do many things to attain a right and claim to that which, though it was offered to all, yet was applied but to a few. We must have a stedfast Faith, true Repentance, real purposes of amendment; committing Sin no more, but serving God all our lives; which if we fall from, we must recover it, by Pennance, Fasting, Alms, Prayer, with other good works, and a firm Faith, going forward in mortification and obedience to the Laws of God: It being certain that Men might fall away from their Justification. All curious reasonings about Predestination were to be set apart; there being no certainty to be had of our Election, but by feeling the motions of God's Spirit in us, by a good and vertuous life, and persevering in it to the end. Therefore it was to be taught, that as on the one hand we are to be justified freely by the free Grace of God, so on the other hand, when it is said *We are justified by Faith*, it must be understood of such a Faith, in which the fear of God, Repentance, Hope and Charity, be included, all which must be joyned together in our Justification: and though these be imperfect, yet God accepteth of them freely thorough Christ.

Good Works. Next, good works were explained, which were said to be absolutely necessary to Salvation. But these were not only outward corporal works, but inward Spiritual works, as the Love and Fear of God, Patience, Humility, and the like. Nor were they Superstitions and Men's Inventions, such as those in which Monks and Friers exercised themselves: nor only moral works done by the power of Nat-

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ral reaſon: but the works of Charity, flowing from a pure heart, a good Conſcience, and Faith unfeigned; which were meritorious towards the attaining of Everlaſting life. Other works were of an Inferior ſort; ſuch as Faſting, Alms-deeds, and other fruits of Pennance. And the merit of good works is reconciled with the freedom of God's Mercies to us, ſince all our works are done by his Grace; ſo that we have no cauſe of boaſting, but muſt aſcribe all to the Grace and Goodneſs of God. The laſt Chapter is about Prayers for Souls departed, which is the ſame that was formerly ſet out in the Articles three years before. 1540.

And this was finiſhed and ſet forth this year, with a Preface written by thoſe of the Clergy who had been imployed in it; declaring with what care they had examined the Scriptures, and the ancient Doctors, out of whom they had faithfully gathered this Expoſition of the Chriſtian Faith. To this the King added another Preface ſome years after, declaring that although he had caſt out the darkneſs, by ſetting forth the Scriptures to his People, which had produced very good effects; yet, as Hypocriſie and Superſtition were purged away, ſo a Spirit of preſumption, diſſention, and carnal liberty was breaking in. For repreſſing which he had by the advice of his Clergy, ſet forth a Declaration of the true knowledge of God, for directing all mens belief and practice; which both Houſes of Parliament had ſeen, and liked very well. So that he verily truſted it contained a true and ſufficient Doctrine, for the attaining everlaſting life. Therefore he required all his People, to read and print in their hearts, the Doctrine of this Book. He alſo willed them to remember, that as there were ſome Teachers, whoſe Office it was to inſtruct the People; ſo the reſt ought to be taught, and to thoſe it was not neceſſary to read the Scriptures: and that therefore he had reſtrained it from a great many, eſteeming it ſufficient for ſuch to hear the Doctrine of the Scriptures taught by their Preachers, which they ſhould lay up in their hearts, and practiſe in their lives. Laſtly, he deſired all his Subjects to pray to God to grant them the Spirit of Humility, that they might read and carry in their hearts the Doctrine ſet forth in this Book. But though I have joyned the account of this Preface, to the Extract here made of the Biſhop's Book, yet it was not prefixed to it, till above two years after the other was ſet out.

All this ſet forth in a Book,

And publiſhed by the King's Authority.

When this was publiſhed, both Parties found cauſe in it both to be glad and ſorrowful. The Reformers rejoyced to ſee the Doctrine of the Goſpel thus opened more and more; for they concluded that Ignorance and prejudices, being the chief ſupports of the Errours they complained of; the inſtructing People in Divine Matters, even though ſome particulars diſpleaſed them, yet would awaken and work upon an inquiſitive humor that was then a ſtirring; and they did not doubt but their Doctrines were ſo clear, that inquiries into Religion would do their buſineſs. They were alſo glad to ſee the Morals of Chriſtianity ſo well cleared, which they hoped would diſpoſe People to a better taſte of Divine matters; ſince they had obſerved that purity of Soul does mightily prepare People for ſound Opinions. Moſt of the Superſtitious conceits and practices, which had for ſome ages em-

It is variouſly cenſured.

1540. based the Christian Faith, were now removed; and the great fundamental of Christianity, the Covenant between God and Man in Christ, with the conditions of it, was plainly and sincerely declared. There was also another Principle laid down, that was big with a further Reformation: for every National Church was declared a compleat Body within it self, with power to reform Heresies, correct Abuses, and do every thing else that was necessary for keeping it self pure, or governing its members. By which there was a fair way opened for a full discussion of things afterwards, when a fitter opportunity should be offered. But on the other hand, the Popish Party thought they had gained much. The seven Sacraments were again asserted, so that here much ground was recovered, and they hoped more would follow. There were many things laid down, to which they knew the Reformers would never consent. So that they, who were resolved to comply with every thing that the King had a mind to, were pretty safe. But the others, who followed their persuasions and consciences were brought into many snares; and the Popish Party was confident that their absolute Compliance, which was joyned with all possible submission and flattery, would gain the King at length: and the stiffness of others, who would not give that difference to the King's judgment and pleasure, would so alienate him from them, that he would in the end abandon them; for with the King's years, his uneasiness and perverseness grew mightily on him.

The dissolution of the King's Marriage with *Anne* of *Cleves*, had so offended the Princes of *Germany*, that though upon the Ladies account, they made no publick noise of it; yet there was little more intercourse between the King and them, especially *Cromwel* falling, that had always carried on the correspondence with them. And as this intercourse went off, so a secret Treaty was set on foot between the King and the Emperor: yet it came not to a Conclusion till two years after.

Corrections of the Mass-Book and other Offices. *Ex M S S.* D D. *Stillingfleet.*

The other Bishops that were appointed to examine the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, drew up a Rubrick and *Rationale* of them: which I do not find was printed, but a very Authentical M S. of a great part of it is extant. The alterations they made were inconsiderable, and so slight, that there was no need of reprinting, either the Missals, Breviaries, or other Offices; for a few rasures of these Collects in which the Pope was prayed for, of *Thomas Becket*'s Office, and the Offices of other Saints, whose days were by the King's Injunctions no more to be observed, with some other Deletions, made that the old Books did still serve. For whether it was, that the Change of the Mass-Books, and other publick Offices, would have been too great a Charge to the Nation; or whether they thought it would have possessed the People with an opinion that the Religion was altered, since the Books of the ancient Worship were changed; which remaining the same, they might be the more easily perswaded; that the Religion was still the same; there was no new impression of the Breviaries, Missals, and other Rituals, during this King's Reign. Yet in Queen *Mary*'s time they took care that Posterity should not know how much was dashed out or changed. For as all Parishes were required to furnish themselves with new compleat Books of the Offices;

fices; ſo the daſhed Books were every-where brought in, and deſtroyed. But it is likely that moſt of thoſe Scandalous Hymns and Prayers, which are addreſſed to Saints in the ſame ſtyle, in which good Chriſtians worſhip God, were all ſtruck out; becauſe they were now condemned, as appears from the Extract of the other Book ſet out by the Biſhops. 1540.

A Perſecution of Proteſtants.

But as they went on in theſe things, the Popiſh Party, whoſe Counſels were laid very cloſe, and managed with great dexterity, chiefly by the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner*, purſued the ruine of thoſe whom they called Hereticks: knowing well that if the King was once ſet againſt them, and they provoked againſt the Government, he would be not only alienated from them, but forced, for ſecuring himſelf againſt them, to gain the hearts of his other Subjects by a Conjunction with the Emperor, and by his means with the Pope. The firſt on whom this deſign took effect, were Doctor *Barnes*, Mr. *Gerrard*, and Mr. *Jerome*, all Prieſts; who had been among the earlieſt Converts to *Luther's* Doctrine. *Barnes* had in a Sermon at *Cambridge*, during the Cardinals greatneſs, reflected on the Pomp and State in which he lived, ſo plainly, that every body underſtood of whom he meant. So he was carried up to *London*; but by the interpoſition of *Gardiner* and *Fox*, who were his friends, he was ſaved at that time, having abjured ſome opinions that were objected to him. But other accuſations being afterwards brought againſt him, he was again Impriſoned, and it was believed that he would have been burnt. But he made his eſcape and went to *Germany*, where he gave himſelf to the ſtudy of the Scriptures and Divinity. In which he became ſo conſiderable, that not only the *German* Divines, but their Princes, took great notice of him: and the King of *Denmark* ſending over Ambaſſadors to the King, he was ſent with them; though perhaps *Fox* was ill informed, when he ſays he was one of them. *Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*, being at *Smalcald* in the year 1536. ſent him over to *England*; where he was received and kindly entertained by *Cromwel*, and well uſed by the King. And by his means the correſpondence with the *Germans* was chiefly kept up. For he was often ſent over to the Courts of the ſeveral Princes. But in particular, he had the misfortune to be firſt employed in the project of the King's Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*; for that giving the King ſo little ſatisfaction, all who were the main promoters of it fell in diſgrace upon it.

Of *Barnes* and others.

But other things concurred to deſtroy *Barnes*. In Lent this year *Bonner* had appointed him, and *Gerrard*, and *Jerome*, turns in the Courſe of Sermons at St. *Paul's* Croſs: they being in favour with *Cromwel*, on whom *Bonner* depended wholly. But *Gardiner* ſent *Bonner* word, that he intended himſelf to preach on Sunday at St. *Paul's* Croſs: and in his Sermon he treated of Juſtification, and other points, with many reflections on the *Lutherans*. *Barnes*, when it came to his Turn, made uſe of the ſame Text, but preached contrary Doctrine; not without ſome unhandſome reflections on *Gardiner's* perſon; and he played on his name, alluding to a Gardiner's ſetting ill Plants in a Garden. The other two preached the ſame Doctrine, but made no reflections on any Perſon. *Gardiner* ſeemed to bear it with a great appearance of neglect

1540. neglect and indifferency. But his friends complained to the King of the unsufferable insolencies of these Preachers, who did not spare so great a Prelate, especially he being a Privy-Councellor. So *Barnes* was questioned for it, and commanded to go and give the Bishop of *Winchester* satisfaction. And the Bishop carried the matter with a great shew of moderation, and acted outwardly in it, as became his Function: though it was believed the matter struck deeper in his heart, which the effects that followed seemed to demonstrate. The King concerned himself in the matter, and did argue with *Barnes* about the Points in difference. But whether he was truly convinced, or overcome rather with the fear of the King than with the force of his reasonings; he and his two Friends, *William Jerome*, and *Tho. Gerrard*, signed a paper (which will be found in the Collection,) in which he acknowledged, 'That having been brought before the King, for 'things preached by him; His Highness, being assisted by some of the 'Clergy, and so disputed with him, that he was convinced of his rash- 'ness and oversight: and promised to abstain from such indiscretions 'for the future, and to submit to any orders the King should give for 'what was past.

Collect. *Numb.* 22.

'The Articles were. *First*, That though we are Redeemed only 'by the death of Christ, in which we participate by Faith and Bap- 'tism; yet by not following the Commandments of Christ we 'lose the benefits of it, which we cannot recover but by Pe- 'nance.

'*Secondly*, That God is not the Author of Sin, or Evil, which he 'only permits.

'*Thirdly*, That we ought to reconcile our selves to our neighbours, 'and forgive, before we can be forgiven.

'*Fourthly*, That good works, done sincerely according to the Scrip- 'tures, are profitable and helpful to Salvation.

'*Fifthly*, That Laws made by Christian Rulers ought to be obey- 'ed by their Subjects for conscience sake: and that whosoever breaks 'them, breaks God's Commandments.

It's not likely that *Barnes* could say any thing directly contrary to these Articles: though having brought much of *Luther*'s heat over with him, he might have said some things that sounded ill upon their heads. There were other Points in difference between *Gardiner* and him, about Justification; but it seems the King thought these were of so subtile a nature, that no Article of Faith was controverted in them: and therefore left the Bishop and him to agree these among themselves, which they in a great measure did. So the King commanded *Barnes* and his friend to preach at the *Spittle* in the *Easter* week, and openly to recant what they had formerly said. And *Barnes* was in particular to ask the Bishop of *Winchester*'s pardon, which he did: and *Gardiner* being twice desired by him, to give some sign that he forgave him, did lift up his Finger. But in their Sermons, it was said they justified in one part, what they recanted in another. Of which complaints being brought to the King, he, without hearing them, sent them all to the *Tower*. And *Cromwel*'s interest at Court was then declining so fast, that either he could not protect them, or else would not prejudice himself by interposing in a matter which gave the King so

so great offence. They lay in the Tower till the Parliament met, and then they were attainted of Heresie, without ever being brought to make their answer. And it seems for the Extraordinariness of the thing, they resolved to mix attainders for things that were very different from one another. For four others were by the same Act attainted of Treason, who were *Gregory Buttolph*, *Adam Damplip*, *Edmund Brindholme*, and *Clement Philpot*, for assisting *Reginald Pool*, adhering to the Bishop of *Rome*, denying the King to be the Supream Head on earth of the Church of *England*, and designing to surprize the Town of *Callice*. One *Derby Gunnings* was also attainted of Treason for assisting one *Fitz-Gerald* a Traitor in *Ireland*. And after all these, *Barnes*, *Gerrard* and *Jerome*, are attainted of Heresie, being, as the Act says. 'Detestable Hereticks, who had conspired together 'to set forth many Heresies, and taking themselves to be Men of 'learning, had expounded the Scriptures; perverti g them to their 'Heresies, the number of which was too long to be re| eated; that 'having formerly abjured, they were now incorrigible Hereticks: 'and so were condemned to be burned, or suffer any other death; as 'should please the King. And two days after *Cromwel*'s death, being the 30*th* of *July*, They were brought to *Smithfield*, where in their Execution there was as odd a mixture, as had been in their Attainders. For *Abel*, *Fetherston* and *Powel*, that were attainted by another Act of the same Parliament, for owning the Pope's Supremacy, and denying the King's, were carried to the place of Execution, and coupled with the other three. So that one of each was put into a Hurdle, and carried together, which every body condemned as an Extravagant affectation of the shew of Impartial Justice. 1540. Who were condemned in Parliament.

When they were brought to the Stake, *Barnes* spake thus to the People. 'Since he was to be burned as an Heretick, he would declare 'what Opinions he held. So he enlarged on all the Articles of the 'Creed, to shew he believed them all. He expressed a particular ab- 'horrence of an Opinion which some Anabaptists held, That the 'Blessed Virgin was as a Saffron Bagg; (by which indecent *Simile* 'they meant that our Saviour took no substance of her.) He explain- 'ed his Opinion of Good works, that they must of necessity be done, 'since without them none should ever enter into the Kingdom of 'God. They were commanded of God, to shew forth our profession 'by them: but he believed, as they were not pure nor perfect, so 'they did not avail to our Justification, nor merit any thing at the 'hands of God; for that was to be ascribed to the Merits of the Dea h 'and Passion of Christ. He professed great Reverence to the Blessed 'Virgin and Saints. But said, he saw no warrant in Scriptures for 'praying to them: nor was it certain whether they prayed for us or 'not; but if the Saints did pray for those on Earth, he trusted within 'half an hour to be praying for them all. Then he asked the Sheriff if he had any Articles against them, for which they were condemned: who answered he had none. He next asked the People, if they knew wherefore he died, or if they had been led into any Errours by his Preaching; but none made answer. Then he said, he heard he was condemned to die by an Act of Parliament; and it seemed it was for Heresie, since they were to be burnt. He prayed God to forgive Their Speeches at the Stake.

those

1540. those who had been the occasions of it. And in particular, for the Bishop of *Winchester*, if he had sought or procured his death, he prayed God heartily to forgive him, as Christ forgave his Murtherers. He prayed earnestly for the King, and the Prince; and exhorted the People to pray for them. He said, some had reported that he had been a Preacher of Sedition and Disobedience: But he declared to the People, that they were bound by the Law of God, to obey their King's Laws with all humility, not only for fear, but for Conscience; adding, that if the King commanded any thing against God's Law, though it were in their Power to resist him, yet they might not do it. Then he desired the Sheriff to carry five requests from him to the King.

'*First*, That since he had taken the Abbey-Lands into his hands, 'for which he did not blame him, (as the Sheriff fancied he was about 'to do, and thereupon stopped him,) but was glad that Superstition 'was taken away; and that the King was then a compleat King, o- 'beyed by all his Subjects, which had been done through the Preach- 'ing of them, and such wretches as they were: yet he wished the King 'would bestow these goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his 'poor Subjects who had great need of them.

'*Secondly*, That Marriage might be had in greater esteem, and 'that Men might not upon light pretences cast off their Wives; and 'that those who were unmarried, might not be suffered to live in 'Whoredom.

'*Thirdly*, That Abominable Swearers might be punished.

'*Fourthly*, That since the King had begun to set forth Christian 'Religion, he would go forward in it, and make an end: for though 'he had done a great deal, yet many things remained to be done, 'and he wished that the King might not be deceived with false 'Teachers.

The *Fifth* desire he said he had forgot.

Then he begged that they all would forgive him, if at any time he had said or done evil unadvisedly: and so turned about, and prepared himself for his death.

Jerome spake next, and declared his Faith upon every Article of the Creed; and said that he believed that was in the Holy Scriptures. He also prayed for the King, and the Prince. And concluded with a very Pathetical Exhortation to mutual Love and Charity; that they would propose to themselves the pattern of Christ's wonderful Love, through whom only he hoped to be saved; and desired all their Prayers for himself and his Brethren. Then *Gerrard* declared his Faith, and said, That if through ignorance or negligence, he had taught any error, he was sorry for it; and asked God pardon and them, whom he had thereby offended. But he protested, that according to his Learning and Knowledge, he had always set forth the honour of God, and the obedience of the King's Laws. Then they all prayed for the pardon of their Sins, and constancy and patience in their sufferings: And so they embraced and kissed one another, and then the Executioners tyed them to the Stake, and set fire to them.

Their death did rather encourage than dishearten their followers: who seeing such an extraordinary measure of patience in them, were the more confirmed in their resolutions of suffering for a good conscience,

ſcience, and for his name, who did not forſake his Servants in their cruel Agonies. One difference between their Sufferings, and the other three who were hanged for aſſerting the Pope's Supremacy, was remarkable; that though the others demeaned themſelves toward them with the moſt uncharitable and ſpiteful malice that was poſſible, (ſo that their own Hiſtorian ſays, That their being carried with them to their Execution was bitterer to them than death it ſelf;) yet they declared their hearty forgiving of their Enemies, and of *Gardiner* in particular, who was generally looked on as the Perſon that procured their death: which Imputation ſtuck faſt to him, though by a Printed Apology he ſtudied to clear himſelf of any other concernment in it, than by giving his vote for the Act of their Attainder. 1540.

Now *Bonner* began to ſhew his nature. Hitherto he had acted another Part. For being moſt extreamly deſirous of Preferment, he had ſo complied with *Cromwell* and *Cranmer*, that they had great confidence in him; and he being a bluſtering and forward Man, they thought he might do the Reformation good ſervice, and therefore he was advanced ſo high by their means. But as ſoon as ever *Cromwell* fell, the very next day he ſhewed his Ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the Wind. For *Grafton* the Printer, (whom *Cromwell* favoured much for his Printing the Bible, and who was by that means very familiar with *Bonner*,) meeting him, ſaid, he was very ſorry for the news he heard of *Cromwell*'s being ſent to the Tower. *Bonner* anſwered, It had been good he had been diſpatcht long ago. So the other ſhrunk away, perceiving the change that was in him. And ſome days after that, *Grafton* being brought before the Council, for ſome Verſes which he was believed to have Printed in commendation of *Cromwell*, *Bonner* informed the Council of what *Grafton* had ſaid to him upon *Cromwell*'s being Arreſted, to make the other Charge ſeem the more probable. Yet *Audley* the Chancellor was *Grafton*'s friend, and brought him off. But *Bonner* gave the City of *London* quickly cauſe to apprehend the utmoſt ſeverities from him. For many were endicted by his procurement. Yet the King was loth to give too many Inſtances of Cruelty, in this declination of his Age, and therefore by an order from the *Star-Chamber* they were diſcharged. But upon what motives I cannot fancy, he pickt out an Inſtance, which, if the deeper ſtains of his following life had not daſht all particular ſpots, had been ſufficient to have blemiſht him for ever. There was one *Richard Mekins* a Boy not above fifteen years of Age, and both Illiterate and very Ignorant, who had ſaid ſomewhat againſt the corporal preſence of Chriſt's Body in the Sacrament, and in Commendation of Doctor *Barnes*. Upon this he was Indicted. The words were proved by two Witneſſes, and a day was appointed for the Juries to bring in their Verdict. The day being come, the Grand Jury was called for, then the Fore-man ſaid, they had found nothing. This put *Bonner* in a fury, and he charged them with Perjury: But they ſaid they could find nothing, for the Witneſſes did not agree. The one depoſed, That he had ſaid the Sacrament was nothing but a *Ceremony*: and the other, That it was nothing but a *Signification*. But *Bonner* ſtill perſiſted and told them, that he had ſaid, *That* Barnes *dyed Holy*. But they could not find theſe words to be againſt the Statute. *Bonner*'s cruelty.

1540. tute. Upon which *Bonner* curſed, and was in a great rage, and cauſed them to go aſide again: So they being over-awed, returned and found the Indictment. Then ſate the Jury upon life and death, who found him Guilty: and he was adjudged to be burnt. But when he was brought to the Stake, he was taught to ſpeak much good of *Bonner*, and to condemn all Hereticks, and *Barnes* in particular, ſaying he had learned Hereſie of him. Thus the Boy was made to dye with a lie in his mouth. For *Barnes* held not that opinion of the Sacraments being only a Ceremony or Signification, but was a zealous *Lutheran*: which appeared very ſignally on many occaſions, chiefly in *Lambert*'s caſe. Three others were alſo burned at *Salisbury* upon the ſame Statute, one of whom was a Prieſt. Two alſo were burned at *Lincoln* in one day. Beſides, a great number of Perſons were brought in trouble, and kept long in Priſon upon the Statute of the ſix Articles. But more Blood I find not ſpilt at this time.

New Biſhopricks founded.

In the end of this year were the new Biſhopricks founded. For in *December* was the Abbey of *Weſtminſter* converted into a Biſhop's See, and a Deanry and twelve Prebends, with the Officers for a Cathedral and a Quire. And in the year following on the 4*th* of *Auguſt*, the King erected out of the Monaſtery of St. *Werburgh* at *Cheſter*, a Biſhoprick, a Deanry, and ſix Prebends. In *September*, out of the Monaſtery at St. *Peter*'s at *Gloceſter*, the King endowed a Biſhoprick, a Deanry, and ſix Prebendaries. And in the ſame month, the Abbey of *Peterborough* was converted to a Biſhop's ſeat, a Deanry, and ſix Prebendaries. And to lay this whole matter together, two years after this, the Abbey of *Oſney* in *Oxford* was converted into a Biſhoprick, a Deanry, and ſix Prebends. And the Monaſtery of St. *Auſtin*'s in *Briſtol* was changed into the ſame uſe. There are many other Grants alſo in the Rolls, both to the Biſhops, and Deans, and Chapters, of theſe Sees. But theſe Foundations will be better underſtood, by their Charters: of which, ſince the Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter* is leaſt known, becauſe long ago ſuppreſſed, I have choſen to ſet down the Charter of that See; which the Reader will find in the Collection: And they running all in the ſame ſtyle, one may ſerve for the reſt. The Subſtance of the Preamble is, 'That the King being moved by the Grace of God, and intending nothing more than that true Religion, and the ſincere worſhip of God, ſhould not be abo-liſhed, but rather reſtored to the Primitive ſincerity, and reformed from theſe abuſes with which the profeſſion and the lives of the Monks had ſo long and ſo lamentably corrupted Religion; had, as far as human Infirmity could foreſee, deſigned that the word of God might be ſincerely Preached, the Sacraments purely Adminiſtred, good Order kept up, the Youth well Inſtructed, and old People relieved, with other publick Alms-deeds. And therefore the King Erected and Endowed theſe Sees. The day after theſe ſeveral Grants, there followed a Writ to the Arch-Biſhop, containing, that the King had appointed ſuch a Perſon to be Biſhop of that See, Requiring him to Conſecrate and Ordain him in due form. Then the Priories at moſt Cathedrals, ſuch as *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Dureſm*, *Worceſter*, *Carliſle*, *Rocheſter* and *Ely*, were alſo converted into Deanries, and Colleges of Prebends, with many other Officers, and

Collect. *Numb.* 23.

an Allowance of Charity to be yearly distributed to the Poor. 1540

But as all this came far short of what the King had once intended, so *Cranmer*'s Design was quite disappointed. For he had projected that in every Cathedral there should be provision made for Readers of Divinity, and of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and a great number of Students to be both exercised in the daily Worship of God, and trained up in Study and Devotion; whom the Bishop might transplant out of this Nursery, into all the Parts of his Diocess. And thus every Bishop should have had a College of Clergy-men under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit: he saw great disorders among some Prebendaries, and in a long Letter, the Original of which I have seen, he expressed his regret that these Endowments went in such a Channel. Yet now his Power was not great at Court, and the other Party run down all his Motions. But these who observed things narrowly, judged that a good mixture of Prebendaries, and of young Clerks bred up about Cathedrals, under the Bishop's eye, and the Conduct and Direction of the Dean and Prebendaries, had been one of the greatest Blessings that could have be fallen the Church: Which not being sufficiently provided of Houses for the Forming of the minds and manners of those who are to be received into Orders, has since felt the ill effects of it very sensibly. Against this, *Cranmer* had projected a Noble Remedy, had not the Popish Party then at Court, who very well apprehended the advantages such Nurseries would have given to the Reformation, born down this Proposition, and turned all the King's Bounty and Foundations another way.

Cranmer's design miscarries.

These new Foundations gave some credit to the King's proceedings, and made the Suppression of Chanteries and Chappels go on more smoothly. But those of the *Roman* Party beyond Sea, censured this, as they had done all the rest of the King's Actings. They said, it was but a slight Restitution of a small part of the Goods, of which he had robbed the Church. And they Complained of the King's encroaching on the Spiritual Jurisdiction of the Church, by dismembring Dioceses, and removing Churches from one Jurisdiction to another. To this it was answered That the necessities which their practices put on the King, both to fortifie his Coast and Dominions, to send Money beyond Sea for keeping the War at a distance from himself, and to secure his quiet at home, by easie grants of these Lands, made him that he could not do all that he intended. And for the Division of Dioceses, many things were brought from the *Roman* Law, to shew, That the Division of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, whether of Patriarchs, Primates, Metropolitans or Bishops, was Regulated by the Emperors; of which the Ancient Councils always approved. And in *England*, when the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* being judged of too great an Extent, the Bishoprick of *Ely* was taken out of it, it was done only by the King, with the consent of his Clergy and Nobles. Pope *Nicolas* indeed officiously intruded himself into that matter, by sending afterwards a Confirmation of that which was done. But that was one of the great Arts of the Papacy, to offer Confirmations of things that were done without the Popes. For these being easily received by them, that thought of nothing more than to give the better countenance to their own Acts. the

These Foundations censured.

1540. Popes afterwards founded a Right on these Confirmations. The very receiving of them was pretended to be an acknowledgment of a Title in the Pope. And the matter was so artificially managed, that Princes were noozed into some approbation of such a pretence, before they were aware of it. And then the Authority of the Canon Law prevailing, Maxims were laid down in it, by which the most tacite and inconsiderate Acts of Princes, were construed to such senses, as still advanced the greatness of the Papal pretensions.

This business of the new Foundations being thus setled, the matters of the Church were now put in a method: and the Bishop's Book was the standard of Religion. So that whosoever was not agreeable to that, was judged Heretical, whether it leaned to the one side, or the other. But it seems that the King by some secret Order had checked up the the Party, which was going on the Execution of the Statute of the six Articles, that they should not proceed capitally.

The State of the Court at this time.

Thus matters went this year, and with this, the Series of the History of the Reformation, made by this King, ends: for it was now digested and formed into a Body. What followed was not in a Thread, but now and then some remarkable things were done: sometimes in favour of the one, and sometimes of the other Party. For after Cromwell fell, the King did not go on so steadily in any thing as he had done formerly. *Cromwell* had an Ascendant over him, which after Cardinal *Wolsey*'s fall none besides himself ever had. They knew how to manage the King's uneasie and imperious humor: But now none had such a Power over him. The Duke of *Norfolk* was wise and brave, and made his Court well, but had not so great a Genius, so that the King did rather trust and fear, than esteem him. *Gardiner* was only a Tool, and being of an abject Spirit, was employed, but not at all reverenced by the King. *Cranmer* retained always candor and simplicity, and was a great Prelate; but neither a good Courtier, nor a States-man. And the King esteemed him more for his vertues, than for his dexterity and cunning in business. So that now the King was left wholly to himself; and being extream humorous and impatient, there were more errors committed in the last years of his Government, than had been for his whole Reign before. *France* forsook him, *Scotland* made War upon him, which might have been fatal to him, if their King had not died in the beginning of it, leaving an Infant Princess, but a few days old, behind him. And though the Emperor made Peace with him, yet it was but an hollow agreement. Of all which I shall give but slender hints, in the rest of this Book; and rather open some few particulars, than pursue a continued Narration, since the matter of my Work fails me.

The Bible in *English* set up in all Churches.

In *May* the 33d year of the King's Reign, a new Impression of the Bible was finished, and the King by Proclamation, 'Required all Curates and Parishioners of every Town and Parish, to provide themselves a Copy of it before All-Hallowtide: under the Penalty of forfeiting forty Shillings a month, after that, till they had done. He declared that he set it forth, to the end, that his People might by Reading it, perceive the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God: Observe his Commadments, obey the Laws, and their Prince, and live

Collect. *Numb.* 24.

'live in Godly Charity among themſelves. But that the King did 1540.
'not thereby intend that his Subjects ſhould preſume to expound, or
'take arguments from Scripture; nor diſturb Divine Service, by read-
'ing it, when Maſs was Celebrating: but ſhould read it meekly, humbly, and reverently, for their Inſtruction, Edification and Amendment. There was alſo care taken ſo to Regulate the Prices of the Bibles, that there ſhould be no exacting on the Subjects in the Sale of them. And *Bonner* ſeeing the King's mind was ſet on this, ordered ſix of theſe great Bibles to be ſet up in ſeveral places of St. *Paul's*: that all Perſons who could read, might at all times have free acceſs to them. And upon the Pillars to which theſe Bibles were chained, an Exhortation was ſet up, 'admoniſhing all, that came thither to Collect. Numb. 25.
'read, That they ſhould lay aſide vain-glory, hypocriſie, and all o-
'ther corrupt affections, and bring with them Diſcretion, good In-
'tentions, Charity, Reverence, and a quiet Behaviour, for the Edifi-
'cation of their own Souls; but not to draw multitudes about them,
'nor to make Expoſitions of what they read, nor to read aloud, nor
'make noiſe in time of Divine Service, nor enter into Diſputes con-
'cerning it. But People came generally to hear the Scriptures read, and ſuch as could read, and had clear voices, came often thither with great Crowds about them. And many ſet their Children to School, that they might carry them with them to St. *Paul's*, and hear them read the Scriptures. Nor could the People be hindred from entring into diſputes about ſome places: for who could hear the words of the Inſtitution of the Sacrament, *Drink ye all of it*, or St. *Paul's* Diſcourſe againſt worſhip in an unknown Tongue, and not from thence be led to conſider, that the People were deprived of the Cup, which by Chriſt's expreſs Command was to be drank by all; and that they were bid to a worſhip, to which the unlearned could not ſay, *Amen*, ſince they underſtood not what was ſaid, either in the Collects or Hymns? So the King had many Complaints brought him, of the Abuſes that were ſaid to have riſen from the Liberty given the People to read the Scriptures. Upon which, *Bonner*, (no doubt having obtained the King's leave) ſet up a new Advertiſement; in which he complained of theſe abuſes, in the reading the Bible: for which he threatned the People, that he would remove theſe Bibles out of the Church, if they continued as they did, to abuſe ſo high a favour. Yet theſe Complaints produced no further ſeverity at this time. But by them the Popiſh party afterwards obtained what they deſired. This Summer the King turned the Monaſtery of *Burton* upon *Trent*, into a Collegiat Church for a Dean and four Prebends: and the Monaſtery of *Thornton* in *Lincolnſhire* into another, for a Dean and four Prebends. In this year 1541.
Cranmer took it into Conſideration, to what exceſs the Tables of the *Antiq. Brit. in Reg. Pole.*
Biſhops had riſen, whereby thoſe Revenues that ought to have been A Rule about Church-rulers houſe-keeping.
applied to better purpoſes, were waſted on great Entertainment; which though they paſſed under the decent name of Hoſpitality, yet were in themſelves both too high and expenſive, and proved great hindrances to Church-mens Charity, in more neceſſary and profitable inſtances. He therefore ſet out an Order, for Regulating that Expence: by which, an Arch-Biſhops Table was not to exceed ſix diſhes of meat, and four of * Banquet; a Biſhops, five diſhes of meat, and * *Bellaria.*
three

1541. three of Banquet; a Deans or Arch-Deacons Table was not to exceed four dishes, and two of Banquet; and other Clergy-men might be served only with two dishes. But he that gives us the account of this, laments that this Regulation took no effect. And complains that the people expecting generally such splendid House-keeping from the Dignified Clergy, and not considering how short their Revenues are, of what they were anciently: they out of a weak Compliance with the Multitude, have disabled themselves of keeping Hospitality, as our Saviour ordered it, not for the Rich, but the Poor; not to mention the other ill effects that follow too sumptuous a Table.

The King goes to *York*.

In the end of this year, the Tragical fall of the Queen put a stop to all other proceedings. The King had invited his Nephew, the King of *Scotland*, to meet him at *York*, who was resolved to come thither. The King intended to gain upon him all he could, and to engage him to follow the Copy he had set him, in Extirpating the Pope's Supremacy, and Suppressing Abbeys, and to establish a firm agreement in all other things. The Clergy of *Scotland* feared the ill effects of that Interview, especially their King being a Prince of most extraordinary Parts, who, had he not blemished his Government with being so extreamly addicted to his pleasures, was the Greatest Prince that Nation had for several Ages. He was a great Patron of Learning, and Executor of Justice: he used in Person and *Incognito*, to go over his Kingdom, and see how Justice was every where done. He had no very good Opinion of the Religious Orders, and had encouraged *Buchanan* to write a severe and witty Libel against the *Franciscan* Friars. So that they were very apprehensive that he might have been wrought on by his Uncle. Therefore they used all their endeavours to divert his Journey. But the *French* King, that had him fast engaged to his Interest, falling then off from the King, wrought more on him. So instead of meeting the King at *York*, where magnificent preparations were made for his Reception, he sent his Excuse; which provoked his Uncle, and gave occasion to a breach that followed not long after.

An account of the State of *Scotland*.

But here I shall crave the Readers leave to give a full representation of the state of Religion at this time in *Scotland*, and of the footing the Reformation had got there: Its neighbourhood to *England*, and the Union of these Kingdoms, first in the same Religion, and since under the same Princes, together with the intercourse that was both in this and the next Reign, between these Nations, seem not only to justifie this Digression, but rather challenge it as a part of the History, without which it should be defective. And it may be the rather expected from one, who had his Birth and Education in that Kingdom.

The beginnings of Learning there.

The Correspondence between that Crown and *France* was the cause that what Learning they had, came from *Paris*: where our Kings generally kept some Scholars, and from that great Nursery they were brought over, and set in the Universities of *Scotland* to propagate Learning there. From the year 1412, in which *Wardlaw*, Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, first founded that University, Learning had made such a progress, that more Colleges were soon after founded in that City. Universities were also founded both at *Glascow*, and *Aberdeen*, which

which have ſince furniſhed that Nation with many eminent Scholars in all profeſſions. But at the time that Learning came into *Scotland*, the knowledge of true Religion alſo followed it: and in that ſame Arch-Biſhops time, one *John Resby* an *Engliſh* man, a follower of *Wickliff*'s Opinions, was charged with Hereſie. Forty Articles were objected to him, of which two are only mentioned. The one was, That *The Pope is not Chriſt's Vicar.* The other was, That *he was not to be eſteemed a Pope, if he was a man of wicked life.* For maintaining theſe, he was burnt *Anno* 1407. Twenty four years after that, one *Paul Craw* came out of *Germany*, and being a *Bohemian* and an *Huſſite*, was infuſing his Doctrine into ſome at St. *Andrews*, which being diſcovered, he was judged an obſtinate Heretick, and burnt there, *Anno* 1432. And to encourage People to proſecute ſuch Perſons, *Fogo*, who had diſcovered him, was rewarded with the Abbey of *Melroſs* ſoon after.

1541. And of the Reformation.

Arch-Biſhop *Spotſwood.*

Leſley.

It does not appear that thoſe Doctrines, which were called *Lollardies* in *England*, had gained many followers in *Scotland*, till near the end of that Century. But then it was found that they were much ſpread over the Weſtern Parts: which being in the neighbourhood of *England*, thoſe who were perſecuted there, might perhaps fly into *Scotland*, and ſpread their Doctrine in that Kingdom. Several Perſons of Quality were then charged with theſe Articles, and brought to the Arch-Biſhops of *Glaſgow*'s Courts. But they anſwered him with ſuch confidence, that he thought fit to diſcharge them, with an admonition to take heed of new Doctrines, and to content themſelves with the Faith of the Church.

Spotſwood.

At this time the Clergy in *Scotland* were both very ignorant and diſſolute in their manners. The Secular Clergy minded nothing but their Tithes, and did either hire ſome Friers to Preach, or ſome poor Prieſts to ſing Maſſes to them at their Churches. The Abbots had poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt ſeats, and the greateſt wealth of the Nation: and by a profuſe Superſtition, almoſt the one half of the Kingdom fell into the hands of the Churchmen. The Biſhops looked more after the affairs of the State, than the concerns of the Church; and were reſolved to maintain by their cruelty, what their Predeceſſors had acquired by fraud and impoſtures. And as *Leſly* himſelf confeſſes, there was no pains taken to inſtruct the People in the principles of Religion; nor were the Children at all Catechiſed, but left in ignorance: and the ill lives of the Clergy, who were both covetous and lewd, diſpoſed the People to favour thoſe that preached for a Reformation.

The Clergy were both ignorant and cruel.

The firſt that ſuffered in this Age was *Patrick Hamilton*, a Perſon of very noble Blood: his Father was Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, and his Mother Siſter to the Duke of *Albany*; ſo nearly was he on both ſides related to the King. He was provided of the Abbey of *Fern* in his youth; and being deſigned for greater Preferments, he was ſent to travel: but as he went thorough *Germany*, he contracted a friendſhip with *Luther*, *Melanction*, and others of their Perſuaſion; by whoſe means he was inſtructed in the Points about which they differed from the Church of *Rome*. He returned to *Scotland*, that he might communicate that knowledge to others with which himſelf was ſo happily enlightned. And little conſidering, either the hindrance of his further Preferment, or the other dangers that might lie in his way,

Patrick Hamilton's ſufferings.

1541. way, he spared not to lay open the Corruptions of the *Roman* Church, and to shew the Errors that had crept into the Christian Religion. He was a man both of great learning, and of a sweet and charming conversation, and came to be followed and esteemed by all sorts of People.

The Clergy being enraged at this, invited him to St. *Andrews*, that there might be Conferences held with him, about those Points which he condemned. And one Friar *Campbel*, Prior of the *Dominicans*, who had the reputation of a Learned man, was appointed to treat with him. They had many Conferences together, and the Prior seemed to be convinced in most points; and acknowledged there were many things in the Church that requird Reformation. But all this while he was betraying him; so that when the Abbot looked for no such thing, he was in the night time made Prisoner, and carried to the Arch-Bishop's Castle. There several Articles were objected to him, about Original Sin, Free-will, Justification, Good Works, Priestly Absolution, Auricular Confession, Purgatory, and the Pope's being Antichrist. Some of these he positively adhered to, the others he thought were disputable Points; yet he said he would not condemn them, except he saw better reasons than any he had yet heard. The matter was referred to twelve Divines of the University, of whom Friar *Campbel* was one. And within a day or two they censured all his Tenets as Heretical, and contrary to the Faith of the Church. On the first of *March* Judgment was given upon him, by *Beaton* Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, with whom sate the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *Bricken* and *Dunblan*, five *Abbots*, and many of the inferior Clergy. They also made the whole University, old and young, sign it. He was declared an obstinate Heretick, and delivered to the Secular Power.

The King had at that time gone a Pilgrimage to *Ross*, and the Clergy fearing lest nearness of blood, with the Intercessions which might be made for him, should snatch this Prey out of their hands, proceeded that same day to his Execution. So in the afternoon he was brought to the Stake before St. *Salvators* College. He stripped himself of his Garments, and gave them to his man; and said, *he had no more to leave him, but the example of his death. That he prayed him to keep in mind. For though it was bitter and painful in mans Judgment, yet it was the entrance to Everlasting life, which none could inherit that denied Christ before such a Congregation.* Then he was tied to a Stake, and a great deal of fewel was heaped about him: which he seemed not to fear, but continued lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and recommending his Soul to God. When the train of Powder was kindled, it did not take hold of the Fewel, but only scorched his hand, and the side of his face. This occasioned some delay, till more Powder was brought from the Castle; during which time the Friars were very troublesome, and called to him to turn, and pray to our Lady, and say *Salve Regina*. None was more officious than Friar *Campbel*. The Abbot wished him often to let him alone, and give him no more trouble. But the Friar continuing to importune him; he said to him, *Wicked man, thou knowest that I am not an Heretick, and that it is the truth of God for which I now suffer. So much thou didst confess to me in private: and there-*

thereupon I appeal thee to answer before the Judgment Seat of Christ. By this time more powder was brought and the fire was kindled. He cried out with a loud voice, *How long, O Lord, shall darkness oppress this Realm? how long wilt thou suffer this Tyranny of Men?* And died repeating these words, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* The patience and constancy he expressed in his sufferings, made the Spectators generally conclude that he was a true Martyr of Christ: in which they were the more confirmed, by Frier *Campbell's* falling into great despair soon after, who from that turned frantick, and died within a year. 1541.

On this I have insisted the more fully, because it was indeed the beginning of the Reformation in *Scotland*; and raised there an humour of inquiring into Points of Religion, which did always prove fatal to the Church of *Rome*. In the University it self many were wrought on, and particularly one *Seaton*, a Dominican Frier, who was the King's Confessor. He being appointed to preach the next Lent at St. *Andrews*, insisted much on these Points: 'That the Law of God was the 'only Rule of Righteousness, that Sin was only committed when 'God's Law was violated, that no man could satisfie for Sin, and that 'pardon was to be obtained by unfeigned repentance and true Faith. But he never mentioned Purgatory, Pilgrimages, Merits nor Prayers to Saints: which used to be the Subjects on which the Friers insisted most on these occasions. Being gone from St *Andrews*, he heard that another Frier of his own Order had refuted these Doctrines. So he returned, and confirmed them in another Sermon; in which he also made some reflections on Bishops that were not *Teachers*, calling them *Dumb-Dogs*. For this he was carried before the Arch-Bishop; but he defended himself, saying that he had only in St. *Paul's* words said *a Bishop should teach*, and in *Esaias* words, that such as did not teach were *Dumb-Dogs*: but having said this in the general, he did not apply it to any Bishop in particular. The Arch-Bishop was netled at this answer, yet resolved to let him alone till he should be brought into disgrace with the King. And that was soon done, for the King being a licentious Prince, and Frier *Seaton* having often reproved him boldly for it, he grew weary of him. The Clergy perceiving this, were resolved to fall upon him. So he withdrew to *Berwick*, but wrote to the King, that if he would hear him make his defence, he would return and justifie all that he had taught. He taxed the cruelty of the Clergy, and desired the King would restrain their Tyranny, and consider that he was obliged to protect his Subjects from their Severity and Malice. But receiving no satisfactory Answer, he lived in *England*, where he was entertain'd by the Duke of *Suffolk* as his Chaplain. Not long after this one *Forrest*, a simple *Benedictin* Monk, was accused for having said that *Patrick Hamilton had died a Martyr*: yet since there was no sufficient proof to convict him, a Frier, one *Walter Lainge*, was sent to confess him, to whom in Confession he acknowledged, he thought *Hamilton* was a good Man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned, might be defended. This being revealed by the Frier, was taken for good evidence. So the poor Man was condemned to be burnt as an Heretick. As he was led out to his Execution, he said, *Fie on falshood, fie on Friers, revealers of Confession; Let never man trust*

The King's Confessor favours the Reformation.

Forrest's sufferings.

1541. *truſt them after me: they are deſpiſers of God, and deceivers of men.* When they were conſidering in what place to burn him, a ſimple man that attended the Arch-biſhop, adviſed to burn him in ſome low Cellar; for ſaid he, *the ſmoak of Mr.* Patrick Hamilton *has infected all thoſe on whom it blew.*

A further perſecution in *Scotland.*

Soon after this, Abbot *Hamilton*'s Brother and Siſter were brought into the Biſhop's Courts: but the King, who favoured this Brother, perſwaded him to abſent himſelf. His Siſter and ſix others being brought before the Biſhop of *Roſs*, who was deputed by the Arch-Biſhop to proceed againſt them, the King himſelf dealt with the Woman to abjure, which ſhe and the other ſix did. Two others were more reſolute, The one was *Normand Gowrlay*, who was charged with denying the Pope's Authority in *Scotland*, and ſaying there was no Purgatory: The other was *David Straiton.* He was charged with the ſame Opinions. They alſo alledged that he had denied that Tithes were due to Church-men: and that when the Vicar came to take the Tith out of ſome Fiſh-boats that belonged to him, he alledged the Tith was to be taken where the ſtock grew, and therefore ordered the tenth fiſh to be caſt into the Sea, and bade the Vicar to ſeek them there. They were both judged obſtinate Hereticks, and burnt at one Stake the 27*th* of *Auguſt*, 1534. Upon this perſecution ſome others, who were cited to appear, fled into *England.* Thoſe were *Alexander Aleſſe*, *John Fife*, *John Mackbee*, and one *Mackdowgall.* The firſt of theſe was received by *Cromwel* into his Family, and grew into great favour with King *Henry*, and was commonly called his Scholar; of whom ſee what was ſaid Page 214. But after *Cromwel*'s death, he took *Fife* with him, and they went into *Saxony*, and were both Profeſſors in *Leipſic.* *Mackbee* was at firſt entertained by *Shaxton* Biſhop of *Salisbury*; but he went afterwards into *Denmark*, where he was known by the name of Doctor *Maccabeus*, and was Chaplain to King *Chriſtian* the ſecond.

The progreſs of the Reformation.

But all theſe violent proceedings were not effectual enough to quench that light which was then ſhining there. Many by ſearching the Scriptures came to the knowledge of the Truth, and the noiſe of what was then doing in *England*, awakned others to make further enquiries into matters of Religion. Pope *Clement* the 7*th* apprehending that King *Henry* might prevail on his Nephew to follow his example, wrote Letters full of earneſt exhortations to him to continue in the Catholick Faith. Upon which King *James* called a Parliament, and there in the preſence of the Pope's Nuncio, declared his zeal for that Faith and the Apoſtolick See. The Parliament alſo concurred with him in it; and made Acts againſt Hereticks, and for maintaining the Pope's Authority. That ſame Pope did afterwards ſend to deſire him to aſſiſt him in making war againſt the King of *England*; for he was reſolved to divide that Kingdom among thoſe who would aſſiſt him in driving out King *Henry.* But the firm peace at that time between the King of *England* and the *French* King, kept him quiet from any trouble, which otherwiſe the King of *Scotland* might have given him. Yet King *Henry* ſent the Biſhop of St. *Davids*, with the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Brother, Lord *William Howard* to him, ſo unexpectedly, that they came to him at *Sterlin* before he had heard of their being

Leſley.

being sent. The Bishop brought with him some of the Books that had been writ for the justifying King *Henry*'s proceeding; he desired that King would impartially examine them. But he put them into the hands of some about him that were addicted to the interests of *Rome*, who, without ever reading them, told him they were full of pestilent Doctrine and Heresie. 1541. *Buchanan.*

The secret business they came for, was, To perswade that King to concur with his Uncle, and to agree on an Interview between them: and they offered him in their Master's name the Lady *Mary* in Marriage, and that he should be made Duke of *York*, and * Lord Lieutenant of all *England*. But the Clergy diverted him from it, and perswaded him rather to go on in his design of a match with *France*. And their Councils did so prevail, that he resolved to go in Person, and fetch a Queen from thence. On the first of *January* 1537. he was married to *Magdalen*, daughter to *Francis* the First. But she being then gone far in a Consumption, died soon after he had brought her home, on the 28*th* of *May*. She was much lamented by all Persons, the Clergy only excepted: for she had been bred in the Queen of *Navarres* Court, and so they apprehended she might incline the King to a Reformation. But he had seen another Lady in *France*, *Mary* of *Guise*, whom he then liked so well; that after his Queens death, he sent Cardinal *Beaton* into *France* to treat for a match with her. This gave the Clergy as much joy as the former marriage had raised fear; for no Family in Christendom was more devoted to the interests of the Papacy than that was. And now the King though he had freer thoughts himself, yet was so engaged to the pretended old Religion, that he became a violent persecutor of all who differed from it. * *Regni Anglici Vicarius.*

The King grew very expensive, he indulged himself much in his pleasures; he built four noble Palaces, which considering that Kingdom and that Age, were very extraordinary Buildings; he had also many natural Children, All which things concurred to make him very desirous of Money. There were two different Parties in the Court. The Nobility on the one hand represented to him the great wealth that the Abbots had gathered; and that if he would do as his Uncle had done, he would thereby raise his Revenue to the Triple of what it was, and provide plentifully for his Children. The Clergy on the other hand assured him, That if he would set up a strict inquisition of Hereticks, he would discover so many Men of Estates that were guilty, that by their Forfeitures he might raise about an hundred thousand Crowns a year: And for his Children, the easiest way of providing for them, was to give them good Abbeys and Priories. This they thought would engage both the King and his Sons to maintain their Rights more steadily, if their own Interests were interwoven with them. They also perswaded the King, That if he maintained the established Religion, it would give him a good interest in *England*, and make him be set up by foreign Princes as the head of the League, which the Pope and the Emperor were then projecting against King *Henry*. These Counsels being seconded by his Queen, who was a wise and good Lady, but wonderfully zealous for the Papacy, did so prevail with him, that as he made four of his Children Abbots of Priors, so he gave way to the persecuting humor of *The King wholly guided by the Clergy.*

1541. his Priests: and give Sir *James Hamilton* (a natural Brother of the Earl of *Arrans*, in whom the Clergy put much confidence,) a Commission to proceed against all that were suspected of Heresie. In the year 1539. many were cited to appear before a meeting of the Bishops at *Edinburgh*. Of those, nine abjured, many were banished and five were burnt. *Forrester*, a Gentleman, *Simpson*, a Secular Priest; *Killore* and *Beverage*, two Friars; and *Forrest*, a Canon Regular, were burnt on the *Castle-hill* of *Edinburgh*. The last of these was a zealous constant Preacher, which was a rare thing in those days. His Diocesan, the Bishop of *Dunkeld* sent for him, and rebuked him for it; and bid him, *When he found a good Epistle, or good Gospel, that made for the liberties of the Holy Church, to preach on that, and let the rest alone.* The good man answered: *he had read both the Old Testament, and the New, and never found an ill Epistle, or ill Gospel in any of them.* The Bishop replied, that *he thanked God he had lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or New: he contented himself with his Portuise, and his Pontifical; and if the other would trouble himself with these fantasies, he would repent it when he could not help it.* Forrest *said, He was resolved to do what he conceived was his duty, whatever might be the danger of it.* By this it appears how deliberately the Clergy at that time delivered themselves up to Ignorance and Superstition.

Two other Martyrs.

In the same year *Russel*, a *Franciscan* Friar, and one *Kennedy*, a young man of 18 years of age, were brought before the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*. That Bishop was a learned and moderate man, and was much against these cruel proceedings: he was also in great credit with the King, having been his Tutor. Yet he was forced by the threatnings of his Brethren, to go on with the persecution. So those two, *Russel* and *Kennedy*, being brought before him. *Kennedy*, that was young and fearful, had resolved to submit and abjure. But being brought to the Bar, and encouraged by *Russel*'s discourses, he felt so high a measure of courage and joy in his heart, that he fell down on his knees, and broke forth in these words; 'Wonderful, O God, is thy love and 'mercy towards me a miserable wretch: for now, when I would have 'denied thee, and thy Son my Saviour, thou hast by thine own hand 'pulled me back from the bottom of Hell, and given me most Hea'venly comfort, which hath removed the ungodly fear that before 'oppressed my mind. Now I defie death, do what you please, I thank 'God I am ready. There followed a long dispute between the Friar and the Divines that sate with the Arch-Bishop: but when he perceived they would hear nothing, and answered him only with revilings and jeers, he gave it over and concluded in these words; This is your 'hour and power of darkness: now yet sit as Judges, and we stand 'wrongfully condemned; but the day cometh which will shew our 'Innocence, and you shall see your own blindness to your everlasting 'confusion; Go on, and fulfil the measure of your iniquity. This put the Arch-Bishop in great confusion, so that he said to those about him, that these rigorous executions did hurt the cause of the Church more than could well be thought of; and he declared that his opinion was, That their lives should be spared, and some other course taken with them. But those that sate with him said, if he took a course different from what the other Prelates had taken, he was not the Churches

friend

friend. This, with other threatning expreſſions prevailed ſo far on his fears, that he gave Judgment. So they were burnt; but at their death they expreſſed ſo much conſtancy and joy, that the people were much wrought on by their behaviour. *Ruſſel* encouraged *Kennedy*, his partner in ſufferings, in theſe words: 'Fear not, Brother, for he is more 'mighty that is in us, than he that is in the world; the pain which 'we ſhall ſuffer is ſhort, and light; but our joy and conſolation ſhall 'never have an end. Death cannot deſtroy us, for it is deſtroyed al-'ready by him, for whoſe ſake we ſuffer. Therefore let us ſtrive to 'enter in by the ſame ſtrait way, which our Saviour ha h taken be-'fore us. With the blood of ſuch Martyrs was the Field of that Church ſowen, which did quickly riſe up in a plentiful harveſt. 1541.

Among thoſe that were at this time in hazard, *George Buchanan* was one. The Clergy were reſolved to be revenged on him for the ſharpneſs of the Poems he had written againſt them. And the King had ſo abſolutely left all men to their mercy, that he had died with the reſt, if he had not made his eſcape out of Priſon; Then he went beyond Sea, and lived 20 years in that Exile, and was forced to teach a School moſt part of the time; yet the greatneſs of his mind was not oppreſſed with that mean employment. In his writings there appears, not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin Tongue, but a vigor of mind and quickneſs of thought, far beyond *Bembo*, or the other *Italians*, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the *Roman* Stile It was but a feeble imitation of *Tully* in them; but his ſtile is ſo natural and nervous and his reflections on things are ſo ſolid, (beſides his immortal Poems in which he ſhews how well he could imitate all the *Roman* Poets in their ſeveral ways of writing, that he who compares them, will be often tempted to prefer the Copy to the Original,) that he is juſtly reckoned the greateſt and beſt of our modern Authors. This was the ſtate of affairs at this time in *Scotland*. And ſo I ſhall leave this digreſſion, on which if I have ſtayed too long, my kindneſs to my native Country muſt be my excuſe; and now I return to the affairs of *England*.

The King went his progreſs with his fair and beloved Queen, and when he came to *York*, he iſſued out a Proclamation, 'That *all who* had 'been aggrieved for want of Juſtice, by any whom he had formerly 'employed, ſhould come to him, and his Council for redreſs. This was done to caſt all paſt miſcarriages on *Cromwel*, and to put the people in hopes of better times. But upon his return to *London*, he met with a new affliction. He was ſo much taken with his Queen, that on All-Saints day, when he received the Sacrament, he openly gave God thanks for the good life he led, and truſted ſtill to lead with her: and deſired his Ghoſtly Father to joyn with him in the ſame Thankſgiving to God. But this joy laſted not long: for the next day, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* came to him, and gave him a doleful account of the Queens ill Life, as it had been brought him by one *John Laſſels*: Who, when the King was in his Progreſs, had told him that his Siſter who had been an old Servant of the Duke of *Norfolks*, under whoſe care the Queen was brought up, ſaid to him that the Queen was lewd, and that one *Francis Deirham* had enjoyed her often; as alſo one *Mannock*; with other foul circumſtances, not fit to be related. The Arch-Biſhop communicated it to the Lord Chancellor, and the other

Privy-

1541. Privy Councellors that were at *London*. They agreed, that the Arch-Bishop should open it to the King. But he not knowing how to do it in Discourse, set it down in writing, and put it in the King's hands. When the King read it, he seemed much perplexed; but loved the Queen so tenderly, that he looked on it as a Forgery. And now the Arch-Bishop was in extream danger, for if full evidence had not been brought, it had been certainly turned on him to his ruine. The King imparted it to some other Councellors, and told them, that he could not believe it, yet he would try it out, but with all possible secrecy. So the Lord Privy-Seal was sent to *London*, to examine *Lassels*, who stood to what he had informed. Then he sent the same Lord into *Sussex*, where *Lassels*'s Sister lived, to try if she would justifie what her Brother had reported in her name. And she owning it, he ordered *Deirham* and *Mannack* to be arrested upon some other pretences; but they being examined, not only confessed what was informed, but revealed some other circumstances that shewed the Queen had laid aside all sense of Modesty, as well as the fear of a Discovery; three several Women having been witnesses to these her lewd practices. The report of that struck the King into a most profound Pensiveness, and he burst out into Tears, and lamented his misfortune. The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and some other Councellors, were sent to examine the Queen. She at first denied every thing, but when she perceived it was already known, she confessed all, and set it under her hand. There were also evident presumptions that she had intended to continue this Course of Life: for as she had got *Dereham* into her service, so she had brought one of the Women, who had been formerly privy to their familiarities, to serve about her Bed-chamber. One *Culpeper* was also charged upon vehement suspicion: For when the King was at *Lincoln*, by the Lady *Rochford*'s means, he was brought into the Queen's Chamber at 11 a Clock in the night, and stayed there till four the next morning. The Queen also gave him a Gold Chain, and a rich Cap. He being examined confessed the Crime; for which, both *Deirham*, and he suffered. Others were also indicted of misprision of Treason, and condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. But this occasioned a new Parliament to be Summoned.

The Queen's ill life is discovered;

And confessed by her self and others.

1542. On the 16*th* of *January* the Parliament met: to which, the Bishops of *Westminster*, *Chester*, *Peterborough* and *Gloucester*, had their Writs. The Lord *Cromwel* also had his Writ, though I do not find by any Record that he was restored in Blood. On the 28*th* of *January*, the Lord Chancellor moved the House of Lords, to consider the case the King was in, by the Queens ill carriage: and that there might be no ground of suspicion or complaint, he proposed that some of their number should be sent to examine the Queen. Whereupon the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton* and the Bishop of *Westminster*, were sent to her. How much She Confessed to them, is not very clear, neither by the Journal, nor the Act of Parliament; which only says, That she confessed, without mentioning the particulars. Upon this, the processes of those that had been formerly attainted, being also brought as an Evidence, the Act passed in both Houses. In it they Petitioned the King,

A new Parliament called.

First,

'*First*, Not to be troubled at the matter, ſince that might be a 'means to ſhorten his Life. 1542.

'*Secondly*, To pardon every thing that had been ſpoken againſt the Queen. The Act about the Queen.

'*Thirdly*, That the Queen and her Complices might be attainted 'of High Treaſon, for her taking *Deirham* into her ſervice; and a-'nother Woman into her Chamber, who had known their former ill 'Life; by which it appeared what ſhe intended to do: and then 'admitting *Culpeper*, to be ſo long with Her, in a vile place ſo many 'hours in the night. Therefore it is deſired, that ſhe and they, with 'the Bawd, the Lady *Rochford*, may be attainted of Treaſon; and 'that the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* ſhould ſuffer the pains of 'Death.

'*Fourthly*, That the King would not trouble himſelf to give his 'Aſſent to this Act in his own Perſon, but grant it by his Letters Pa-'tents under his Hand and Great Seal.

'*Fifthly*, That the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Norfolk*, Counteſs of '*Bridgwater*, the Lord *William Howard* and his Lady, the four other 'Men, and five Women, who were already attainted by the Courſe 'of Common-Law, (except the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, and the Coun-'teſs of *Bridgwater*,) that knew the Queens vicious Life, and 'had concealed it, ſhould be all attainted of Miſpriſion of Trea-'ſon.

'It was alſo Enacted, That whoſoever knew any thing of the In-'continence of the Queen, (for the time being,) ſhould reveal it with 'all poſſible ſpeed under the pains of Treaſon. And that if the King 'or his Succeſſors ſhould intend to marry any Woman, whom they 'took to be a pure and clean Maid; if ſhe, not being ſo, did not de-'clare the ſame to the King, it ſhould be High Treaſon; and all who 'knew it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon. 'And if the Queen, or the Prince's Wife, ſhould procure any by Meſ-'ſages, or words, to know her carnally; or any other by Meſſages or 'Words ſhould ſollicite them; they, their Councellors, and Abbettors, 'are to be adjudged high Traitors.

This Act being aſſented to by the King's Letters Patents, the Queen, and the Lady *Rochford*, were beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the 12*th* of *February*. The Queen confeſſed the miſcarriages of her former life, before the King married her. But ſtood abſolutely to her denial, as to any thing after that: and proteſted to Dr. *White*, afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, That ſhe took God and his Angels to be her Witneſſes, upon the Salvation of her Soul, that ſhe was guiltleſs of that Act of defiling her Soveraign's bed, for which ſhe was condemned. Yet the Laſciviouſneſs of her former Life, made People incline to believe any ill thing that could be reported of her. But for the Lady *Rochford*, every body obſerved God's Juſtice on her; who had the chief hand, both in Queen *Anne Boleyn*'s, and her own Husband's death: and it now appearing ſo evidently what ſort of Woman ſhe was, it tended much to raiſe their Reputations again, in whoſe Fall, her Spite, and other Artifices had ſo great a hand. She had been a Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the laſt four Queens: But now it was found how unworthy ſhe was of that Truſt. Cenſures paſſed upon it.

It

1542. It was thought extream cruelty to be ſo ſevere to the Queens kindred, for not diſcovering her former ill life. Since the making ſuch a diſcovery had been inconſiſtent with the Rules of Juſtice or Decency. The old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, being her Grandmother, had bred her of a Child: and it was ſaid, for her to have gone, and told the King, That ſhe was a Whore, when he intended to marry her, as it was an unheard-of thing, ſo the not-doing of it could not have drawn ſo ſevere a puniſhment, from any but a Prince of that King's temper. But the King pardoned her, and moſt of the reſt; tho ſome continued in Priſon after the reſt were diſcharged.

But for the other part of this Act, obliging a Woman to reveal her own former Incontinence; if the King intended to marry her, (which by a miſtake the Lord *Herbert* ſays was paſſed in another Act, taking it from *Hall*, and not looking into the Record:) It was thought a piece of grievous Tyranny; ſince if a King, eſpecially one of ſo imperious a temper, as this was, ſhould deſign ſuch an honour to any of his Subjects, who had failed in their former life; they muſt either defame themſelves, by publiſhing ſo diſgraceful a ſecret, or run the hazard of being afterwards attainted of Treaſon. Upon this, thoſe that took an indiſcreet liberty to rally that Sex injuſtly and ſeverely, ſaid the King could induce none that was reputed a Maid to Marry him: ſo that not ſo much choice, as neceſſity, put him on Marrying a Widow about two years after this. But this part of the Act was afterwards repealed in the firſt Parliament of King *Edward* the *6th*.

Act about Hoſpitals, *&c.* There paſſed another Act in this Parliament, that made way for the diſſolution of Colleges, Hoſpitals, and other Foundations of that nature. The Courtiers had been practiſing with the Preſidents and Governors of ſome of theſe, to make Reſignations of them to the King; which were conceived in the ſame ſtile that moſt of the ſurrenders of Monaſteries did run in. Eight of theſe were all really procured, which are enrolled. But they could not make any great progreſs, becauſe it was provided by the Local Statutes of moſt of them, that no Preſident, or any other Fellows could make any ſuch Deed, without the Conſent of all the Fellows in the Houſe; and this could not be ſo eaſily obtained. Therefore all ſuch Statutes were annulled, and none were any more to be ſworn to the obſervation of them.

The Papiſts deſign to ſuppreſs the Engliſh Bible. In the Convocation that ſate at that time, which as was formerly obſerved, *Fuller* miſtakes for the Convocation in the *31ſt* year of this King; the Tranſlation of the Bible was brought under examination, and many of the Biſhops were appointed to peruſe it. For it ſeems complaints were brought againſt it. It was certainly the greateſt eyeſore of the Popiſh Party: and that which they knew would moſt effectually beat down all their projects. But there was no oppoſing it directly, for the King was fully reſolved to go through with it. Therefore the way they took, was once to load the Tranſlation then ſet out, with as many faults as they could; and ſo to get it firſt condemned, and then to promiſe a new one: in the making and publiſhing of which, it would be eaſie to breed many delays. But *Gardiner* had another ſingular conceit: He fancied there were many words in the New Teſtament, of ſuch Majeſty, that they were not to be Tranſlated; but muſt ſtand in the Engliſh Bible as they were in the Latin.

A hundred

A hundred of these he put into a Writing, which was read in Convocation. His design in this was visible; That if a Translation must be made, it should be so daubed all through with *Latin* words, that the People should not understand it much the better for its being in *English*. A taste of this the Reader may have by the first twenty of them; *Ecclesia, Penitentia, Pontifex, Ancilla, Contritus, Olocaustа, Justitia, Justificatio, Idiota, Elementa, Baptizare, Martyr, Adorare, Sandalium, Simplex, Tetrarcha, Sacramentum, Simulacrum, Gloria.* The design he had of keeping some of these, particularly the last save one, is plain enough; that the People might not discover that visible opposition, which was between the Scriptures, and the *Roman* Church in the matter of Images. This could not be better palliated, than by disguising these places, with words that the People understood not. How this was received *Fuller* has not told us. But it seems *Cranmer* found, that the Bishops were resolved, either to condemn the Translation of the Bible, or to proceed so slowly in it, that it should come to nothing. Therefore he moved the King to refer the perusing of it to the two Universities. The Bishops took this very ill, when *Cranmer* intimated it to them in the King's name; and objected that the Learning of the Universities was much decayed of late, and that the two Houses of Convocation were the more proper Judges of that, where the Learning of the Land was chiefly gathered together. But the Arch-Bishop said he would stick close to the King's pleasure, and that the Universities should examine it. Upon which, all the Bishops of his Province, except *Ely* and St. *Davids*, protested against it; and soon after the Convocation was dissolved. 1542.

Not long after this, I find, *Bonner* made some Injunctions for his Clergy; which have a strain in them, so far different from the rest of his Life, that it's more probable they were drawn by another Pen, and imposed on *Bonner* by an Order from the King. They were set out in the 34th year of the King's Reign; but the time of the year is not expresst. The Reader will find them in the Collection at their full length. The Substance of them is, *Bonner's* Injunctions.

'*First*, That all should observe the King's Injunctions. Coll. Numb. 26.

'*Secondly*, That every Clergy-man should read and study a Chapter 'of the Bible every day, with the exposition of the Glos, or some 'approved Doctor; which having once studied, they should retain it 'in their memories, and be ready to give an account of it, to him, 'or any whom he should appoint.

'*Thirdly*, That they should study the Book set forth by the Bishops, 'of the Institution of a Christian man.

Fourthly, That such as did not reside in their Benefices, should bring their Curates to him, or his Officers to be tried.

'*Fifthly*, That they should often exhort their Parishioners to make 'no private contracts of Marriage.

'*Sixthly*, That they should Marry none who were Married before, 'till they were sufficiently assured that the former Husband or Wife 'were dead.

'*Seventhly*, That they should instruct the Children of their several 'Parishes; and teach them to read *English*, that they might know 'how to believe, and pray, and live according to the Will of God.

1542. 'Eighthly, That they ſhould reconcile all that were in Enmity, and 'in that be a good Example to others.

'Ninthly, That none ſhould receive the Communion, who did not 'Confeſs to their own Curates.

'Tenthly, That none ſhould be ſuffered to go to Taverns, or Ale-'Houſes, and uſe unlawful Games on Sundays, or Holy-days, in time 'of Divine Service.

'Eleventhly, That twice every quarter, they ſhould declare the ſeven 'deadly ſins, and the Ten Commandments.

'Twelfthly, That no Prieſt ſhould go but in his Habit.

'Thirteenthly, That no Prieſt ſhould be admitted to ſay Maſs, with-'out ſhewing his Letters of Orders to the Biſhop or his Officers.

'Fourteenthly, That they ſhould inſtruct the People to beware of 'Blaſphemy, or Swearing by any parts of Chriſt body; and to ab-'ſtain from Scolding and Slandering, Adultery, Fornication, Glutto-'ny or Drunkenneſs; and that they ſhould preſent at the next Viſita-'tion, thoſe who were guilty of theſe ſins.

'Fifteenthly, That no Prieſt ſhould uſe unlawful Games, or go to 'Ale-houſes or Taverns, but upon an urgent neceſſity.

'Sixteenthly, No Plays or Enterludes to be acted in the Churches.

'Seventeenthly, That there ſhould be no Sermons Preached, that 'had been made within theſe two hundred or three hundred years. 'But when they Preached, they ſhould explain the whole Goſpel and 'Epiſtle for the day, according to the mind of ſome good Doctor al-'lowed by the Church of *England*: and chiefly to inſiſt on thoſe pla-'ces that might ſtir up the People to good works, and to prayer; and 'to explain the uſe of the Ceremonies of the Church. That there 'ſhould be no railing in Sermons; but the Preacher ſhould calmly and 'diſcreetly ſet forth the excellencies of Vertue, and the vileneſs of Sin; 'and ſhould alſo explain the Prayers for that day, that ſo the People 'might pray with one heart; and ſhould teach them the uſe of the 'Sacraments, particularly of the Maſs; but ſhould avoid the reciting 'of Fables, or Stories for which no good Writer could be vouched; and 'that when the Sermon was ended, the Preacher ſhould in few words 'reſume the ſubſtance of it.

'Eighteenthly, That none be ſuffered to Preach under the degree of a 'Biſhop, who had not obtained a Licence, either from the King, or 'him their Ordinary.

The manner of Preaching at that time.

Theſe Injunctions, eſpecially when they are conſidered at their full length, will give great light into the temper of men at that time: and particularly inform us of the deſign and method in Preaching, as it was then ſet forward. Concerning which the Reader will not be ill pleaſed to receive ſome information. In the time of Popery there had been few Sermons but in Lent: for their diſcourſes on the Holy-days, were rather Panegyricks on the Saint, or the vain magnifying of ſome of their Reliques, which were laid up in ſuch or ſuch places. In Lent there was a more ſolemn and ſerious way of Preaching; and the Friars, who chiefly maintained their credit by their performances at that time, uſed all the force of their skill and induſtry to raiſe the People into heats, by paſſionate and affecting diſcourſes. Yet theſe generally tended to raiſe the value of ſome of the Laws of the Church, ſuch as

Abſtinence

Abſtinence at that time, Confeſſion, with other Corporal Severities; or ſome of the little devices, that both inflamed a blind Devotion, and drew Money; ſuch as Indulgences, Pilgrimages, or the enriching the Shrines and Reliques of the Saints. But there was not that pains taken to inform the People of the hateſulneſs of Vice, and the excellency of Holineſs, or of the wonderful love of Chriſt, by which men might be engaged to acknowledge and obey him. And the deſign of their Sermons was rather to raiſe a preſent heat, which they knew afterwards how to manage, than to work a real Reformation on their Hearers. They had alſo intermixt with all Divine Truths ſo many Fables, that they were become very extravagant; and that alloy had ſo embaſed the whole, that there was great need of a good diſcerning, to deliver People from thoſe prejudices, which theſe mixtures brought upon the whole Chriſtian Doctrine. Therefore the Reformers ſtudied with all poſſible care, to inſtruct the People in the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, with which they had been ſo little acquainted. From hence it came, that the People ran after thoſe New Preachers with wonderful zeal. It is true, there ſeem to be very foul and indiſcreet reflections on the other Party, in ſome of their Sermons. But if any have applied themſelves much to obſerve what ſort of men, the Friars, and the reſt of the Popiſh Clergy were at that time, they ſhall find great excuſes of thoſe heats. And as our Saviour laid open the Hypocriſies and impoſtures of the Scribes and Phariſees, in a Style which ſuch corruptions extorted; ſo there was great cauſe given to treat them very roughly: though it is not to be denied, but thoſe Preachers had ſome mixtures of their own reſentments, for the cruelties and ill uſage which they received from them. But now that the Reformation made a greater progreſs, much pains was taken to ſend eminent Preachers over the Nation: not confining them to particular charges; but ſending them with the King's Licence, up and down to many places. Many of theſe Licences are enrolled, and it is likely that many were granted that were not ſo carefully preſerved. But proviſion was alſo made for Peoples daily Inſtruction: and becauſe in that ignorant time, there could not be found a ſufficient number of good Preachers; and in a time of ſo much jugling, they would not truſt the Inſtruction of the People to every one; therefore none was to Preach except he had gotten a particular Licence for it, from the King, or his Dioceſan. But to qualifie this, a Book of Homilies was Printed: in which the Goſpels and Epiſtles of all the Sundays, and Holidays of the year were ſet down, with an Homily to every one of theſe, which is a plain and practical Paraphraſe on theſe parcels of Scripture. To theſe are added many ſerious exhortations, and ſome ſhort explanations of the moſt obvious difficulties, that ſhew the Compiler of them was a man both of good judgment and learning. To theſe were alſo added, Sermons upon ſeveral occaſions, as for Weddings, Chriſtnings, and Funerals; and theſe were to be read to the People by ſuch as were not Licenſed to Preach. But thoſe who were Licenſed to Preach, being oft accuſed for their Sermons, and Complaints being made to the King by hot men on both ſides, they came generally to write and read their Sermons: From thence the reading of Sermons grew into a practice in this Church: in which, if there was not that heat, and fire, which the 1542.

1542. Friars had shewed in their Declamations, so that the passions of the Hearers were not so much wrought on by it; yet it has produced the greatest Treasure of weighty, grave and solid Sermons, that ever the Church of God had; which does in a great measure compensate that seeming flatness to vulgar ears, that is in the delivery of them.

Plays and Enterludes then acted.

The Injunctions take notice of another thing, which the sincerity of an Historian obliges me to give an account of, though it was indeed the greatest blemish of that time. These were the Stage-plays and Enterludes, that were then generally acted, and often in Churches. They were representations of the corruptions of the Monks, and some other feats of the Popish Clergy. The Poems were ill contrived, and worse expressed; if there lies not some hidden wit in these Ballads, (for verses they were not,) which at this distance is lost. But from the representing the immoralities and disorders of the Clergy, they proceeded to act the Pageantry of their Worship. This took with the People much, who being provoked by the miscarriages and cruelties of some of the Clergy, were not ill pleased to see them and their Religion exposed to publick scorn. The Clergy complained much of this; and said it was an introduction to Atheism, and all sort of Irreligion. For if once they began to mock sacred things, no stop could be put to the petulant humour. The grave and learned sort of Reformers disliked and condemned these courses, as not suitable to the *genius* of true Religion: but the political men of that Party, made great use of them, encouraging them all they could; for they said, Contempt being the most operative and lasting affection of the mind, nothing would more effectually drive out many of those Abuses, which yet remained, than to expose them to the contempt and scorn of the People.

War between *England* and *Scotland*.

In the end of this year a War broke out between *England* and *Scotland*, set on by the instigation of the *French* King; who was also beginning to be an uneasie Neighbour to those of the *English* Pale about *Callice*. The King set out a long Declaration, in which he very largely laid out the pretensions the Crown of *England* had, to an Homage from the Kings of *Scotland*. In this I am no fit person to interpose; the matter being disputed by the learned men of both Nations. The *Scots* said it was only for some Lands their Kings had in *England*, that they did Homage: as the Kings of *England* did for *Normandy* and *Guienne*, to the Kings of *France*. But the *English* Writers cited many Records, to shew that the Homage was done for the Crown of *Scotland*. To this the *Scots* replied, that in the Invasion of *Edward* the First, he had carried away all their Ancient Records; so these being lost, they could only appeal to the Chronicles that lay up and down the Nation in their Monasteries: That all these affirmed the contrary, and that they were a free Kingdom; till *Edward* the First taking advantage of their disputes about the Succession to their Crown, upon the death of *Alexander* the Third, got some of the Competitors to lay down their pretensions at his feet, and to promise Homage: That this was also performed by *John Balliol*, whom he preferred to the Crown of *Scotland*; but by these means he lost the hearts of the Nation, and it was said, that this Act of Homage could not give away the Rights of a free Crown and People. And they said, that whatsoever submissions had been made since that time, they were only extorted by force; as the

the effects of Victory and Conqueſt, but gave no good right, nor juſt Title. To all this the *Engliſh* Writers anſwered, That theſe ſubmiſſions by their Records, (which were the ſolemn Inſtruments of a Nation, that ought never to be called in queſtion,) were ſometimes freely made; and not by the Kings only, but by the conſent of their States. In this uncertainty I muſt leave it with the Reader. 1542.

But after the King had opened this Pretenſion, 'he complained of 'the diſorders committed by the *Scots*; of the unkind returns he had 'met with from their King for his care of him, while he was an 'Infant; taking no advantage of the confuſions in which that King-'dom then was, but on the contrary, protecting the Crown, and qui-'eting the Kingdom. But that of late many depredations and acts of 'hoſtility had been committed by the *Scots*; and though ſome Trea-'ties had been begun, they were managed with ſo much ſhuffling and 'inconſtancy, that the King muſt now try it by War. Yet he concluded his Declaration ambiguouſly, neither keeping up nor laying down his Pretenſions to that Crown: but expreſſing them in ſuch a manner, that which way ſoever the ſucceſs of the War turned, he might be bound up to nothing, by what he now declared.

But whatſoever juſtice might be in the King's Title, or Quarrel, his Sword was much the ſharper. He ordered the Duke of *Norfolk* to march into *Scotland*, about the end of *October*, with an Army of 10000 men. *Hall* tells us, they burnt many Towns, and names them. But theſe were only ſingle Houſes, or little Villages; and the beſt Town he names is *Kelſo*, which is a little open Market-Town. Soon after they returned back into *England*: whether after they had ſpoiled the neighbouring Country, they felt the inconveniences of the Seaſon of the year, or whether hearing the *Scots* were gathering, they had no mind to go too far, I cannot determine; for the Writers of both Nations diſagree, as to the reaſon of their ſpeedy return. But any that knows the Country they ſpoiled, and where they ſtopt, muſt conclude that either they had ſecret Orders only to make an Inroad, and deſtroy ſome places that lay along the River of *Tweed*, and upon the Border, which done, without driving the Breach too far, to retire back; or they muſt have had apprehenſions of the *Scotch* Armies coming to lie in theſe Moors and Hills of *Sautrey*, or *Lammer-Moor*, which they were to paſs if they had gone farther: and there were about 10000 men brought thither, but he that commanded them was much blamed for doing nothing; his excuſe was that his number did not equal theirs. About the end of *November*, the Lord *Maxwell* brought an Army of 15000 men, together with a Train of Artillery of 24 pieces of Ordnance. And ſince the Duke of *Norfolk* had retired towards *Berwick*, they reſolved to enter *England* on the Weſtern ſide by *Solway* Frith. The King went thither himſelf, but fatally left the Army, and yet was not many miles from them when they were defeated. The truth of it was, that King, who had hitherto raiſed the greateſt expectation, was about that time diſturbed in his fancy, thinking that he ſaw apparitions, particularly of one, whom it was ſaid, he had unjuſtly put to death; ſo that he could not reſt, nor be at quiet. But as his leaving the Army was ill adviſed, ſo his giving a Commiſſion to *Oliver Sinclair*, that was his *Minion*, to command in Chief, did extreamly diſguſt the Nobility

Duke of *Norfolks* Inroad into *Scotland*.

1542. Nobility. They loved not to be commanded by any but their King, and were already weary of the insolence of that Favourite, who being but of ordinary birth, was despised by them; so that they were beginning to separate. And when they were upon that occasion in great disorder, a small body of *English*, not above 500 Horse, appeared. But they apprehending it was the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Army, refused to fight, and fell in confusion. Many Prisoners were taken; the chief of whom were, the Earls of *Glencairn*, and *Cassillis*, the Lords *Maxwell*, *Sommervell*, *Oliphant*, *Gray*, and *Oliver Sinclair*; and about 200 Gentlemen and 800 Souldiers; and all the Ordnance and Baggage was also taken. The news of this being brought to the King of *Scotland*, encreased his former disorders: and some few days after, he died, leaving an infant Daughter, but newly born, to succeed him.

The *Scotish* Army defeated.

Many Prisoners taken.

The Lords that were taken Prisoners, were brought to *London*, where after they had been charged in Council, how unkindly they had used the King, they were put in the keeping of some of the greatest quality about Court. But the Earl of *Cassillis* had the best luck of them all for being sent to *Lambeth*, where he was a Prisoner upon his parole. *Cranmer* studied to free him from the darkness and fetters of Popery; in which he was so successful, that the other was afterwards a great Promoter of the Reformation in *Scotland*. The *Scots* had been hitherto possessed with most extraordinary prejudices against the Changes that had been made in *England*: which concurring with the ancient Animosities between the two Nations, had raised a wonderful ill opinion of the King's proceedings. And though the Bishop of St. *Davids* (*Barlow*) had been sent into *Scotland* with the Book of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, to clear these ill impressions; yet his endevours were unsuccessful. The Pope, at the instance of the *French* King, and to make that Kingdom sure, made *David Beaton*, Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, a Cardinal; which gave him great Authority in the Kingdom: so he with the rest of the Clergy diverted the King from any correspondence with *England*, and assured him of Victory if he would make War on such an Heretical Prince. The Clergy also offered the King 50000 Crowns a year, towards a War with *England*; and possessed all the Nation with very ill thoughts of the Court and Clergy there. But the Lords that were now Prisoners, (chiefly the Earl of *Cassillis*, who was best instructed by his Religious Host;) conceived a better opinion of the Reformation; and carried home with them those seeds of knowledge, which produced afterwards a very fruitful Harvest. On all these things I have dwelt the longer, that it might appear, whence the inclination of the *Scotish* Nobility to Reform, did take its first rise, though there was afterwards in the Methods, by which it was advanced, too great a mixture of the heat and forwardness that is natural to the Genius of that Country.

When the news of the King of *Scotland*'s death, and of the young Queen's birth that succeeded him, came to the Court, the King thought this a very favourable conjuncture to unite and settle the whole Island. But that unfortunate Princess was not born under such happy Stars, though she was Mother to him, in whom this long-desired Union took effect. The Lords that were then Prisoners began the motion

motion; and that being told the King, he called for them to *Hampton Court*, in the Christmas-time; and said now an opportunity was put in their hands, to quiet all troubles that had been between these two Crowns, by the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* to their young Queen: In which he desired their assistance, and gave them their Liberty, they leaving hostages for the performance of what was then offered by them. They all promised their Concurrence, and seemed much taken with the greatness of the *English* Court, which the King always kept up, not without affectation: they also said they thought God was better served there than in their own Country. So on New-years-day they took their Journey towards *Scotland*; but the sequel of this will appear afterwards. 1542.

A Parliament was summoned to meet the two and twentieth of *January*, which sate to the 12th of *May*. So the Session begun in the 34th and ended in the 35th year of the King's Reign; from whence it is called in the Records, the Parliament of the 34th and 35th year. Here both the Temporality and Spirituality gave great Subsidies to the King, of six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three years. They set forth in their Preambles. 'The expence the King had been at, in 'his War with *Scotland*, and for his other great and urgent occasions, by which was meant a War with *France*, which broke out the following Summer. But with these, there passed other two Acts of great importance to Religion. The Title of the first was, *An Act for the advancement of True Religion, and abolishment of the contrary.* The King was now entred upon a War; so it seemed reasonable to qualifie the severity of the late Acts about Religion, that all might be quiet at home. *Cranmer* moved it first; and was faintly seconded by the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Chichester*, and *Rochester*, who had promised to stick to him in it. At this time a League was almost finished between the King and the Emperor, which did again raise the Spirits of the Popish Faction. They had been much cast down ever since the last Queens fall. But now that the Emperor was like to have an Interest in *English* Councils, they took heart again; and *Gardiner* opposed the Arch-Bishops motion with all possible earnestness. And that whole Faction fell so upon it, that the timerous Bishops not only forsook *Cranmer*, but *Heath* of *Rochester*, and *Skip* of *Hereford*, were very earnest with him to stay for a better opportunity: but he generously preferred his Conscience to those arts of Policy, which he would never practise; and said, he would push it as far as it would go. So he plied the King, and the other Lords so earnestly, that at length the Bill passed, though clogg'd with many Proviso's, and very much short of what he had designed. 1543. A new Parliament. *Cranmer* promotes a Reformation.

'The Preamble set forth, That there being many dissentions about Religion, the Scriptures, which the King had put into the hands of his People, were abused by many seditious persons, in their Sermons, Books, Plays, Rythmes, and Songs: from which great Inconveniences were like to arise. For preventing these, it was necessary to establish a Form of sincere Doctrine, conformable to that which was taught by the Apostles. Therefore all the Books of the Old and New Testament, of *Tindal*'s Translation (which is called *Crafty*, *False*, and *Untrue*,) are forbidden to be kept or used, in the King's Dominions: An Act about it.

1543. 'nions: with all other Books, contrary to the Doctrine set forth in 'the year 1540. with Punishments and Fines, and Imprisonment up- 'on such as sold or kept such Books. But Bibles that were not of '*Tindal*'s Translation were still to be kept, only the Annotations, or 'Preambles, that were in any of them, were to be cut out, or dashed; 'and the King's Proclamations and Injunctions, with the Primmers 'and other Books Printed in *English*, for the Instruction of the Peo- 'ple before the year 1540, were still to be in force: and among these, '*Chaucer*'s Books are by name mentioned. No Books were to be Prin- 'ted about Religion, without the King's Allowance. In no Plays, nor 'Enterludes, they might make any Expositions of Scripture; but only 'reproach Vice, and set forth vertue in them. None might read the 'Scripture in any open Assembly, or expound it; but he who was Li- 'censed by the King or his Ordinary; with a Proviso, that the Chan- 'cellors in Parliament, Judges, Recorders, or any others, who were 'wont in publick occasions to make Speeches, and commonly took 'place of Scripture for their Text, might still do as they had done 'formerly. Every Nobleman, or Gentleman, might cause the 'Bible to be read to him, in or about his House, quietly and without 'disturbance. Every Merchant that was a Housholder, might also 'read it. But no Woman, nor Artificers, Apprentices, Journeymen, 'Serving-men, under the degree of Yeomen; nor no Husbandmen, 'or Labourers, might read it. Yet every Noble Woman, or Gentle- 'woman, might read it for her self: and so might all other Persons 'but those who were excepted. Every person might read and teach 'in their Houses, the Book set out in the year 1540. with the Psalter, 'Primmer, Paternoster, the Ave, and the Creed in *English*. All Spi- 'ritual Persons, who preached or taught contrary to the Doctrine set 'forth in that Book, were to be admitted, for the first conviction, to 'renounce their errors; for the second to abjure, and carry a Faggot; 'which if they refused to do, or fell into a third offence, they were to 'be burnt. But the Laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit 'their Goods and Chattels, and be liable to perpetual Imprisonment. 'But these offences were to be objected to them, within a year after 'they were committed. And whereas before, the Party accused was 'not allowed to bring Witnesses for his own Purgation; this was now 'granted him. But to this a severe Proviso was added, which see- 'med to overthrow all the former favour; that the Act of the six 'Articles was still in the same force, in which it was before the making 'of this Act. Yet that was moderated by the next Proviso; That the 'King might at any time hereafter at his pleasure change this Act or 'any provision in it.

This last Proviso was made stronger by another Act, made for the due execution of Proclamations, in pursuance of a former Act to the same effect, of which mention was made in the 31st year of the King's Reign. By that former Act there was so great a number of Officers of State, and of the King's Household, of Judges, and other persons, to sit on these Trials, that those not being easily brought together, the Act had never taken any effect. Therefore it was now appointed that nine Councellors should be a sufficient number for these Trials. At the passing of that Act the Lord *Montjoy* protested against it, which

is the ſingle Inſtance of a Proteſtation againſt any publick Bill, through this King's whole Reign. 1542.

The Act about Religion, freed the Subjects from the fears under which they were before. For now the Laity were delivered from the hazard of burning; and the Spirituality were not in danger, but upon the third Conviction. They might alſo bring their own witneſſes, which was a great favour to them. Yet that high power which was given the King, of altering the Act or any parts of it, made, that they were not abſolutely ſecured from their fears, of which ſome inſtances afterwards appeared. But as this Act was ſome mitigation of former ſeverities, ſo it brought the Reformers to depend wholly on the King's Mercy, for their Lives: ſince he could now chain up, or let looſe, the Act of the ſix Articles upon them, at his pleaſure.

A League between the King and Emperor.

Soon after the end of this Parliament, a League was ſworn between the King and the Emperor on Trinity Sunday; Offenſive and Defenſive, for *England*, *Calais*, and the places about it, and for all *Flanders*; with many other particulars, to be found in the Treaty ſet down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. There is no mention made of the Legitimation of the Lady *Mary*; but it ſeems it was promiſed, That ſhe ſhould be declared next in the Succeſſion of the Crown, to Prince *Edward*, if the King had no other Children; which was done in the next Parliament, without any reflections on her Birth; and the Emperor was content to accept of that, there being no other terms to be obtained. The Popiſh Party, who had ſet up their reſt on bringing the King and Emperor to a League, and putting the Lady *Mary* into the Succeſſion, no doubt preſt the Emperor much to accept of this: which we may reaſonably believe was vigorouſly driven on by *Bonner*, who was ſent to *Spain*, an Ambaſſador for concluding this Peace, by which alſo the Emperor gained much; for having engaged the Crowns of *England*, and *France* in a War, and drawn off the King of *England* from his League with the Princes of *Germany*, he was now at more leiſure to proſecute his deſigns in *Germany*.

A Treaty for a match with the Queen of *Scotland*.

But the negotiation in *Scotland* ſucceeded not to the King's mind, though at firſt there were very good appearances. The Cardinal, by forging a Will for the dead King, got himſelf and ſome of his Party to be put into the Government. But the Earl of *Arran* (*Hamilton*,) being the neareſt in blood to the young Queen, and being generally beloved for his Probity, was invited to aſſume the Government: which he managed with great moderation, and an univerſal applauſe. He ſummoned a Parliament which confirmed him in his Power, during the Minority of the Queen. The King ſent Sir *Ralph Sadler* to him, to agree the Marriage, and to deſire him to ſend the young Queen into *England*. And if private ends wrought much on him, *Sadler* was empowred to offer another Marriage of the King's ſecond Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, to his Son. The Earl of *Arran* was himſelf inclinable to Reformation, and very much hated the Cardinal. So he was eaſily brought to conſent to a Treaty for the Match, which was concluded in *Auguſt*. By which the young Queen was to be bred in *Scotland*, till ſhe was ten years of age: but the King might ſend a Nobleman, and his Wife, with other Perſons, not exceeding 20, to wait on her. And for performanance of this, ſix Noblemen were to be ſent from *Scotland* for Hoſtages. The Earl of *Arran* being then Governor, kept the Cardinal

1543. under restraint till this Treaty was Concluded: But he, corrupting his Keepers, made his escape, and joining with the Queen Mother, they made a strong Faction against the Governor; all the Clergy joyned with the Cardinal to opposed the Match with *England*, since they looked for ruine if it succeeded. The Queen, being a sister of *Guise*, and bred in the *French* Court, was wholly for their Interests; and all that had been obliged by that Court, or depended on it, were quickly drawn into the Party. It was also said to every body, that it was much more the Interest of *Scotland* to match with *France*, than with *England*. If they were united to *France*, they might expect an easie Government. For the *French* being at such distance from them, and knowing how easily they might throw themselves into the Arms of *England*, would certainly rule them gently, and avoid giving them great Provocations. But if they were united to *England*, they had no remedy, but must look for an heavier yoke to be laid on them. This meeting with the rooted Antipathy, that by a long continuance of War, was grown up among them to a savage hatred of the *English* Nation; and being inflamed by the considerations of Religion, raised an universal dislike of the Match with *England*, in the greatest part of the whole Nation; only a few men of greater Probity, who were weary of the depredations and Wars in the Borders, and had a liking to the Reformation of the Church, were still for it.

The different Interests there.

The *French* Court struck in vigorously with their Party in *Scotland*, and sent over the Earl of *Lenox*; who, as he was next in blood to the Crown, after the Earl of *Arran*, so was of the same family of the *Stewards*, which had endeared him to the late King. He was to lead the Queens Party against the *Hamiltons*. Yet they employed another Tool, which was *John Hamilton*, base Brother to the Governor, who was afterwards Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*. He had great power over his Brother, who being then not above four and twenty years of age, and having been the only lawful Son of his Father in his old age, was never bred abroad: and so understood not the Policies and arts of Courts, and was easily abused by his base Brother. He assured him, that if he went about to destroy Religion, by matching the Queen to an Heretical Prince, they would depose him from his Government, and declare him Illegitimate. There could be indeed nothing clearer than his Fathers Divorce from his first Wife. For it had been formerly proved, that she had been married to the Lord *Tester*'s Son, before he married her, who claimed her as his Wife; upon which, her Marriage with the Earl of *Arran* was declared Null in the year 1507. And it was ten years after, that the Earl of *Arran* did Marry the Governor's Mother: Of which things the Original Instruments are yet extant. Yet it was now said that that Precontract with the Lord *Tester*'s Son was but a forgery, to dissolve that Marriage: and if the Earl of *Lenox*, (who was next to the Crown, in case the Earl of *Arran* was Illegitimated,) should by the assistance of *France* procure a review of that Process from *Rome*, and obtain a Revocation of that Sentence, by which his Fathers first Marriage was annulled; then it was plain that the second Marriage, with the issue by it, would be of no force. All this wrought on the Governor much, and at length drew him off from the Match with *England*, and brought him over to the *French* Interests

The *French* Party prevails.

Intereſts. Which being effected, there was no further uſe of the Earl of *Lennox*; ſo he finding himſelf neglected by the Queen, and the Cardinal, and abandoned by the Crown of *France*, fled into *England*: where he was very kindly received by the King, who gave him in marriage his Neece, Lady *Margaret Douglaſs*, whom the Queen of *Scotland* had born to the Earl of *Angus*, her ſecond Husband. From which Marriage iſſued the Lord *Darnly*, Father to King *James*. 1543.

When the Lords of the *French* Faction had carried things to their mind in *Scotland*, it was next conſidered, what they ſhould do to redeem the Hoſtages whom the Lords, who were Priſoners in *England*, had left behind them. And for this, no other Remedy could be found, but to let them take their hazard, and leave them to the King of *England*'s mercy: To this they all agreed, only the Earl of *Caſſillis* had too much Honour and Vertue to do ſo mean a thing. Therefore, after he had done all he could for maintaining the Treaty about the Match, he went into *England*, and offered himſelf again to be a Priſoner. But as generous Actions are a reward to themſelves, ſo they often meet with that entertainment which they deſerve. And upon this occaſion, the King was not wanting to expreſs a very great value for that Lord. He called him another *Regulus*, but uſed him better. For he both gave him his Liberty, and made him noble Preſents, and ſent him and his Hoſtages back, being reſolved to have a ſeverer reparation for the Injury done him. All which I have opened more fully, becauſe this will give a great light to the affairs of that Kingdom: which will be found in the Reigns of the ſucceeding Princes, to have a great intermixture with the Affairs of this Kingdom. Nor are they juſtly repreſented by any who write of theſe times; and having ſeen ſome Original Papers relating to *Scotland* at that time, I have done it upon more certain information.

A War with *France*.

The King of *England* made War next upon *France*: The grounds of this War are recited by the Lord *Herbert*. One of theſe is proper for me to repeat; 'That the *French* King had not deſerted the Biſhop of '*Rome*, and conſented to a Reformation, as he had once Promiſed. 'The reſt related to other things, ſuch as the ſeizing our Ships; 'The detaining the yearly Penſion due to the King; The fortifying '*Ardres* to the prejudice of the *Engliſh* pale; The revealing the King's 'ſecrets to the Emperor; The having given, firſt his Daughter, and 'then the Duke of *Guiſe*'s Siſter, in Marriage, to his Enemy, the King 'of *Scotland*; and his confederating himſelf with the Turk. And 'Satisfaction not being given in theſe particulars a War is declar-'ed.

A new perſecution of Proteſtants.

In *July* the King married *Katherine Parre*, who had been formerly married to *Nevil* Lord *Latimer*. She was a ſecret Favourer of the Reformation; yet could not divert a ſtorm, which at this time fell on ſome in *Windſor*. For that being a place to which the King did oft retire, it was thought fit to make ſome examples there. And now the League with the Emperor, gave the Popiſh Faction a greater intereſt in the King's Councels. There was at this time a Society at *Windſor*, that favoured the Reformation. *Anthony Perſon*, a Prieſt, *Robert Teſtwood*, and *John Marbeck* Singing Men, and *Henry Filmer* of the Town of *Windſor*, were the chief of them. But thoſe were much

1543. favoured by Sir *Philip Hobby* and his Lady, and several others of the King's Family. During *Cromwel*'s power none questioned them; but after his fall they were looked on with an ill eye. Doctor *London*, who had by the most servile Flatteries insinuated himself into *Cromwel*, and was much employed in the suppression of Monasteries, and expressed a particular zeal in removing all Images and Relicks which had been abused to Superstition, did now, upon *Cromwel*'s fall, apply himself to *Gardiner*, by whose means he was made a Prebendary there. And to shew how dextrously he could make his Court both ways, or to make compensation for what he had formerly done, he took care to gather a whole Book of Informations, against these in *Windsor*, who favoured the *New Learning*, (which was the modest phrase by which they termed the Reformation.) He carried this Book to *Gardiner*, who moved the King in Council, that a Commission might be granted for searching suspected Houses at *Windsor*, in which it was Informed there were many Books against the six Articles. The King granted the Warrant for the Town, but not for the Castle. So those before named, were seized on, and some of these Books were found in their Houses. Dr. *Hains*, Dean of *Exceter*, and Prebendary of *Windsor*, being informed against, was also put in Prison; so was likewise Sir *Philip Hobby*. But there were likewise some Papers of Notes on the Bible, and of a Concordance in *English*, found in *Marbeck*'s house, written with his own hand: and he being an Illiterate Man, they did not doubt but these were other Men's Works, which he was writing out. So they began with him, and hoped to draw discoveries from him. He was frequently examined, but would tell nothing that might do hurt to any other Person. But being Examined, who wrote these Notes, he said they were his own: for he read all the Books he could light on, and wrote out what every Man had written on any place of Scripture. And for his Concordance, he told them, that being a poor Man, he could not buy one of the Bibles, when they came first out in *English*, but set himself to write one out: by which another perceiving his Industry, suggested to him, that he would do well to write a Concordance in *English*; but he said, he knew not what that was: so the other Person explaining it to him, he got a *Latin* Concordance, and an *English* Bible; and having learned a little *Latin*, when he was young, he, by comparing the *English* with the *Latin*, had drawn out a Concordance, which he had brought to the Letter L. This seemed so extravagant a thing to *Gardiner*, and the other Bishops that examined him, that they could by no means believe it. But he desired they would draw out any words of the letter M, and give him the *Latin* Concordance, with the *English* Bible, and after a little time they should see whether he had not done the rest. So the Trial was made, and in 4 days time he had drawn out three sheets of Paper, upon those words that were given him. This both satisfied and astonished the Bishops, wondering at the Ingeniousness and Diligence of so poor a Man. It was much talked of, and being told the King, he said, Marbeck *employed his time better than those that examined him.* For the others, they were kept in Prison at *London*, till the 24*th* of *July*, that the King gave orders to try them at *Windsor*.

Marbeck's great ingeniousness.

There

There was a Court held there, on the 27th of *July*, where *Capon*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, and *Franklin*, Dean of *Windſor*, and *Fachel*, Parſon of *Reading*, and three of the Judges, ſate on thoſe four Men. They were Indicted for ſome words ſpoken againſt the Maſs. *Marbeck* only for writing out an Epiſtle of *Calvin*'s againſt it; which, he ſaid, he copied before the Act of the ſix Articles was made. The Jury was not called out of the Town, for they would not truſt it to them, but out of the Farms of the Chappel. They were all found guilty, and ſo condemned to be burnt, which was Executed on three of them the next day: only *Marbeck* was recommended to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*'s care, to procure his Pardon, which was obtained. The other three expreſſed great compoſure of mind in their Sufferings, and died with much Chriſtian Reſolution and Patience; forgiving their Perſecutors, and committing themſelves to the Mercies of God through *Jeſus Chriſt*. 1543. Three burnt at *Windſor*.

But in their Tryal, Doctor *London*, and *Simmonds*, a Lawyer and an Informer, had ſtudied to fiſh out Accuſations againſt many of the King's Servants, as Sir *Philip Hollby*, and Sir *Thomas Cardine*, with their Ladies, and ſeveral others who had favoured thoſe Men. With theſe Informations, *Okam*, that had been the Clerk of the Court, was ſent to *Gardiner*: But one of the Queens ſervants who had diſcovered the deſign, was before him at Court. Upon the advertiſement which he had brought, *Okam* was ſeized on at his coming to Court, and all his Papers were examined; in which they diſcovered a Conſpiracy againſt thoſe Gentlemen, with other Plots, that gave the King great Offence; but the particulars are not mentioned. So Doctor *London* and *Simmonds* were ſent for, and examined upon this diſcovery. But they, not knowing that their Letters were intercepted, denyed there was any ſuch Plot; and being put to their Oaths, ſwore it. Then their own hand-writing was produced againſt them. Upon which, they being thus Perjured, were ordered to be carried on Horſeback, with their faces to the Horſe tails, and Papers on their Foreheads, for their Perjury; and then to be ſet in the Pillory, both in *Windſor*, *Reading* and *Newbury*, where the King was at that time. This was accordingly executed on them; but ſunk ſo deep in Doctor *London*'s heart, that he died ſoon after. From all this it will appear what ſort of Men the Perſecutors at that time were. Their Perſecutors are perjured.

But this was a ſmall part of what *Gardiner* had Projected: For he looked on theſe, as Perſons unworthy of his diſpleaſure. *Cranmer* was chiefly aimed at by him. And therefore all that Party were ſtill infuſing it into the King's mind, that it was great Injuſtice to proſecute poor Men with ſo much ſeverity, and let the chief Supporter of Hereſie ſtand in ſo eminent a degree, and in ſuch favour about him. At length the King, to diſcover the bottom of their deſigns, ſeemed to give ear to their accuſations, and deſired to hear what particulars could be objected againſt him. This gave them great encouragement; for till that time, the King would let nothing be ſaid againſt *Cranmer*. So they concluded he would be quickly ruined, ſince the King had opened his ear to their Informations. Therefore many particulars were quickly laid together, and put into the King's hands; who a little after that, going to divert himſelf on the River, ordered A Conſpiracy againſt *Cranmer*.

1543. ed his Bargeman to Row towards *Lambeth*; which being perceived by some of the Arch-Bishop's Servants, they acquainted him with it, who hasted down to his stairs to do his duty to the King. When the King saw him, he called him into the Barge; and they being alone, the King lamented the growth of Heresie, and the dissensions and confusions that were like to follow upon it; and said, he intended to find out the chief Encourager and Favourer of these Heresies, and make him an Example to the rest. And he asked the Arch-Bishop's opinion about it. Who answered him, That it was a good resolution; but entreated the King to consider well what Heresie was, and not to condemn those as Hereticks, who stood for the Word of God, against humane Inventions. But after some discourse, the King told him he was the Man, who, as he was informed, was the chief Encourager of Heresie; and then gave him the Articles that were brought against him, and his Chaplains, both by some Prebendaries of *Canterbury*, and the Justices of Peace in *Kent*. When he read them, he kneeled down, and desired the King would put the matter to a Tryal. He acknowledged he was still of the same mind he was of, when he opposed the six Articles; but that he had done nothing against them. Then the King asked him about his Wife. He frankly confessed he had a Wife; but said, That he had sent her to *Germany*, upon the passing the Act against Priests having Wives. His candor and simplicity wrought so on the King, that he discovered to him the whole Plot that was laid against him; and said, That instead of bringing him to any Tryal about it, he would have him try it out, and proceed against those his Accusers. But he excused himself, and said it would not be decent for him to sit Judge in his own Cause. But the King said to him, he was resolved none other should Judge it, but those he should name. So he named his Chancellor, and his Register; to whom the King added another: And a Commission being given them, they went into *Kent*, and sate three weeks to find out the first Contrivers of this Accusation. And now every one disowned it, since they saw he was still firmly rooted in the King's esteem and favour. But it being observed, that the Commissioners proceeded faintly, *Cranmer*'s friends moved that some man of Courage and Authority, might be sent thither to canvass this Accusation more carefully. So Doctor *Lee*, Dean of *York*, was brought up about *All-hallowtide*, and sent into *Kent*. And he, who had been well acquainted with the Arts of discovering secrets, when he was one of the Visitors of the Abbeys, managed it more vigorously. He ordered a search to be made of all suspected Persons; among whose Papers Letters were found, both from the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Doctor *London*, and some of those whom *Cranmer* had treated with the greatest freedom and kindness, in which the whole Plot against him was discovered. But it was now near the Session of Parliament, and the King was satisfied with the discovery, but thought it not fit to make much noise of it. And he received no Addresses from the Arch-Bishop to prosecute it further: who was so noted for his Clemency, and following our Saviour's Rule, of *doing Good for Evil*, that it was commonly said, The way to get his favour, was to do him an Injury. These were the only Instances in which he expres-

Antiq. *Brit.*

His Christian temper of mind.

sed his resentments. Two of the Conspirators against him, had been Persons signally obliged by him: The one was the Bishop Suffragan of *Dover*; the other was a Civilian, whom he had imployed much in his business. But all the notice he took of it, was to shew them their Letters, and to admonish them to be more faithful and honest for the future. Upon which he freely forgave them, and carried it so to them afterwards, as if he had absolutely forgotten what they had contrived against him. And a Person of Quality coming to him about that time, to obtain his favour and assistance in a Sute, in which he was to move the King, he went about it, and had almost procured it: but the King calling to mind, that he had been one of his secret Accusers, asked him whether he took him for his friend; he answered, that he did so. Then the King said, the other was a Knave, and was his mortal Enemy; and bid him, when he should see him next, call him a Knave to his Face. *Cranmer* answered, that such Language did not become a Bishop. But the King sullenly commanded him to do it; yet his modesty was such, that he could not obey so harsh a Command. And so he passed the matter over. When these things came to be known, all Persons, that were not unjustly prejudiced against him, acknowledged that his behaviour was suitable to the Example and Doctrine of the meek and lowly Saviour of the World: And very well became so great a Bishop, and such a Reformer of the Christian Religion; who in those sublime and extraordinary Instances practised that which he taught others to do. The year in which this fell out is not expresst by those who have recorded it; but by the concurring circumstances, I judge it likeliest to have been done this year. 1543.

Soon after this, the Parliament met, that was Summoned to meet the 14*th* of *January*, in the 35*th* year of the King's Reign; in which the Act of the Succession of the Crown passed. Which contains, 'That the King being now to pass the Seas, to make War upon 'his ancient Enemy, the *French* King, and being desirous to settle 'the Succession to the Crown; It is Enacted, That in default of Heirs 'of Prince *Edward*'s body, or of Heirs by the King's present Marriage, 'the Crown shall go to the Lady *Mary*, the King's Eldest Daughter: and in default of Heirs of her body, or if she do not observe 'such limitations or conditions as shall be declared by the King's Letters Patents under his great Seal, or by his last Will under his hand, 'it shall next fall to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and her Heirs; or if she 'have none, or shall not keep the conditions declared by the King, 'it shall fall to any other that shall be declared by the King's Letters Patents, or his last Will Signed with his Hand. There was also an Oath devised, instead of those formerly sworn, both against 'the Pope's Supremacy, and for maintaining the Succession in all 'Points according to this Act: which whosoever refused to take, 'was to be adjudged a Traytor; and whosoever should, either in words, 'or by writing, say any thing contrary to this Act, or to the peril 'and slander of the King's Heirs, limited in the Act, was to be adjudged a Traytor. This was done, no doubt, upon a secret Article of the Treaty with the Emperor; and did put new life into the Popish Party, all whose hopes depended on the Lady *Mary*. But how 1544.

A new Parliament.

Act about the Succession.

1542. how much this leſſened the Prerogative, and the Right of Succeſſion, will be eaſily diſcerned; the King in this affecting an unuſual extent of his own Power, though with the diminution of the Rights of his Succeſſors.

There was another Bill about the qualifying of the Act of the ſix Articles, that was ſent divers times from the one houſe to the other. It was brought to the Lords the *1ſt* of *March*, and read the firſt time; and ſtuck till the *4th*, when it was read the ſecond time; on the *5th* it was read the third time, and paſſed, and was ſent down to the Commons, with *words to be put in, or put out of it.* On the *6th*, the Commons ſent it up with ſome alterations: And on the *8th*, the Lords ſent it down again to the Commons: where it lay till the *17th*, and then it was ſent up with their agreement. And the King's Aſſent was given by his Letters Patents on the 29th of *March*. The Preamble was, 'That whereas untrue Accuſations, 'and Preſentments, might be maliciouſly contrived againſt the King's 'Subjects, and kept ſecret till a time were eſpied to have them by 'malice convicted: Therefore it was Enacted, That none ſhould be 'Indicted, but upon a preſentment by the Oaths of twelve Men, two 'at leaſt, three of the Commiſſioners appointed by the King: and 'that none ſhould be Impriſoned, but upon an Indictement, except 'by a ſpecial Warrant from the King, and that all Preſentments 'ſhould be made within one year after the Offences were committed; 'and if words were uttered in a Sermon, contrary to the Statute, they 'muſt be complained of within forty days, unleſs a juſt cauſe were gi-'ven why it could not be ſo ſoon: Admitting alſo the Parties Indicted 'to all ſuch Challenges as they might have in any other caſe of Fe-lony. This Act has clearly a Relation to the Conſpiracies mentio-ned the former year, both againſt the Arch-Biſhop, and ſome of the King's Servants.

Act againſt Conſpiracies.

Another Act paſſed, continuing ſome former Acts for reviſing the Canon-Law, and for drawing up ſuch a body of Eccleſiaſtical Law, as ſhould have Authority in *England*. This *Cranmer* preſſed often with great vehemence; and to ſhew the neceſſity of it, drew out a ſhort Extract of ſome paſſages in the Canon-Law, (which the Rea-er will find in the Collection,) to ſhew how undecent a thing it was, to let a Volume, in which ſuch Laws Were, be ſtudyed or con-ſidered any longer in *England*. Therefore he was earneſt to have ſuch a Collection of Eccleſiaſtical Laws made, as might regulate the Spi-ritual Courts. But it was found more for the greatneſs of the Pre-rogative, and the Authority of the Civil Courts, to keep that un-determined; ſo he could never obtain his deſire during this King's Reign.

Collect. *Numb.* 27.

Another Act paſſed in this Parliament for the remiſſion of a Loan of Money, which the King had raiſed. This is almoſt copied out of an Act to the ſame effect, that paſſed in the twenty firſt year of the King's Reign: with this addition, That by this Act, thoſe who had got payment, either in whole, or in part, of the Sums ſo lent the King, were to repay it back to the Exchequer. All buſineſs being finiſhed, and a general pardon paſſed, with the ordinary exceptions of ſome Crimes, among which, Hereſie is one, the Parliament was

Prorogued

Prorogued on the 29*th* of *March*, to the 4*th* of *November*. 1544.

The King had now a War both with *France* and *Scotland* upon him. And therefore to prepare for it, he both enhanced the value of Money, and embaſed it: for which, he that writes his vindication gives this for the reaſon; That the Coin being generally embaſed all over *Europe*, he was forced to do it, leſt otherwiſe all the Money ſhould have gone out of the Kingdom. He reſolved to begin the War with *Scotland*, and ſent an Army by Sea thither, under the command of the Earl of *Hartford*, (afterwards Duke of *Somerſet*,) who landing at *Grantham*, a little above *Leith*, burnt and ſpoiled, *Leith* and *Edinburgh*; in which they found more riches than they thought could poſſibly have been there; and they went through the Country, burning and ſpoiling it every-where, till they came to *Berwick*. But they did too much if they intended to gain the hearts of that People, and too little if they intended to ſubdue them. For as they beſieged not the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which would have coſt them more time and trouble; ſo they did not fortifie *Leith*, nor leave a Garriſon in it, which was ſuch an inexcuſable Omiſſion, that it ſeems their Counſels were very weak and ill laid. For *Leith* being fortified, and a Fleet kept going between it and *Berwick* or *Tinmouth*, the Trade of the Kingdom muſt have been quite ſtopt, *Edinburgh* ruined, the Intercourſe between *France* and them cut off, and the whole Kingdom forced to ſubmit to the King. But the Spoils this Army made, had no other effect, but to enrage the Kingdom, and unite them ſo entirely to the *French* Intereſts; that when the Earl of *Lennox* was ſent down by the King, to the Weſtern Parts of *Scotland*, where his Power lay, he could get none to follow him. And the Governor of *Dunbritton* Caſtle, though his own Lieutenant, would not deliver that Caſtle to him, when he underſtood he was to put it in the King of *England*'s hands, but drove him out; others ſay, he fled away of himſelf, elſe he had been taken Priſoner.

The Wars againſt *Scotland* ſucceſsful.

The King was now to croſs the Seas: but, before he went, he ſtudied to ſettle the matters of Religion, ſo that both Parties might have ſome content. *Audley* the Chancellor dying, he made the Lord *Wriotheſley*, that had been Secretary, and was of the Popiſh Party, Lord Chancellor; but made Sir *William Petre*, that was *Cranmer*'s great friend, Secretary of State. He alſo committed the Government of the Kingdom in his abſence, to the Queen, to whom he joyned the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Hartford*, and Secretary *Petre*. And if there was need of any Force to be raiſed, he appointed the Earl of *Hartford* his Lieutenant; under whoſe Government the Reformers needed not fear any thing. But he did another Act, that did wonderfully pleaſe that whole Party, which was, the Tranſlating of the Prayers, for the Proceſſions, and Litanies, into the *Engliſh* Tongue. This was ſent to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* on the 11*th* of *June*, with an Order that it ſhould be uſed over all his Province, as the Reader will find in the Collection. This was not only very acceptable to that Party, becauſe of the thing it ſelf; but it gave them hope, that the King was again opening his ears to motions for Reformation, to which they had been ſhut now about ſix years: And therefore they looked that more things of

Collect. *Numb.* 28.

1544. that nature would quickly follow. And as these Prayers were now set out in *English*, so they doubted not, but there being the same reason to put all the other Offices in the vulgar tongue, they would prevail for that too.

Things being thus setled at home, the King having sent his Forces over before him, crossed the Seas with much pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloth of Gold. He Landed at *Calais* the 14*th* of *July*. The Emperor pressed his marching straight to *Paris*. But he thought it of more importance to take *Bulloign*, and after two months Siege, it was surrendred to him; into which he made his Entry with great Triumph on the 18*th* of *September*. But the Emperor having thus engaged those two Crowns in a War; and designing, while they should fight it out, to make himself Master of *Germany*, concluded a Treaty with the *French* King the very next day, being the 19*th* of *September*; which is set down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. On the 30*th* of *September*, the King returned into *England*: in *October* following *Bulloign* was very near lost by a surprise, but the Garrison put themselves in order, and beat back the *French*. Several Inroads were made into *Scotland*, but not with the same success, that the former Expedition had. For the *Scots*, animated with supplies sent from *France*, and inflamed with a desire of revenge, resumed their wonted courage, and beat back the *English* with considerable loss.

Bulloign taken.

1545. Next year the *French* King, resolving to recover *Bulloign*, and to take *Calais*, that so he might drive the *English* out of *France*, intended first to make himself Master of the Sea. And he set out a great Fleet of an hundred and fifty greater Ships, and sixty lesser ones, besides many Gallies brought from the *Streights*. The King set out about an hundred Ships. On both sides these were only Merchant Ships that were hired for this War. But after the *French* Fleet had looked on *England*, and attempted to Land with ill success, both in the Isle of *Wight*, and in *Sussex*, and had engaged in a Sea-fight for some hours; they returned back without any considerable action: Nor did they any thing at Land. But the King's Fleet went to *Normandy*, where they made a descent, and burnt the Country. So that this year was likewise glorious to the King. The Emperor had now done what he long designed: And therefore being courted by both Crowns, he undertook a Mediation, that under the Colour of Mediating a Peace, he might the more effectually keep up the War.

The *German* Princes mediate a Peace.

The Princes of *Germany* saw what mischief was designed against them. The Council of *Trent* was now opened, and was condemning their Doctrine. A League was also concluded between the Pope and the Emperor, for procuring Obedience to their Canons and Decrees: And an Army was raised. The Emperor was also setting on foot old quarrels with some of the Princes: A firm Peace was concluded with the *Turk*. So that if the Crowns of *England* and *France* were not brought to an Agreement, they were undone. They sent Ambassadors to both Courts to mediate a Peace. With them *Cranmer* joyned his endeavours, but he had not a *Cromwell* in the Court, to manage the King's temper; who was so provoked with the ill Treatment he had received from *France*, that he would not come to an Agreement;

nor

nor would he restore *Bulloign*, without which the *French* would hear of no Peace. *Cranmer* had at this time almost prevailed with the King to make some further steps in a Reformation. But *Gardiner*, who was then Ambassador in the Emperor's Court, being advertised of it, wrote to the King; That the Emperor would certainly joyn with *France* against him, if he made any further Innovation in Religion. This diverted the King from it; and in *August* this year the only great Friend that *Cranmer* had in the Court died, *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, who had long continued in the height of Favor; which was always kept up, not only by an agreement of humours between the King and him, but by the constant success which followed him in all his exploits. He was a Favourer of the Reformation, as far as could consist with his interest at Court, which he never endangered upon any account. 1545.

Now *Cranmer* was left alone, without friend or support. Yet he had gained one great Preferment in the Church, to a man of his own mind. The Arch-Bishoprick of *York* falling void by *Lee*'s death, *Robert Holgate*, that was Bishop of *Landaff*, was promoted to that See in *January*; *Kitchin* being made Bishop of *Landaff*, who turned with every Change that was made under the three succeeding Princes. The Arch-Bishop of *York* set about the Reforming of things in his Province, which had layn in great confusion all his Predecessors time: So on the third of *March* he took out a Licence from the King for making a Metropolitical Visitation. *Bell*, that was Bishop of *Worcester* had resigned his Bishoprick the former year, (the reason of which is not set down.) The Bishop of *Rochester*, *Heath*, was Translated to that See: and *Henry Holbeach*, that favoured the Reformation, was made Bishop of *Rochester*. And upon the Translation of *Sampson*, from *Chichester* to *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Day* that was a Moderate man, and inclinable to Reformation, was made Bishop of that See. So that now *Cranmer* had a greater Party, among the Bishops than at any time before. Church Preferments given to Reformers.

But though there were no great Transactions about Religion in *England* this year, there were very remarkable things done in *Scotland*, though of a different nature; which were the burning of *Wishart*, and some Months after that, the killing of Cardinal *Beaton*; the account of both which, will not (I hope) be Ingrateful to the Reader.

Mr. *George Wishart* was descended of a Noble Family; he went to finish his studies in the University of *Cambridge*, where he was so well instructed in the Principles of true Religion, that returning to *Scotland*, *Anno* 1544. He Preached over the Country, against the Corruptions which did then so generally prevail. He stayed most at *Dundee*, which was the chief Town in these parts. But the Cardinal offended at this, sent a threatning Message to the Magistrates; upon which one of them, as *Wishart* ended one of his Sermons, was so obsequious as to forbid him to Preach any more among them, or give them any further trouble: to whom he answered, 'That God 'knew he had no design to trouble them, but for them to reject 'the Messengers of God, was not the way to escape trouble; when 'he was gone, God would send Messengers of another sort among *Wishart*'s sufferings in *Scotland*. *Spotswood*.

1544. that nature would quickly follow. And as theſe Prayers were now ſet out in *Engliſh*, ſo they doubted not, but there being the ſame reaſon to put all the other Offices in the vulgar tongue, they would prevail for that too.

Things being thus ſetled at home, the King having ſent his Forces over before him, croſſed the Seas with much pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloth of Gold. He Landed at *Calais* the 14*th* of *July*. The Emperor preſſed his marching ſtraight to *Paris*. But he thought it of more importance to take *Bulloign*, and after two months Siege, it was ſurrendred to him; into which he made his Entry with great Triumph on the 18*th* of *September*. But the Emperor having thus engaged thoſe two Crowns in a War; and deſigning, while they ſhould fight it out, to make himſelf Maſter of *Germany*, concluded a Treaty with the *French* King the very next day, being the 19*th* of *September*; which is ſet down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. On the 30*th* of *September*, the King returned into *England*: in *October* following *Bulloign* was very near loſt by a ſurpriſe, but the Garriſon put themſelves in order, and beat back the *French*. Several Inroads were made into *Scotland*, but not with the ſame ſucceſs, that the former Expedition had. For the *Scots*, animated with ſupplies ſent from *France*, and inflamed with a deſire of revenge, reſumed their wonted courage, and beat back the *Engliſh* with conſiderable loſs.

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Mr. *George Wiſhart* was deſcended of a Noble Family; he went to finiſh his ſtudies in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was ſo well inſtructed in the Principles of true Religion, that returning to *Scotland*, *Anno* 1544. He Preached over the Country, againſt the Corruptions which did then ſo generally prevail. He ſtayed moſt at *Dundee*, which was the chief Town in theſe parts. But the Cardinal offended at this, ſent a threatning Meſſage to the Magiſtrates; upon which one of them, as *Wiſhart* ended one of his Sermons, was ſo obſequious as to forbid him to Preach any more among them, or give them any further trouble: to whom he anſwered, 'That God 'knew he had no deſign to trouble them, but for them to reject 'the Meſſengers of God, was not the way to eſcape trouble; when 'he was gone, God would ſend Meſſengers of another ſort among 'them. *Wiſhart*'s ſufferings in *Scotland*. *Spotſwood*.

1545. 'them. He had to the hazard of his Life, Preached the word of 'Salvation to them, and they had now rejected him: but if it was 'long well with them, he was not led by the Spirit of Truth; and 'if unlooked for trouble fell on them, he bade them remember this 'was the Cause of it, and turn to God by Repentance. From thence he went to the western parts, where he was also much followed. But the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, giving order, that he should not be admitted to Preach in Churches, he Preached often in the fields: and when in some places his followers would have forced the Churches, he checkt them and said, it was the word of Peace, that he Preached, and therefore no blood should be shed about it. But after he had stayed a month there, he heard that there was a great Plague in *Dundee*, which broke out the fourth day after he had left it: upon which, he presently returned thither and Preached oft to them, standing over one of the Gates, having taken care that the Infected Persons should stand without, and those that were clean within the Gate. He continued among them and took care to supply the poor, and to visit the sick, and do all the Offices of a faithful Pastor in that extremity. Once as he ended his Sermon, a Priest coming to have killed him, was taken with the weapon in his hand, but when the People were rushing furiously on him, *Wishart* got him in his Arms and saved him from their rage, for he said he had done no harm, only they saw what they might look for. He became a little after this more than ordinary serious and apprehensive of his end: he was seen sometimes to rise in the night, and spend the greatest part of it in Prayer; and he often warned his hearers, that his Sufferings were at hand, but that few should suffer after him, and that the Light of true Religion should be spread over the whole Land. He went to a great many places, where his Sermons were well received, and came last to *Lothian*, where he found a greater neglect of the Gospel, than in other parts, for which he threatned them, *That Strangers should chase them from their dwellings and possess them.* He was Lodged in a Gentleman of Qualities house *Cockburn*, of *Ormeston*, when in the night the house was beset by some horsemen, who were sent by the Cardinals means to take him. The Earl of *Bothwel* that had the chief Jurisdiction in the County, was with them, who promising that no hurt should be done him, he caused the Gate to be opened, saying, *The Blessed will of God be done*, When he presented himself to the Earl of *Bothwel*, he desired to be proceeded with according to Law, for he said, he feared less to die openly, than to be Murdered in secret. The Earl promised upon his honour, that no harm should be done him, and for some time seemed resolved, to have made his words good, but the Queen Mother and Cardinal in the end prevailed with him, to put *Wishart* in their hands, and they sent him to St. *Andrews*, where it was agreed to make a Sacrifice of him. Upon this the Cardinal called a meeting of the Bishops to St. *Andrews* against the 27th of *February*, to destroy him with the more Ceremony, but the Arch Bishop of *Glasgow* moved, that there should be a Warrant procured from the Lord Governor for their proceedings. To this the Cardinal consented, thinking the Governor was then so linked to their Interests, that he would deny them nothing; but the

Governor

Governor bearing in his heart a ſecret love to Religion, and being plainly dealt with by a Noble Gentleman of his name *Hamilton*, of *Preſton*, who laid before him the juſt and terrible Judgments of God he might look for, if he ſuffered poor Innocents to be ſo Murdered at the appetite of the Clergy; ſent the Cardinal word not to proceed till he himſelf came, and that he would not conſent to his death, till the cauſe was well examined; and that if the Cardinal proceeded againſt him, his blood ſhould be required at his hands. But the Cardinal reſolved to go on at his peril, for he apprehended, if he delayed it, their might be either a Legal or a violent reſcue made: ſo he ordered a mock Citation of *Wiſhart* to appear; who being brought the next day to the Abbey-Church, the Proceſs was opened with a Sermon, in which the Preacher delivered a great deal of good Doctrine concerning the Scriptures, being the only Touchſtone by which Hereſie was to be tryed. After Sermon, the Priſoner was brought to the Bar: he firſt fell down on his knees, and after a ſhort Prayer, he ſtood up and gave a long account of his Sermons, That he had Preached nothing, but what was contained in the ten Commandments, the Apoſtles Creed, and the Lords Prayer; but was interrupted with reproachful words, and required to anſwer plainly to the Articles objected to him. Upon which he appealed to an indifferent Judge: he deſired to be tryed by the word of God and before my Lord Governor, whoſe Priſoner he was: but the Indictment being read, he confeſſing and offering to juſtifie moſt of the Articles objected againſt him, was judged an obſtinate Heretick, and condemned to be burnt: All the next night he ſpent in Prayer: In the Morning, two Friars came to Conſeſs him, but he ſaid, he would have nothing to do with them, yet if he could, he would gladly ſpeak with the Learned man, that preached the day before. So he being ſent to him, after much Conference, he asked him, if he would receive the Sacrament? *Wiſhart* anſwered, he would moſt gladly do it, if he might have it as Chriſt had inſtituted it, under both kinds; but the Cardinal would not ſuffer the Sacrament to be given him. And ſo breakfaſt being brought, he diſcourſed to thoſe that were preſent, of the death of Chriſt, and the ends of the Sacrament, and then having bleſſed and conſecrated the Elements, he took the Sacrament himſelf, and gave it to thoſe that were with him. That being done, he would taſte no other thing, but retired to his Devotion. Two hours after the Executioners came, and put on him a Coat of black Linen, full of bags of Powder and carried him out to the place of Execution, which was before the Cardinals Caſtle. He ſpake a little to the People, deſiring them not to be offended at the good word of God, for the ſufferings that followed it, it was the true Goſpel of Chriſt that he had Preached, and for which with a moſt glad heart and mind he now offered up his Life. The Cardinal was ſet in ſtate in a great Window of his Caſtle, looking on this ſad ſpectacle. When *Wiſhart* was tyed to the Stake, he cryed aloud, *O Saviour of the World have Mercy upon me! Father of Heaven I recommend my Spirit into thy Holy hands.* So the Executioners kindled the fire, but one perceiving after ſome time, that he was yet alive, encouraged him to call ſtill on God: to whom he anſwered, 'The flame hath ſcorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my 'Spirit; 1545.

1545. 'Spirit, but he who from yonder high place (looking up to the Car-
'dinal) beholdeth us with such pride, shall within few days lie in
'the same, as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest himself.
The executioner drawing the Cord that was about his neck straiter, stopt his breath so, that he could speak no more, and his body was soon consumed by the fire. Thus died this eminent servant and witness of Christ, on whose Sufferings I have enlarged the more, because they proved so fatal to the Interests of the Popish Clergy, for not any one thing hastned forward the Reformation more than this did, and since he had both his Education and Ordination in *England*, a full account of him seems no impertinent Digression.

The Clergy rejoyced much at his death, and thought (according to the constant Maxim of all Persecutors) that they should live more at ease, now when *Wishart* was out of the way. They magnified the Cardinal for proceeding so vigorously, without, or rather against the Governors Orders: But the People did universally look on him as a Martyr, and believed an extraordinary measure of Gods Spirit had rested on him, since besides great innocency and purity of Life, his predictions came so oft to pass, that he was believed a Prophet as well as a Saint: And the Reformation was now so much opened by his Preaching, and that was so confirmed by his death that the Nation was generally possessed with the love of it. The Nobility were mightily offended with the Cardinal, and said *Wishart*'s death was no less than Murder, since the Clergy without a Warrant from the Secular Power, could dispose of no mans Life: So it came universally to be said, that he now deserved to die by the Law, yet since he was too great for a Legal Tryal, the Kingdom being under the feeble Government of a Regency, it was fit private persons should undertake it; and it was given out, that the killing an Usurper, was always esteemed a commendable Action, and so in that state of things, they thought secret practices might be justified. This agreeing so much with the temper of some in that Nation, who had too much of the heat and forwardness of their Country, a few Gentlemen of Quality, who had been ill used by the Cardinal, conspired his death. He was become generally hateful to the whole Nation, and the Marriage of his Bastard Daughter to the Earl of *Crawford*'s eldest Son, enraged the Nobility the more against him; and his carriage towards them all was insolent and provoking. These offended Gentlemen came to St. *Andrews* the 29th of *May*, and the next Morning, they and their attendants, being but twelve in all, first attempted the Gate of his Castle, which they found open, and made it sure; and though they were no fewer than an hundred reckoned to be within the Castle, yet they knowing the passages of the House, went with very little noise, to the Servants Chambers, and turned them almost all out of doors; and having thus made the Castle sure, they sent to the Cardinals door: He who till then was fast asleep, suspecting nothing, perceived at last by their rudeness, that they were not his friends, and made his door fast against them. So they went for fire to set to it, upon which he treated with them, and upon assurance of Life he opened the door: but they rushing in, did most cruelly and treacherously Murder him. A Tumult was raised in the Town, and many of his friends came to rescue

reſcue him, but the Conſpirators carryed the dead Body and expoſed it to their view, in the ſame Window out of which he had not long before lookt on, when *Wiſhart* was burnt, which had been univerſally cenſured as a moſt indecent thing in a Church-man, to delight in ſuch a Spectacle. But thoſe who condemned this Action, yet acknowledged God's Juſtice in ſo exemplary a Puniſhment, and reflecting on *Wiſhart*'s laſt words, were the more confirmed in the opinion they had of his Sanctity. This Fact was differently cenſured; ſome juſtified it, and ſaid, it was only the killing of a mighty Robber, others that were glad he was out of the way, yet condemned the manner of it, as treacherous and inhumane. And though ſome of the Preachers did afterwards fly to that Caſtle as a Sanctuary, yet none of them, were either Actors or Conſenters to it: it is true they did generally extenuate it, yet I do not find that any of them juſtified it. The exemplary and ſignal ends of almoſt all the Conſpirators, ſcarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all People the more inclined to condemn it. The day after the Cardinal was killed, about 140 came into the Caſtle and prepared for a Siege. The Houſe was well furniſhed in all things neceſſary, and it lying ſo near the Sea, they expected help from King *Henry*, to whom they ſent a Meſſenger for his Aſſiſtance, and declared for him. So a Siege following, they were ſo well ſupplyed from *England*, that after five months the Governor was glad to treat with them, apprehending much the footing the *Engliſh* might have, if thoſe within being driven to extremities, ſhould receive a Garriſon from King *Henry*: They had the Governor alſo more at their mercy, for as the Cardinal had taken his Eldeſt Son into his houſe, under the pretence of educating him, but really as his Father's Hoſtage, deſigning likewiſe to infuſe in him a violent hatred of the new Preachers; ſo the Conſpirators finding him in the Caſtle, kept him ſtill to help them to better terms. A Treaty being agreed on, they demanded their Pardon for what they had done, together with an Abſolution to be procured from *Rome*, for the killing of the Cardinal; and that the Caſtle and the Governor's Son, ſhould remain in their hands, till the Abſolution was brought over. Some of the Preachers apprehending the Clergy might revenge the Cardinal's death on them, were forced to fly into the Caſtle; but one of them *John Rough* (who was afterwards burnt in *England* in Queen *Mary*'s time) being ſo offended at the licentiouſneſs of the Souldiers that were in the Caſtle, who were a reproach to that which they pretended to favour, left them, and went away in one of the Ships, that brought Proviſions out of *England*. When the Abſolution came from *Rome*, they excepted to it, for ſome words in it, that called the killing of the Cardinal *Crimen irremiſſibile*, an unpardonable Crime; by which they ſaid the Abſolution gave them no ſecurity, ſince it was null, if the Fact could not be pardoned. The truth was, they were encouraged from *England*, ſo they refuſed to ſtand to the Capitulation, and rejected the Abſolution. But ſome Ships and Souldiers being ſent from *France*, the Caſtle was beſieged at Land, and ſhut up alſo by Sea, and which was worſt of all a Plague broke out within it, of which many died. Upon this no help coming ſuddenly from *England*, they were forced to deliver up the Place on

1545.

no

1545. no better terms, than that their Lives ſhould be ſpared, but they were to be Baniſht *Scotland*, and never to return to it. The Caſtle was demoliſhed according to the Canon Law, that appoints all places where any Cardinal is killed to be razed. This was not compleated this year, and not till two years after, only I thought it beſt to joyn the whole matter together and ſet it down all at once.

A Parliament ſits.

In *November* following a New Parliament was held, where toward the expence of the King's Wars, the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* granted a continuation of the former Subſidy of ſix Shillings in the Pound, to be payed in two years. But for the Temporality, a Subſidy was demanded from them of another kind: There were in the Kingdom ſeveral Colleges, Chappels, Chanteries, Hoſpitals, and Fraternities, conſiſting of Secular Prieſts, who enjoyed Penſions for ſaying Maſs for the Souls of thoſe who had endowed them. Now the belief of Purgatory being left indifferent, by the Doctrine ſet out by the Biſhops, and the Trade of redeeming Souls being condemned; it was thought needleſs to keep up ſo many Endowments to no purpoſe. Thoſe Prieſts were alſo generally ill-affected to the King's proceedings, ſince their Trade was ſo much leſſened by them. Therefore many of them had been dealt with to make reſignation: And four and twenty of them had ſurrendered to the King. It was found alſo, that many of the Founders of theſe Houſes had taken them into their own hands, and that the Maſter, Wardens and Governors of them had made agreements for them, and given Leaſes of them: Therefore now a Subſidy being demanded, all theſe were given to the King by Act of Parliament; which alſo confirmed the Deeds that any had made to the King: Empowering him in any time of his life to iſſue out Commiſſions for ſeizing on theſe Foundations, and taking them into his own poſſeſſion: which being ſo ſeized on, ſhould belong to the King and his ſucceſſors for ever. They alſo granted another Subſidy for the War. When all their buſineſs was done, the King came to the Houſe, and made a long Speech, of which I cannot ſufficiently wonder that no Entry is made in the Journals of the Houſe of Lords; Yet it is not to be doubted but he made it, for it was publiſhed by *Hall* ſoon after.

Chapters and Chanteries given to the King.

When the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons had preſented the Bills, with a Speech full of reſpect and complement, as is uſual upon theſe occaſions; The King anſwered, 'Thanking them for the Subſidie, and the Bill about the Colleges and Chanteries; and aſſured them that he ſhould take care, both for ſupplying the Miniſters, for encouraging Learning, and relieving the Poor; and they ſhould quickly perceive that in theſe things their expectations ſhould be anſwered, beyond what they either wiſhed or deſired. And after he had expreſſed his affection to them, and the aſſurance he had of their duty and fidelity to him, he adviſed them to amend one thing; which was, that in ſtead of Charity and Concord, Diſcord and Diviſion reled every where. He cited St. *Paul*'s words, *That Charity was gentle, and not envious, nor proud.* But when one called another Heretick, and the other called him Papiſt, and Phariſee, were theſe the ſigns of Charity? The fault of this he charged chiefly on the Fathers and Teachers of the Spiritualty, who preached one againſt another, without Charity

The King's ſpeech to the Houſes.

'Charity or Diſcretion; ſome being too ſtiff in their old *Mumpſimus*, 1545.
'others too buſie and curious in their new *Sumpſimus*; and few Preached the Word of God truly and ſincerely. And how could the poor 'People live in concord, when they ſowed debate among them? Therefore he exhorted them to ſet forth God's Word, by true Preaching, 'and giving a good Example; or elſe he, as God's Vicar, and high Miniſter, would ſee theſe Enormities corrected, which if he did not 'do, he was an unprofitable Servant and an untrue Officer. He next 'reproved them of the Temporality, who railed at their Biſhops and 'Prieſts: whereas if they had any thing to lay to their charge, they 'ought to declare it to the King, or his Council, and not take upon them to judge ſuch high Points. For tho they had the Scriptures 'given them in their Mother-Tongue, yet that was only to inform their own conſciences, and inſtruct their Children and Families; but not to diſpute, nor from thence to rail againſt Prieſts, 'and Preachers, as ſome vain Perſons did. He was ſorry that ſuch a 'Jewel, as the Word of God, was ſo ill uſed; that Rithms and Songs 'were taken out of it: but much more ſorry that Men followed it ſo 'little; for Charity was never fainter, a godly life never leſs appeared, 'and God was never leſs reverenced and worſhipped. Therefore he 'exhorted them to live as Brethren in Charity together, to love, dread, 'and ſerve God; and then the love and union between Him and them 'ſhould never be diſſolved. And ſo exhorting them to look to the Execution of the Laws which themſelves had deſired, he gave his 'Royal Aſſent to the Bills, and diſmiſſed the Parliament.

The King gave at this time a Commiſſion to the Biſhops of *Weſtminſter*, *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, and the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation, Sir *Edward North*, containing, 'That whereas the King 'had founded many Cathedrals, in which he had given large allowances, both to be diſtributed to the poor, and to be laid out for the 'mending of High-ways; To *Canterbury* 100 pounds for the Poor, 'and 40 pounds for the High-ways: To *Rocheſter* 20 pounds for the 'Poor, and 20 pounds for the High-ways: To *Weſtminſter*, 100 pounds 'for the Poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways: To *Wincheſter* 100 'Marks for the Poor, and 50 for the High-ways: To *Briſtol*, *Gloceſter*, 'Cheſter, *Burton* upon *Trent*, *Thornton*, *Peterborough* and *Ely*, 20 pounds 'a piece for the Poor, and as much for the High-ways: To *Worceſter* '40 pounds for the Poor, and 40 Pounds for the High-ways: To *Dureſm* 100 Marks for the Poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways: 'And to *Carliſle* 15 pounds for the Poor, and as much for the High-ways: In all about 550 pounds a year to the Poor, and about 400 'pounds a year for the High-ways: They were to enquire how this 'Money was diſtributed; and, if they ſaw cauſe, they might order it 'to be applied to any other uſe which they ſhould judge more charitable and convenient. But what followed upon this, does not appear by the Records.

The King confirms the Rights of the Univerſities.

After the Parliament was diſſolved, the Univerſities made their applications to the King, that they might not be included within the general Words in the Act of Diſſolution of Colleges and Fraternities. And Dr. *Cox* Tutor to the Prince, wrote to Secretary *Paget*, to 'repreſent to the King the great want of Schools, Preachers, and

1546. 'Houſes for Orphans; that Beggery would drive the Clergy to Flat-
'tery, Superſtition, and the old Idolatry: There were ravenous
'Wolves about the King, that would devour Univerſities, Cathedrals,
'and Chantries, and a thouſand times as much. Poſterity would
'wonder at ſuch things: Therefore he deſired the Univerſities might
'be ſecured from their Spoyls. But the King did quickly free them from
theſe fears.

Now I enter into the laſt year of this King's Reign. The War in *France* was managed with doubtful ſucceſs: yet the loſſes were greater on the *Engliſh* ſide. And the Forces being commanded by the Earl of *Surrey*, who was brave, but unſucceſsful, he was not only blamed but recalled, and the Earl of *Hertford* ſent to Command in his room. But he being a Man of an high Spirit, and diſdaining the Earl of *Hertford*, who was now preferred before him, let fall ſome words of high reſentment, and bitter contempt, which not long after wrought his ruine. The King was now alone in the War, which was very chargeable to him; and obſerving the Progreſs that the Council of *Trent* was making, where Cardinal *Poole* being one of the Legates, he had reaſon to look for ſome ſevere Decree to be made againſt himſelf; ſince none of the Hereticks of *Germany* were ſo much hated by the Court of *Rome*, as he was: Therefore he liſtned to the Counſels of Peace. And tho he was not old, yet he felt ſuch decays in his ſtrength, that being extreamly corpulent, he had no reaſon to think he could live very long: Therefore that he might not leave his young Son involved in a War of ſuch conſequence, Peace was concluded in *June*; which was much to the King's honour, though the taking and keeping of *Bulloign*, (which by this Peace the King was to keep for eight years,) coſt him above 1300000 pounds.

Peace with *France*.

A new deſign for Reformation.

Upon the Peace, the *French* Admiral *Annebault* came over to *England*. And now again a Reſolution of going on with a Reformation was ſet on foot: for it was agreed between the King and the Admiral, That in both Kingdoms, the Maſs ſhould be changed into a Communion; and *Cranmer* was Ordered to draw a Form of it. They alſo reſolved to preſs the Emperor to do the like in his Dominions, otherwiſe to make War upon him. But how this Project failed, does not appear. The Animoſities which the former War had raiſed between the two Kings, were converted into a firm Friendſhip: which grew ſo ſtrong on *France*'s Part, that he never was ſeen glad at any thing, after he had the news of the King's death.

Shaxton's Apoſtacy.

But now one of the King's angry fits took him at the Reformers, ſo that there was a new proſecution of them. *Nicholas Shaxton*, that was Biſhop of *Salisbury*, had been long a Priſoner: but this year, he had ſaid in his Impriſonment, in the Counter in *Bread-ſtreet*, *That Chriſt's natural Body was not in the Sacrament, but that it was a Sign and Memorial of his Body that was crucified for us.* Upon this he was Indicted, and condemned to be burnt. But the King ſent the Biſhops of *London*, and *Worceſter*, to deal with him to recant; which on the 9th of *July* he did, acknowledging, 'That that year he had fallen in his old
'Age in the Hereſie of the Sacramentaries. But that he was now con-
'vinced of that error, by their endeavours whom the King had ſent
'to him. And therefore he thanked the King for delivering him, both from

'from Temporal and Eternal fire: and ſubſcribed a Paper of Articles, which will be found in the Collection. Upon this, he had his pardon and diſcharge ſent him the 13 of *July*, and ſoon after preached the Sermon at the burning of *Anne Askew*; and wrote a Book in defence of the Articles he had ſubſcribed. What became of him all *Edward* the 6ths time, I cannot tell: But I find, he was a cruel proſecutor and Burner of Proteſtants, in Queen *Mary*'s day. Yet it ſeems thoſe to whom he went over, did not conſider him much, for they never raiſed him higher than to be Biſhop Suffragan of *Ely*. Others were alſo Indicted upon the ſame Statute, who got off by recantation, and were pardoned. But *Anne Askew*'s Trial had a more bloody Concluſion. 1546. Collect. *Numb.* 28.

She was nobly deſcended, and educated beyond what was ordinary in that age to thoſe of her Sex. But ſhe was unfortunately Married, to one *Kyme*, who being a violent Papiſt, drave her out of his Houſe, when he found ſhe favoured the Reformation. So ſhe came to *London*, where information being given of ſome words, that ſhe had ſpoken againſt the Corporal preſence in the Sacrament, ſhe was put in Priſon: upon which, great applications were made by many of her friends, to have her let out upon Bail. The Biſhop of *London* examined her, and after much pains, ſhe was brought to ſet her hand to a Recantation, by which ſhe acknowledge, 'That the Natural Body of Chriſt was preſent in the Sa-'crament, after the Conſecration; whether the Prieſt were a good 'or an ill Man: and that, whether it was preſently conſumed, or re-'ſerved in the *Pix*, it was the true Body of Chriſt. Yet ſhe added to Her ſubſcription, that ſhe believed all things according to the Catholick Faith, and not otherwiſe. With this the Biſhop was not ſatisfied; but after much ado, and many importunate addreſſes, ſhe was Baiſed in the end of *March* this year. But not long after that, ſhe was again apprehended, and examined before the King's Council then at *Greenwich*, where ſhe ſeemed very indifferent what they did with her. She anſwered them in general words, upon which they could fix nothing, and made ſome ſharp reparties upon the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Some liked the wit and freedom of her diſcourſe, but others thought ſhe was too forward. From thence ſhe was ſent to *Newgate*, where ſhe wrote ſome devotions, and Letters, that ſhew her to have been a Woman of moſt extraordinary parts. She wrote to the King, 'That as to the Lord's Supper, 'ſhe believed as much as Chriſt had ſaid in it, and as much, as the Catho-'lick Church from him did Teach. Upon *Shaxton*'s Recantation they ſent him to her to prevail with her. But ſhe inſtead of yielding to him, charged his Inconſtancy home upon him. She had been oft at Court, and was much favoured by many great Ladies there; and it was believed the Queen had ſhewed kindneſs to her. So the Lord Chancellor examined her of what Favour or Encouragement ſhe had from any in the Court, particularly from the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, the Counteſs of *Hertford*, and ſome other Ladies. But he could draw nothing from her, ſave that one in Livery had brought her ſome Money, which he ſaid came from two Ladies in the Court. But they reſolved to extort further Confeſſions from her. And therefore carried her to the *Tower*, they cauſed her to be laid on the Rack, and gave her a taſte of it. Yet ſhe confeſſed nothing. That ſhe was rackt is very certain, for I find it in an Original Journal of the Tranſactions in the *Tower*, written by *An-* The troubles of *Anne Askew*.

1546. *thony Anthony:* But *Fox* adds a passage that seems scarce credible, the thing is so extraordinary, and so unlike the Character of the Lord Chancellor, who though he was fiercely zealous for the old Superstition, yet was otherwise a great Person: it is, That he commanded the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to stretch her more; but he refused to do it, and being further prest, told him plainly he would not do it The other threatned him, but to no purpose; so the Lord Chancellor throwing off his Gown, drew the Rack so severely, that he almost tore her Body asunder: yet could draw nothing from her, for she endured it with unusual Patience and Courage. When the King heard this, he blamed the Lord Chancellor for his Cruelty, and excused the Lieutenant of the *Tower*. *Fox* does not vouch any Warrant for this, so that though I have set it down, yet I give no entire credit to it: if it was true, it shews the strange influence of that Religion, and that it corrupts the Noblest natures; yet the poor Gentlewomans being Rackt, wrought no pity in the King towards her, for he left her to be proceeded against according to the Sentence: she was carried to the Stake in *Smithfield* a little after that in a Chair, not being able to stand through the Torments of the Rack. There were brought with her at the same time, one *Nicolas Belenian* a Priest, *John Adams* a Taylor, and *John Lassels* one of the King's Servants, (it is likely he was the same Person that had discovered Queen *Katherine Howard*'s incontinency, for which, all the Popish Party, to be sure, bore him no good will.) They were all convicted upon the Statute of the Six Articles, for denying the Corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament. When they were brought thither, *Shaxton*, to compleat his Apostasie, made a Sermon of the Sacrament, and inveighed against their Errors. That being ended, they were tied to the Stake; and then the Lord Chancellor sent and offered them their Pardon, which was ready passed under the Seal, if they would recant. But they loved not their lives so well, as to redeem them by the loss of a good Conscience; and therefore encouraging one another to suffer patiently for the Testimony of the Truth: so they endured to the last, and were made Sacrifices by fire unto God. There were also two in *Suffolk*, and one in *Norfolk*, burnt on the same account a little before this.

She endures the Rack.

And is burnt with some others.

A new design against *Cranmer*.

But that Party at Court having incensed the King much against those Hereticks, resolved to drive it further; and to work the ruine, both of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and of the Queen: Concluding, that if these attempts were successful, they should carry every thing else. They therefore renewed their Complaints of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; and told the King, That though there were evident proofs ready to be brought against him, yet because of his Greatness, and the King's Carriage upon the former Complaints, none durst appear against him. But if he were once put in the *Tower*, that Men might hope to be heard, they undertook to bring full and clear Evidences of his being a Heretick. So the King consented, That he should be the next day called before the Council, and sent to the *Tower*, if they saw cause for it. And now they concluded him ruined. But in the night, the King sent Sir *Anthony Denny* to *Lambeth*, to bring the Arch-Bishop to speak with him. And when he came, the King told him what Informations had been brought against him,

and

and how far he had yielded to them, that he ſhould be ſent to the *Tower* next day: And therefore deſired to hear from himſelf what he had to ſay upon it. *Cranmer* thanked him, that he had not left him in the dark, to be ſurprized in a matter that concerned him ſo nearly. He acknowledged the Equity of the King's proceedings; and all that he deſired, was, That he might be brought to make his anſwer: And that ſince he was to be Queſtioned for ſome of his Opinions, Judges might be aſſigned who underſtood thoſe matters. The King heard this with aſtoniſhment, wondering to ſee a Man ſo little concerned in his own perſervation. 'But pleaſantly told him, he was a 'Fool that looked to his own ſafety ſo little. For did he think that 'if he were once put in Priſon, abundance of falſe witneſſes would 'not be ſuborned to ruine him. Therefore ſince he did not take care 'of himſelf, he would look to it. And ſo he ordered him to appear next day before the Council, upon their Summons; and when things were objected to him, to ſay, that ſince he was a Privy-Councellor, he deſired they would uſe him, as they would look to be uſed in the like caſe: And therefore to move that his Accuſers might be brought face to face, and things be a little better conſidered before he was ſent to the *Tower*. And if they refuſed to grant that, then he was to appeal perſonally to the King, (who intended to be abſent that day,) and in token of it, ſhould ſhew them the King's Seal-Ring which he wore on his finger, and was well known to them all. So the King, giving him his Ring, ſent him privately home again. Next Morning a Meſſenger of the Council came early, and Summoned him to appear that day before the Council. So he went over, but was long kept waiting in the Lobby, before he was called in. At this unuſual ſight many were aſtoniſhed. But Doctor *Buts*, the King's Phyſician, that loved *Cranmer*, and preſumed more on a diſeaſed King than others durſt do, went and told the King what a ſtrange thing he had ſeen: 'The Primate of all *England* waiting at the Council-'door, among the foot-men and Servants. So the King ſent them word, That he ſhould be preſently brought in; which being done, they ſaid, That there were many Informations againſt him, that all the Hereſies that were in *England* came from him and his Chaplains. To which he anſwered as the King had directed him. But they inſiſting on what was before projected, he ſaid, he was ſorry to be thus uſed, by thoſe with whom he had ſate ſo long at that Board, ſo that he muſt appeal from them to the King: And with that took out the King's Ring, and ſhewed it: This put them in a wonderful confuſion, but they all roſe up and went to the King; who checkt them 'ſeverely for uſing the Arch-Biſhop ſo unhandſomely. He ſaid, he 'thought he had a wiſer Council, than now he found they were. 'He proteſted by the Faith he owed to God, laying his hand on his 'Breaſt, That if a Prince could be obliged by his Subject, he was 'by the Arch-Biſhop, and that he took him to be the moſt faithful 'Subject he had, and the Perſon to whom he was moſt beholding. The Duke of *Norfolk* made a trifling excuſe, and ſaid, They meant no harm to the Arch-Biſhop, but only to vindicate his Innocency by ſuch a Tryal, which would have freed him from the aſperſions that were caſt on him. But the King anſwered, he would not ſuffer men that

1546.

The King's great care of him.

1546. that were ſo dear to him, to be handled in that faſhion. He knew the Factions that were among them, and the malice that ſome of them bore to others; which he would either extinguiſh or puniſh very ſpeedily. So he commanded them all to be Reconciled to *Cranmer*: Which was done with the outward Ceremony of taking him by the hand; and was moſt real on his part, though the other Party did not ſo eaſily lay down the hatred they bore him. This I place at this time; though *Parker*, who related it, names no year nor time in which it was done; but he leads us very near it, by ſaying, it was after the Duke of *Suffolk*'s death; and this being the only time after that, in which the King was in an ill humor againſt the Reformers, I conclude it fell out at this time.

Antiq. *Brit.* in vita *Cranm.*

Another deſign againſt the Queen.

That Party finding it was in vain to puſh at *Cranmer* any more, did never again endeavour it. Yet one Deſign failing, they ſet on another againſt the Queen. She was a great favourer of the Reformers, and had frequently Sermons in her Privy-Chamber, by ſome of thoſe Preachers; which were not ſecretly carried; but became generally known: When it came to the King's ears, he took no notice of it. And the Queen carried her ſelf, in all other things, not only with an exact conduct, but with that wonderful care about the Kings perſon, which became a Wife that was raiſed by him to ſo great an honour, that he was much taken with her: So that none durſt adventure on making any complaints againſt her. Yet the King's diſtempers encreaſing, and his peeviſhneſs growing with them, he became more uneaſie; and whereas ſhe had frequently uſed to talk to him of Religion, and defended the Opinion of the Reformers, in which he would ſometimes pleaſantly maintain the Argument; now, becoming more impatient, he took it ill at her hands. And ſhe had ſometime in the heat of diſcourſe gone very far. So one night, after ſhe had left him, the King being diſpleaſed, vented it to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* that ſtood by: And he craftily and maliciouſly ſtruck in with the King's anger, and ſaid all that he could deviſe againſt the Queen, to drive his reſentments higher: and took in the Lord Chancellor into the deſign to aſſiſt him. They filled the King's head with many ſtories of his Queen, and ſome of her Ladies: and ſaid, They had favoured *Anne Askew*, and had Heretical Books amongſt them; and he perſuaded the King, that they were Traitors as well as Hereticks. The matter went ſo far, that Articles were drawn againſt her, which the King Signed; for without that, it was not ſafe for any to Impeach the Queen. But the Lord Chancellor putting up that Paper carelelly it dropt from him: And being taken up by one of the Queens Party, was carried to her. Whether the King had really deſigned her ruine, or not, is differently repreſented by the Writers who lived near that time. But ſhe ſeeing his hand to ſuch a Paper, had reaſon to conclude her ſelf loſt. Yet by advice of one of her Friends, ſhe went to ſee the King, who received her kindly, ſet on a Diſcourſe about Religion. But ſhe anſwered, that women, by their firſt Creation, were made ſubject to Men; and they being made after the Image of God, as the Women were after their Image, ought to inſtruct their Wives: who were to learn of them: and ſhe much more, was to be taught by his Majeſty, who was a Prince of ſuch excellent

lent Learning and Wiſdom. *Not ſo by St.* Mary, ſaid the King, *you are become a Doctor, able to Inſtruct us, and not to be Inſtructed by us.* To which ſhe anſwered, That it ſeemed he had much miſtaken the freedom ſhe had taken to argue with him, ſince ſhe did it partly to engage him in diſcourſe, and ſo put over the time, and make him forget his pain; and partly to receive Inſtructions from him, by which ſhe had profited much. *And visit even ſo?* Said the King, *then we are friends again.* So he embraced her with great affection, and ſent her away with very tender aſſurances of his conſtant Love to her. But the next day had been appointed for carrying her, and ſome of her Ladies, to the *Tower*. The day being fair, the King went to take a little air in the Garden, and ſent for her to bear him company. As they were together, the Lord Chancellor came in, having about forty of the Guard with him, to have arreſted the Queen. But the King ſtept aſide to him, and after a little diſcourſe, he was heard to call him *Knave*, *Fool* and *Beaſt*, and he bade him get him out of his Sight. The Innocent Queen who underſtood not that her danger was ſo near, ſtudied to mitigate the King's diſpleaſure, and interceded for the Lord Chancellor. But the King told her, ſhe had no reaſon to plead for him. 1546.

So this deſign miſcarried, which as it abſolutely diſheartned the Papiſts, ſo it did totally alienate the King from them; and in particular from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whoſe ſight he could never after this endure. But he made an humble Submiſſion to the King which though it preſerved him from further puniſhment, yet could not reſtore him to the King's favour. But the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son, the Earl of *Surrey*, fell under a deeper Misfortune. The Duke of *Norfolk* had been long Lord Treaſurer of *England*: He had done great ſervices to the Crown on many ſignal Occaſions, and ſucceſs had always accompanied him. His Son, the Earl of *Surrey*, was alſo a brave and noble Perſon, Witty and Learned to an high degree, but did not command Armies with ſuch Succeſs. He was much provoked at the Earl of *Hertford*'s being ſent over to *France* in his room, and upon that had ſaid, *That within a little while they ſhould ſmart for it*; with ſome other expreſſions that ſavoured of Revenge, and a diſlike of the King, and a hatred of the Counſellors. The Duke of *Norfolk* had endeavoured to ally himſelf to the Earl of *Hertford*, and to his Brother Sir *Thomas Seimour*, perceiving how much they were in the King's favour, and how great an Intereſt they were like to have under the ſucceeding Prince. And therefore would have engaged his Son, being then a Widower, to Marry that Earls Daughter: And preſſed his Daughter, the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, Widow to the King's Natural Son, to Marry Sir *Thomas Seimour*. But though the Earl of *Surrey* adviſed his Siſter to the Marriage projected for her, yet he would not conſent to that deſigned for himſelf, nor did the Propoſition about his Siſter take effect. The *Seimours*, could not but ſee the Enmity the Earl of *Surrey* bore them, and they might well be jealous of the Greatneſs of that Family; which was not only too big for a Subject of it ſelf, but was raiſed ſo high by the dependence of the whole Popiſh Party, both at home and abroad, that they were like to be very dangerous Competitors for the chief Government of Affairs;

The cauſes of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s diſgrace.

1546. fairs, if the King were once out of the way; whose disease was now growing so fast upon him, that he could not live many weeks. Nor is it unlikely that they persuaded the King, that if the Earl of *Surrey* should Marry the Lady *Mary*, it might embroil his Sons Governme-t, and perhaps ruine him. And it was suggested, That he had some such high Project in his thoughts, both by his continuing unmarried, and by his using the Arms of *Edward* the Confessor, which of late he had given in his Coat, without a Diminution. But to compleat the Duke of *Norfolk*'s ruine, his Dutchess who had complained of his using her ill, and had been separated from him about four years, turned Informer against him. His Son and Daughter were also in ill terms together. So the Sister informed all that she could against her Brother. And one Mrs. *Holland*, for whom the Duke was believed to have an unlawful affecti n, discovered all she k-ew; but all amounted to no more, than some passionate Expressions of the Son, and some Complaints of the Father, who thought he was not beloved by the King, and his Counsellors, and that he was ill used, in not being trusted with the secret of affairs. And all Persons being encouraged to bring Informations against them, Sir *Richard Southwell* charged the Earl of *Surrey* in some Points that were of a higher nature: which the Earl denied, and desired to be admitted, according to the Marrial Law, to fight in his shirt with *Southwell*. But that not being granted, he and his Father were committed to the *Tower*. That which was most insisted on, was, their giving the Arms of *Edward* the Confessor which were only to be given by the Kings of *England*. This the Earl of *Surrey* justified: and said, they gave their Arms, according to the opinion of the King's Heraulds. But all excuses availed nothing, for his Father and he were designed to be destroyed, upon reasons of State: for which, some colours were to be found out.

1547. The Earl of *Surrey* Executed.

The Earl of *Surrey* being but a Commoner, was brought to his Tryal at *Guildhall*; and put upon an Inquest of Commoners consisting of nine Knights and three Esquires, by whom he was found guilty of Treason, and had Sentence of death passed upon him; which was executed on the 19*th* of *January* at *Tower-Hill*. It was generally condemned, as an Act of high injustice and severity, which loaded the *Seimours* with a popular *Odium* that they could never overcome. He was much pitied, being a Man of great Parts and high Courage, with many other Noble Qualities.

The Duke's submission to the King.

But the King who never hated nor ruined any body by halves resolved to compleat the Misfortunes of that Family, by the Attainder of the Father. And as all his Eminent Services were now forgotten, so the Submissions he made, could not allay a displeasure, that was only to be satisfied with his Life and Fortune. He wrote to the King, protesting his Innocency: 'That he had never a thought 'to his prejudice, and could not imagine what could be laid to his 'Charge: He had spent his whole Life in his Service, and did not 'know that ever he had offended any Person; or that any were dis-'pleased with him, except for prosecuting the breakers of the Act 'about the Sacrament of the Altar. But in that, and in every thing 'else, as he had been always obedient to the King's Laws, so he was 'resolved still to obey any Laws he should make. He desired he might be

'be examined with his Accuſers face to face, before the King, or 1547.
'at leaſt before his Council; and if it did not appear that he was
'wrongfully accuſed, let him be puniſhed as he deſerved. In Con-
'cluſion he begged the King would have pity on him, and reſtore
'him to his favour; taking all his Lands or Goods from him, or as
'much of them, as he pleaſed. Yet all this had no effect on the King. So he was deſired to make a more formal Submiſſion; which he did on the 12*th* of *January* under his hand, ten Privy Councellors being Witneſſes. In it he confeſſed, 'Firſt his diſcovering the 'Secrets of the King's Council. *Secondly*, his concealing his Son's Trea-'ſon, in uſing to give the Arms of St. *Edward* the Confeſſor, which 'did only belong to the King, and to which his Son had no Right. '*Thirdly*, That he had ever ſince his Father's death, born in the firſt 'quarter of his Arms, the Arms of *England*: with a difference of the 'Labels of Silver, that are the proper Arms of the Prince; which was 'done in prejudice of the King and the Prince: and gave occaſion 'for diſturbing or interrupting the Succeſſion to the Crown of the 'Realm. This he acknowledged was High Treaſon, he confeſſed he 'deſerved to be attainted of High Treaſon; and humbly begged the 'King's Mercy and Compaſſion. He yielded to all this, hoping by ſuch a Submiſſion and Compliance to have overcome the King's diſ-pleaſure. But his expectations failed him.

A Parliament was called, the reaſon whereof was pretended to be the Coronation of the Prince of *Wales*. But it was thought the true cauſe of calling it, was, to Attaint the Duke of *Norfolk*: for which they had not colour enough, to do it in a Tryal by his Peers. Therefore an Attainder by Act of Parliament was thought the better way. So it was moved, that the King intending to Crown his Son, Prince of *Wales*, deſired they would go on with all poſſible haſte in the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*; that ſo theſe Places which he held by Patent, might be diſpoſed of by the King to ſuch as he thought fit, who ſhould Aſſiſt at the Coronation. And upon this ſlight pretence, ſince a better could not be found; the Bill of Attainder was read the firſt time on the 18*th* of *January*: And on the 19*th* and 20*th* it was read the ſecond and third time; and ſo paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, and was ſent down to the Commons, who on the 24*th* ſent it up alſo paſſed. On the 27*th* the Lords were ordered to be in their Robes, That the Royal Aſſent might be given to it: which the Lord Chancellor, with ſome others joyned in Commiſſion, did give by virtue of the King's Letters Patents. And it had been executed the next Morning, if the King's death had not prevented it. Upon what grounds this Attaindor was founded, I can only give this Account from the 34*th* Act of the firſt Parliament of Queen *Mary*; in which this Act is declared null and void, by the Common Law of the Land; for I cannot find the Act it ſelf upon Record. In the Act of Repeal it is ſaid, 'That there was no ſpecial matter in the Act of 'Attainder, but only general words of Treaſons and Conſpiracies; 'and that out of their care of the preſervation of the King and the 'Prince, they paſſed it. But the Act of Repeal ſays alſo, That the 'only thing with which he was charged, was, For bearing of Arms, 'which he and his Anceſtors had born, both within and without the

The Parliament meets.

The Duke of *Norfolk* Attainted.

1547. 'Kingdom: both in the King's presence, and in the sight of his Pro-
'genitors: which they might Lawfully bear and give, as by good
'and substantial matter of Record it did appear. It is also also added,
'That the King died after the date of the Commission, That the
'King only empowered them to give his Assent, but did not give
'it himself: And that it did not appear by any Record, that they
'gave it. That the King did not Sign the Commission with his own
'hand, his Stamp being only set to it, and that not to the upper,
but the neither part of it, contrary to the King's custom. All
these particulars, though cleared afterwards, I mention now, because
they give light to this matter.

His death prevented by the King's.

As soon as the Act was passed, a Warrant was sent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to cut off his head the next Morning; but the King dying in the night, the Lieutenant could do nothing on that Warrant. And it seems it was not thought advisable, to begin the new King's Reign with such an Odious Execution. And thus the Duke of *Norfolk* escaped very narrowly. Both Parties descanted on this differently. The Conscientious Papists said, it was Gods just Judgment on him, who had in all things followed the King's pleasure, oftentimes against his own Conscience; That he should smart under that Power, which himself had helped so considerably to make it be raised so high. The Protestants could not but observe an hand of God, in measuring out such a hard measure to him, that was so heavy on all those poor People that were questioned for Heresie. But *Cranmer*'s carriage in this matter was suitable to the other parts of his Life, for

Fox.

he withdrew to *Croydon*, and would not so much as be present in Parliament, when so unjust an Act was passed, and his absence at this time was the more considerable, since the King was so dangerously ill, that it must be concluded it could be no slight Cause that made him withdraw at such a time. But the Duke of *Norfolk* had been his constant Enemy, therefore he would not so much as be near the publick Councils, when so strange an Act was passing. But at the same time the Bishop of *Winchester* was officiously hanging on in the Court: and though he was forbid to come to Council, yet always when the Councellors went into the King's Bed-Chamber, he went with them to the door, to make the World believe he was still one of the number, and staying at the door till the rest came out, he returned with them. But he was absolutely lost in the King's Opinion.

The Emperor's designs against the Protestants.

There is but one other step of Foreign business in this Reign; which was an Embassy sent over by the Duke of *Saxony*, to let the King know of the League between the Pope and the Emperor, for the Extirpation of Heresie: and that the Emperor was making War on him, and the other Princes, in pursuance of that League. Therefore he desired the King's Assistance. But at the same time, the Emperor did by his Agents every-where disown, that the War was made upon a Religious Account: and said it was only to maintain the Rights of the Empire; which those Princes had affronted. So the King answered, that as soon as it did appear to him, that Religion was the cause of the War, he would assist them. But that which made this so involved, was, That though at *Rome* the Pope declared it was a Holy War, and ordered Prayers and Processions to be made,

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for Succeſs; yet the Emperor in all his Declarations took no notice of Religion: He had alſo divided the Proteſtant Party, ſo that ſome of them joyned with him, and others were Neutrals. And when in *Germany* it ſelf this matter was ſo little underſtood, it was eaſy to abuſe Strangers by giving them a wrong account of it. 1547.

The King was overgrown with corpulency and fatneſs, ſo that he became more and more unwieldy. He could not go up or down ſtairs, but as he was raiſed up, or let down by an Engine. And an old ſore in his Leg became very uneaſy to him; ſo that all the humors in his Body ſinking down into his Leg, he was much pained, and became exceeding froward and intractable, to which his inexcuſable ſeverity to the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son may be in a great meaſure imputed. His Servants durſt ſcarce ſpeak to him, to put him in mind of his approaching end. And an Act of Parliament which was made for the ſecurity of the King's Life, had ſome words init againſt the Foretelling of his death; which made every one afraid to ſpeak to him of it: leſt he in his angry and imperious humors ſhould have Ordered them to be Indicted upon that Statute. But he felt nature declining apace, and ſo made the Will, he had left behind him at his laſt going into *France*, be written over again; with this only difference, That *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Winchester*, whom he had appointed one of the Executors of his Will, that of the Councellors to his Son, till he came of Age, was now left out: Of which when Sir *Anthony Brown* put the King in mind, apprehending it was only an Omiſſion, he anſwered, That he knew *Gardiner*'s temper well enough, and though he could Govern him, yet none of them would be able to do it; and that he would give them much trouble. And when *Brown* at another time repeated the motion to the King: he told him, if he ſpake more of that, he would ſtrike him out of his Will too. The Will was ſaid to be Signed the 30th of *December*. It is Printed at large by *Fuller*; and the moſt Material parts of it by *Heylin*. So I need ſay little of it, only the moſt ſignal Clauſe in it, was, That he excluded the Line of *Scotland* out of the Succeſſion, and preferred the two Daughters of the *French* Queen by *Charles Brandon* to them. And this leads me to diſcover ſeveral things concerning this Will, which have been hitherto unknown. I draw them from a Letter Written to Sir *William Cecil*, then Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, (afterwards Lord *Burleigh*,) by *William Maitland* of *Lethingtoun* Secretary of State to the Queen of *Scotland*. This *Maitland* was accounted a Man of the greateſt parts of any in his Nation at that time; though his Treachery in turning over to the Party that was againſt the Queen, very much blemiſhed his other Qualities: but he expiated his fault by a real Repentance; which appeared in his returning to his duty, and loſing all afterwards in her quarrel. His Letter will be found in the *Collection*. The Subſtance and deſign of it is, to clear the Right his Miſtreſs had to the Crown of *England*: in caſe the Queen ſhould die without Heirs of her Body. Therein after he had anſwered other Objections, he comes to this of the Will. To it he ſays. 'That according to the Act of Parliament, the King's Will was to be Signed with his own hand; but 'this Will was only Signed by the Stamp. Then the King never Or-

The King's ſickneſs.

Collect. *Numb.* 30. His latter will a Forgery?

1547. 'dered the Stamp to be put to it: He had been oft desired to Sign 'it, but had always put it off; but when they saw his death approach- 'ing, one *William Clark* servant to *Thomas Hennage* put the Stamp 'to it, and some Gentlemen that were waiting without, were cal- 'led in to Sign it as Witnesses. For this he appeal'd to the depo- 'sition of the Lord *Paget*, and desired the Marques of *Winchester*, 'and *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Hen- 'ry Nevil*, Sir *Maurice Berkeley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Doctor *Buts*, and 'some others, might be examined; and that their Depositions might 'be entred into the Chancety. He also appealed to the Original Will, 'by which it would appear, That it was not Signed, but only Stamp- 'ed; and that not being according to the Act of Parliament, which 'in such extraordinary things must be strictly taken, the Will was of no force, Thus it appears, what vulgar Errors pass upon the World. And though for seventy five years, the *Scotish* Race has enjoyed the Crown of *England*, and after so long a possession it is very superfluous to clear a Title which is universally acknowledged; yet the Reader will not be ill pleased to see how ill-grounded that pretence was, which some managed very seditiously during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, for excluding that Line.

But if this Will was not signed by the King, other Grants were certainly made by him on his death-bed: one was to the City of *London*, of 500 Marks a year for endowing an Hospital which was called *Christs Hospital*; and he ordered the Church of the *Franciscans* a little within *Newgate* to be opened, which he gave to the Hospital. This was done the 3d of *January*. Another was of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge* one of the Noblest Foundations in Christendom. He continued in a decay till the 27 of the month; and then many signs of his approaching end appearing, few would adventure on so unwelcom a thing as to put him in mind of his change then imminent: but Sir *Anthony Denny* had the honesty and courage to do it, and desired him to prepare for death, and remember his former Life, and to call on God for Mercy through Jesus Christ. Upon which the King expressed his grief for the Sins of his past Life, yet he said he trusted in the mercies of Christ, which were greater than they were. Then *Denny* asked him if any Churchman should be sent for; and he said, if any, it should be Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*: and after he had rested a little, finding his Spirits decay apace, he ordered him to be sent for to *Croydon*, where he was then. But before he could come, the King was speechless. So *Cranmer* desired him to give some sign of his dying in the Faith of Christ, upon which he squeezed his hand, and soon after died, after he had Reigned 37 years, and 9 months, in the six and fiftieth year of his age. His death was kept up three days, for the Journals of the House of Lords shew, that they continued reading Bills, and going on in business till the 31st. and no sooner did the Lord Chancellor signify to them that the King was dead, and that the Parliament was thereby dissolved. It is certain the Parliament had no being after the King's breath was out; so their sitting till the 31st shews, that the Kings death was not generally known all those three days. The reasons of concealing it so long might either be, that they were considering what to do with the Duke of *Norfolk*, or that the *Seymours* were

were laying their matters, ſo as to be ſecure in the Government before they publiſhed the King's Death. I ſhall not adventure on adding any further Character of him, to that which is done with ſo much Wit and Judgment by the Lord *Herbert*, but ſhall refer the Reader wholly to him: only adding an account of the blackeſt part of it, the Attaindors that paſſed the laſt 13 years of his life: which are comprehended within this Book, of which I have caſt over the Relation to the Concluſion of it. 1547.

An account of the King's ſeverities againſt the Popiſh Party.

In the latter part of his Reign, there were many things that ſeem great ſeverities, eſpecially as they are repreſented by the Writers of the *Roman* Party; whoſe Relations are not a little ſtrengthned by the faint excuſes and the miſtaken accounts, that moſt of the Proteſtant Hiſtorians have made. The King was naturally impetuous and could not bear provocation; the times were very tickliſh; his Subjects were generally addicted to the old Superſtition, eſpecially in the Northern parts; the Monks and Friars were both numerous and wealthy; the Pope was his implacable Enemy, the Emperor was a formidable Prince, and being then Maſter of all the *Netherlands*, had many advantages for the War he deſigned againſt *England*. Cardinal *Pool* his kinſman, was going over all the Courts of Chriſtendom, to perſwade a League againſt *England*; as being a thing of greater neceſſity and merit than a War againſt the *Turk*. This being without the leaſt aggravation, the ſtate of affairs at that time, it muſt be confeſſed he was ſore put to it. A Superſtition that was ſo blind and headſtrong, and Enemies that were both ſo powerful, ſo ſpiteful, and ſo induſtrious, made rigour neceſſary: nor is any General of an Army more concerned to deal ſeverely with Spies and Intelligencers, than he was to proceed againſt all the Popes adherents, or ſuch as kept a correſpondence with *Pool*. He had obſerved in Hiſtory, that upon much leſs provocation than himſelf had given, not only ſeveral Emperors and Foreign Princes had been diſpoſſeſſed of their Dominions; but two of his own Anceſtors, *Henry* the 2d and King *John*, had been driven to great extremities, and forced to unuſual and moſt indecent ſubmiſſions by the means of the Popes and their Clergy.

The Popes power over the Clergy was ſo abſolute, and their dependance and obedience to him was ſo implicite; and the Popiſh Clergy had ſo great an intereſt in the ſuperſtitious multitude, whoſe conſciences they governed, that nothing but a ſtronger paſſion could either tame the Clergy, or quiet the People. If there had been the leaſt hope of impunity, the laſt part of his Reign would have been one continued Rebellion; therefore to prevent a more profuſe effuſion of blood, it ſeemed neceſſary to execute Laws ſeverely in ſome particular inſtances.

There is one calumny that runs in a thread through all the Hiſtorians of the Popiſh ſide, which not a few of our own have ignorantly taken up, That many were put to death for not ſwearing the King's Supremacy. It is an impudent falſhood; for not ſo much as one perſon ſuffered on that account; nor was there any Law for any ſuch Oath before the Parliament in the 28th year of the King's Reign, when the unſufferable Bull of Pope *Paul* the 3d, engaged him to look a little more to his own ſafety. Then indeed in the Oath for maintaining

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1547. ing the succession of the Crown, the Subjects were required under the pains of Treason, to swear that the King was supream head of the Church of *England*; but that was not mentioned in the former Oath that was made in the 25th, and enacted in the 26th year of his Reign. It cannot but be confessed, that to enact under pain of death that none should deny the King's Titles, and to proceed upon that against offenders, is a very different thing from forcing them to swear the King to be the Supream Head of the Church.

Some *Carthusians* executed for denying the King's Supremacy.

The first instance of these Capital proceedings was in *Easter-Term*, in the beginning of the 27th year of his Reign. Three Priors and a Monk, of the *Carthusian* Order, were then indicted of Treason, for saying, *that the King was not supream Head under Christ of the Church of* England. These were *John Houghton* Prior of the *Charter-house* near *London*, *Augustin Webster* Prior of *Axholme*, *Robert Laurence* Prior of *Bevoll*, and *Richard Reynolds* a Monk of *Sion*: this last was esteemed a learned man, for that time, and that Order. They were tried in *Westminster-Hall* by a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*: they pleaded not guilty, but the Jury found them guilty, and Judgment was given that they should suffer as Traitors. The Record mentions no other particulars; but the Writers of the Popish side make a splendid recital of the courage and constancy they expressed both in their Tryal, and at their Death. It was no difficult thing for men so used to the Legend, and the making of fine stories for Saints and Martyrs of their Orders, to dress up their Narratives with much pomp. But as their pleading *Not Guilty* to the Indictment, shews no extraordinary resolution, so the account that is given by them of one *Hall* a Secular Priest that died with them, is so false, that there is good reason to suspect all. He is said to have suffered on the same account; but the Record of his Attainder gives a very different relation of it.

And *Hall* a Priest for conspiring against the King.

He, and *Robert Feron*, were indicted at the same time, for having 'said many spiteful and Treasonable things, as, That the King was a 'Tyrant, an Heretick, a Robber, and an Adulterer; that they hoped 'he should die such a death as King *John*, and *Richard* the 3d died; 'that they looked when those in *Ireland* and *Wales* should invade *England*; and they were assured that three parts of four in *England* would 'be against the King: they also said that they should never live merrily till the King and the Rulers were plucked by the Pates, and 'brought to the Pot, and that it would never be well with the Church 'till that was done. *Hall* had not only said this, but had also written it to *Feron* the 10th of *March* that year. When they were brought to the Bar, they at first pleaded Not Guilty; but full proof being brought, they themselves confessed the Indictment, before the Jury went aside, and put themselves on the King's mercy: upon which this being an imagining and contriving both War against the King, and the King's death, judgment was given as in cases of Treason: but no mention being made of *Feron*'s death it seems he had his pardon. *Hall* suffered with the four *Carthusians* who were hanged in their habits.

Three other Monks Executed.

They proceeded no further in *Easter-Term*: but in *Trinity-Term* there was another Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, by which *Humphrey Middlemore*, *William Exmew*, and *Sebastian Nudigate*, three Monks of the

the *Charter-house* near *London*, were Indicted of Treason, for having said on the 25th of *May*, 'that they neither could nor would con 'sent to be obedient to the King's Highness, as true, lawful and obedi- 'ent Subjects; to take him to be Supream Head on Earth of the Church of *England*. They all pleaded *Not Guilty*, but were found Guilty by the Jury; and Judgment was given. When they were condemned, they desired that they might receive the body of Christ before their death. But (as Judge *Spelman* Writ) the Court would not grant it, since that was never done in such cases but by Order from the King. Two days after that, they were Executed. Two other Monks of that same Order, *John Rochester*, and *James Wolver*, suffered on the same account at *York* in *May* this year. Ten other *Carthusian* Monks were shut up within their Cells; where nine of them dyed, the tenth was hanged in the beginning of *August*. Concerning those persons I find this said in some Original Letters, that they had brought over into *England*, and vented in it, some Books that were written beyond Sea, against the King's Marriage, and his other proceedings, which being found in their House, they were pressed to peruse the Books that were written for the King, but obstinately refused to do it; they had also been involved in the business of the Maid of *Kent*, for which, though all the Complices in it, except those who suffered for it, were pardoned by Act of Parliament, yet such as had been concerned in it were still under jealousie: and it is no wonder that upon new provocations they met with the uttermost rigor of the Law. 1547.

These Tryals made way for two others that were more Signal: of the Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More*. The first of these had been a Prisoner above a year, and was very severely used: he complained in his Letters to *Cromwell*, that he had neither Cloths, nor Fire, being then about fourscore. This was understood at *Rome*, and upon it, Pope *Clement*, by an officious kindness to him, or rather in spite to King *Henry*, declared him a Cardinal, and sent him a Red hat. When the King knew this, he sent to Examine him about it; but he protested he had used no endeavors to procure it, and valued it so little, that if the Hat were lying at his feet, he would not take it up. It never came nearer him than *Picardy*: yet this did precipitate his ruin. But if he had kept his opinion of the King's Supremacy to himself, they could not have proceeded further. He would not do that, but did upon several occasions speak against it, so he was brought to his Tryal on the 17th of *June*. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and some other Lords, together with the Judges, sate upon him by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*. He pleaded *Not Guilty*, but being found Guilty, Judgment was passed on him to die as a Traitor; but he was by a Warrant from the King, beheaded. Upon the 22d of *June*, being the day of his Execution, he dressed himself with more than ordinary care; and when his man took notice of it, he told him he was to be that day a Bridegroom. As he was led to the place of Execution, being stopt in the way by the croud, he opened his New Testament, and prayed to this purpose; That, as that Book had been his Companion and chief comfort in his imprisonment, so then some place might turn up to him, that might comfort

Fisher's Tryal and death.

1547. comfort him in his last passage: This being said, he opened the Book at a venture, in which these words of St. *John*'s Gospel turned up: *This is life eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.* So he shut the Book with much satisfaction, and all the way was repeating and meditating on them. When he came to the Scaffold he pronounced the *Te Deum*, and after some other devotions his head was cut off.

His Character. Thus died *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, in the 8th year of his Age. He was a Learned and Devout Man, but much addicted to the superstitions in which he had been bred up: And that led him to great severities against all that opposed them. He had been for many years Confessor to the King's Grand-Mother, the Countess of *Richmond*; and it was believed that he perswaded her to those Noble designs for the advancement of Learning, of Founding two Colleges in *Cambridge*, St. *John's*, and *Christ's College*, and Divinity Professors in both Universities. And in acknowledgment of this, he was chosen Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*. *Henry* the 7th gave him the Bishoprick of *Rochester*, which he, following the Rule of the Primitive Church, would never change for a better; he used to say his Church was his Wife, and he would never part with her, because she was poor. He continued in great favour with the King, till the business of the Divorce was set on foot; and then he adhered so firmly to the Queen's cause, and the Pope's Supremacy, that he was carried by that, headlong into great Errors, as appears by the business of the Maid of *Kent* Many thought the King ought to have proceeded against him rather upon that, which was a point of State, than upon the Supremacy, which was matter of Conscience. But the King was resolved to let all his Subjects see, there was no Mercy to be expected by any that denied his being Supream head of the Church; and therefore made him and *More*, two Examples for terrifying the rest. This being much censured beyond Sea, *Gardiner*, that was never wanting in the most servile compliances, wrote a vindication of the King's proceedings. The Lord *Herbert* had it in his hands, and tells it was written in elegant *Latin*, but that he thought it too long, and others judged it was too vehement, to be inserted in his History.

More's Tryal and Death. On the 1st of *July*, Sir *Thomas More* was brought to his Tryal. The special matter in his Endictment, is, that on the 7th of *May* proceeding, before *Cromwell*, *Bedyl*, and some others that were pressing him concerning the King's Supremacy, he said he would not meddle with any such matter: and was fully resolved to serve God, and think upon his passion, and his own passage out of this World. He had also sent divers Messages by one *George Gold* to *Fisher* to encourage 'him in his obstinacy; and said, the Act of Parliament is like a 'Sword with two edges, for if a man answer one way, it will confound 'his Soul, and if he answer another way, it will confound his Body. He had said the same thing on the third of *June*, in the hearing of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*; and others; and that he would not be the occasion of the shortning his own Life. And when *Rich* the King's Sollicitor came to deal with him further about it, but protested that he came not with any Authority to examine him, the

Printed for Ric: Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in St Pauls Church

they discourſed the matter fully; *Rich* preſſed him, 'that ſince the 1547.
'Parliament had Enacted that the King was Supream Head, the Sub-
'jects ought to agree to it; and ſaid *Rich*, what if the Parliament
'ſhould declare me King, would you not acknowledge me? I would,
'ſaid *More*, *Quia* (as it is in the Indictment) *Rex per Parliamentum fieri*
'*poteſt*, & *per Parliamentum deprivari*; but *More* turned the Argument
'on *Rich*, and ſaid, what if the Parliament made an Act that God
'was not God; *Rich* acknowledged it could not bind: but replyed to
'*More*, that ſince he would acknowledge him King, if he were made
'ſo by Act of Parliament, why would he not acknowledge the King
'Supream Head, ſince it was enacted by Parliament? To that *More*
'anſwered, That the Parliament had power to make a King, and the
'People were bound to acknowledge him, whom they made; but for
'the Supremacy, though the Parliament had enacted it, yet thoſe in
'foreign Parts had never aſſented to it. This was carried by *Rich*
to the King, and all theſe particulars were laid together, and judged
to amount to a denyal of the Supremacy. Judge *Spelman* writ, that
More being on his Tryal, pleaded ſtrongly againſt the Statute that
made it Treaſon to deny the Supremacy, and argued that the King
could not be Supream Head of the Church: When he was brought
to the Bar, he pleaded not Guilty, but being found Guilty, Judgment
was given againſt him as a Traitor. He received it with that equal
temper of mind, which he had ſhewed in both conditions of Life,
and then ſet himſelf wholly to prepare for death; he expreſſed great
contempt of the World, and that he was weary of Life, and longed
for death; which was ſo little terrible to him, that his ordinary fa-
ceticuſneſs remained with him even on the Scaffold. It was cenſured
by many, as light and undecent; but others ſaid, that way having
been ſo natural to him on all other occaſions, it was not at all affe-
cted; but ſhewed that death did no way diſcompoſe him, and could
not ſo much as put him out of his ordinary humour. Yet his rally-
ing every thing on the Scaffold, was thought to have more of the
Stoick than the Chriſtian in it. After ſome time ſpent in ſecret de-
votions, he was beheaded on the *6th* of *July*.

Thus did Sir *Thomas More* end his days, in the *53d* year of his age. His Character.
He was a Man of rare Vertues, and excellent Parts: In his youth he
had freer thoughts of things, as appears by his *Utopia*, and his Letters
to *Eraſmus*; but afterwards he became ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the
Intereſts and Paſſions of the Popiſh Clergy: and as he ſerved them
when he was in Authority, even to aſſiſt them in all their cruelties;
ſo he employed his Pen in the ſame cauſe, both in writing againſt all
the new Opinions in general, and in particular againſt *Tindal*, *Frith*,
and *Barnes*, as alſo an unknown Writer, who ſeemed of neither Party,
but reproved the corruptions of the Clergy, and condemned their
cruel Proceedings. *More* was no Divine at all, and it is plain to any
that reads his Writings, that he knew nothing of Antiquity; beyond the
quotations he found in the Canon-Law, and in the Maſter of the ſenten-
ces: (only he had read ſome of St. *Auſtin*'s treatiſes,) for upon all Points
of Controverſie, he quotes only what he found in theſe Collections;
nor was he at all converſant in the critical learning upon the Scrip-
tures; but his peculiar excellency in writing, was, that he had a

1547. natural eaſie expreſſion, and preſented all the opinions of Popery with their fair ſide to the Reader, diſguiſing or concealing the black ſide of them with great Art; and was no leſs dextrous in expoſing all the ill conſequences that could follow on the Doctrine of the Reformers: and had upon all occaſions great ſtore of pleaſant Tales, which he applied wittily to his purpoſe. And in this conſiſts the great ſtrength of his Writings, which were deſigned rather for the Rabble, than for Learned Men. But for Juſtice, contempt of Money, Humility, and a true generoſity of Mind, he was an example to the Age in which he lived.

But there is one thing unjuſtly added to the praiſe of theſe two great Men, or rather feigned, on deſign to leſſen the King's honour; that *Fiſher* and he penned the Book which the King wrote againſt *Luther*. This *Sanders* firſt publiſhed, and *Bellarmin* and others ſince have taken it up upon his Authority. Strangers may be pardoned ſuch errors, but they are inexcuſable in an *Engliſh* Man. For in *More*'s printed works there is a Letter written by him out of the *Tower* to *Cromwell*, in which he gives an account of his behaviour concerning the King's Divorce and Supremacy: among other particulars one is, 'That 'when the King ſhewed him his Book againſt *Luther*, in which he 'had aſſerted the Pope's Primacy to be of Divine right, *More* deſired him to leave it out; ſince as there had been many conteſts between Popes and other Princes, ſo there might fall in ſome between 'the Pope and the King; therefore he thought it was not fit for the 'King to publiſh any thing, which might be afterwards made uſe of 'againſt himſelf: and adviſed him either to leave out that point, or 'to touch it very tenderly; but the King would not follow his coun'ſel, being perhaps ſo fond of what he had writ, that he would rather run himſelf upon a great inconvenience, than leave out any thing that he fancied ſo well written. This ſhews that *More* knew the Book was written by the King's own Pen; and either *Sanders* never read this, or maliciouſly concealed it, leſt it ſhould diſcover his foul dealing.

Theſe Executions ſo terrified all People, that there were no further Provocations given: and all Perſons either took the Oaths, or did ſo dextrouſly conceal their opinions, that till the Rebellions of *Lincolnſhire*, and the North, broke out, none ſuffered after this upon a public account. But when theſe were quieted, then the King reſolved to make the chief Authors and Leaders of thoſe Commotions publick examples to the reſt. The Duke of *Norfolk* proceeded againſt many of them by Martial Law, there were alſo Tryals at Common Law of a great many more that were taken Priſoners, and ſent up to *London*. The Lords *Darcy* and *Huſſie* were tryed by their Peers, the Marquis of *Exeter* ſitting *Steward*. And a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* being iſſued out for the Tryal of the reſt, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *John Bulmer* and his Lady, Sir *Francis Pigot*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, and Sir *Thomas Piercy* and *Aſk*, that had been their Captain; with the Abbots of *Whalley*, *Jerveaux*, *Bridlington*, *Lenton*, *Woburn* and *Kingſtead*, and *Mackrall* the Monk that firſt raiſed the *Lincolnſhire* Rebellion, with fifteen more were Indicted of High Treaſon, for the late Rebellion. And after all the ſteps of the Rebellion were reckoned up, it is ob-

Attainders after the Rebellion was quieted.

ded in the Indictment, that they had met together on the 17*th* of *January*, and consulted how to renew it, and prosecute it further, being encouraged by the new Risings that were then in the North; by which they had forfeited all the favour, to which they could have pretended, by virtue of the Indemnity that was granted in the end of *December*, and of the pardons which they had taken out. They were all found Guilty, and had Judgment as in cases of Treason; divers of them were carried down into *Lincolnshire*, and *Yorkshire*, and executed in the Places where their Treasons were committed; but most of them suffered at *London*, and among others the Lady *Bulmer*, (whom others call Sir *John Bulmer*'s Harlot) was burnt for it in *Smithfield*. 1537. *Hall.*

The only censure that passed on this, was, that advantages were taken on too slight grounds to break the King's Indemnity and Pardon: since it does not appear, that after their Pardon they did any thing more than meet and consult. But the Kingdom was so shaken with that Rebellion, that if it had not been for the great conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the King had by all appearance lost his Crown. And it will not seem strange that a King, (especially so tempered as this was,) had a mind to strike terror into the rest of his Subjects, by some signal Examples, and to put out of the way the chief Leaders of that Design: nor was it to be wondered at, that the Abbots and other Clergy-men who had been so active in that Commotion, were severely handled. It was by their means that the discontents were chiefly fomented; they had taken all the Oaths that were enjoyned them, and yet continued to be still practising against the State; which, as it was highly contrary to the peaceable Doctrines of the Christian Religion, so it was in a special manner contrary to the Rules which they professed; that obliged them to forsake the World, and to follow a Religious and Spiritual course of Life. *Censures past upon it.*

The next Example of Justice was a year after this, of one *Forrest* an *Observant* Friar; he had been, as *Sanders* said, Confessor to Queen *Katherine*, but it seems departed from her interests; for he insinuated himself so into the King, that he recovered his good Opinion. Being an ignorant and lewd Man, he was accounted by the better sort of that House, to which he belonged in *Greenwich*, a Reproach to their Order, (concerning this, I have seen a large account in an Original Letter written by a Brother of the same House.) Having regained the King's good Opinion, he put all those who had favoured the Divorce under great fears, for he proceeded cruelly against them. And one *Rainscroft*, being suspected to have given secret Intelligence of what was done among them, was shut up, and so hardly used that he dyed in their hands, which was (as that Letter relates) done by Friar *Forrest*'s means. This Friar was found to have denyed the King's Supremacy: for though he himself had sworn it, yet he had infused it into many in Confession, that the King was not the Supream Head of the Church. Being questioned for these practices, which were so contrary to the Oath that he had taken, 'he answered, that he took that Oath with his outward Man, but his inward 'Man had never consented to it. Being brought to his Tryal, and accused of several Heretical Opinions that he held, he submitted him- 1538. *Forrest*'s Equivocation and Heresie. *Hall.*

1538. self to the Church. Upon this he had more freedom allowed him in the Prison; but some coming to him diverted him from the Submission he had offered; so that when the Paper of Abjuration was brought him, he refused to set his hand to it: upon which he was judged an Obstinate Heretick. The Records of these Proceedings are lost, but the Books of that time say, That he denied the Gospel; it is like it was upon that pretence, that without the determination of the Church it had no Authority, upon which, several writers of the Roman Communion have said undecent and scandalous things of the holy Scriptures. He was brought to *Smithfield*, where were present the Lords of the Council, to offer him his pardon, if he would abjure. *Latimer* made a Sermon against his errors, and studied to persuade him to recant; but he continued in his former opinions, so he was put to death in a most severe manner. He was hanged in a Chain about his middle, and the great Image that was brought out of *Wales*, was broken to pieces, and served for fewel to burn him. He shewed great unquietness of mind, and ended his Life in an ungodly manner, as *Hall* says, who adds this Character of him, 'that 'he had little knowledge of God and his sincere truth, and less trust in 'him at his ending.

The proceedings against Cardinal *Pool*'s friends.

In Winter that year a correspondence was discovered with Cardinal *Pool*, who was bare-faced in his Treasonable designs against the King. His Brother Sir *Geofrey Pool* discovered the whole Plot. For which the Marques of *Exeter*, (that was the King's Cousin-german by his Mother, who was *Edward* the 4ths Daughter,) the Lord *Montacute*, the Cardinal's Brother, Sir *Geofrey Pool*, and Sir *Edward Nevil*, were sent to the *Tower* in the beginning of *November*. They were accused for having maintained a correspondence with the Cardinal, and for expressing an hatred of the King, with a dislike of his proceedings, and a readiness to rise upon any good opportunity that might offer it self.

The special matter brought against the Lord *Montacute*, and the Marques of *Exeter*, who were tried by their Peers on the 2*d* and 3*d* of *December*, in the 30*th* year of this Reign, is, 'That whereas Cardinal *Pool*, and others, had cast off their Allegiance to the King, 'and gone and submitted themselves to the Pope, the King's mortal 'Enemy, the Lord *Montacute* did on the 24*th* of *July* in the 28*th* year 'of the King's Reign, a few Months before the Rebellion broke out, say 'that he liked well the proceedings of his Brother the Cardinal, but 'did not like the proceedings of the Realm; and said, I trust to see a 'change of this World; I trust to have a fair day upon those Knaves 'that rule about the King; and I trust to see a merry World one day. Words to the same purpose were also charged on the Marques: the Lord *Montacute* further said, 'I would I were over the Sea with my 'Brother, for this World will one day come to stripes: it must needs 'so come to pass, and I fear we shall lack nothing so much as honest 'Men: he also said, he had dreamed that the King was dead, and 'though he was not yet dead, he would die suddenly; one day his 'Leg will kill him, and then we shall have jolly stirring; saying 'also, that he had never loved him from his childhood, and that Cardinal *Wolsey* would have been an honest Man, if he had had an hon-

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'neſt Maſter. And the King having ſaid to the Lords he would leave 1538.
'them one day, having ſome apprehenſions he might ſhortly die, that
'Lord ſaid, if he will ſerve us ſo, we ſhall be happily rid; a time
'will come, I fear we ſhall not tarry the time, we ſhall do well e-
'nough. He had alſo ſaid, he was ſorry the Lord *Abergavenny* was
'dead, for he could have made ten thouſand Men; and for his part
'he would go and live in the Weſt, where the Marqueſs of *Exeter*
'was ſtrong: and had alſo ſaid upon the breaking of the Northern
'Rebellion, that the Lord *Darcy* played the fool, for he went to pluck
'away the Council, but he ſhould have begun with the head firſt,
'but I beſhrew him for leaving off ſo ſoon. Theſe were the Words charged on thoſe Lords, as clear diſcoveries of their Treaſonable deſigns; and that they knew of the Rebellion that brake out, and only intended to have kept it off to a fitter opportunity: they were alſo accuſed of Correſpondence with Cardinal *Pool*, that was the King's declared Enemy. Upon theſe Points the Lords pleaded *not Guilty*, but were found Guilty by their Peers, and ſo Judgment was given.

On the 4*th* of *December* were Indicted Sir *Geofrey Pool*, for holding Correſpondence with his Brother the Cardinal, and ſaying that he approved of his proceedings, but not of the King's; Sir *Edward Nevill*, Brother to the Lord *Abergavenny*, for ſaying, the King was a Beaſt, and worſe than a Beaſt; *George Crofts*, Chancellor of the Cathedral of *Chicheſter*, for ſaying, *the King was not, but the Pope was, Supream Head of the Church*; and *John Collins*, for ſaying, *the King would hang in Hell one day for the plucking down of Abbeys:* All thoſe, Sir *Edward Nevill* only excepted, pleaded *Guilty*, and ſo they were condemned; but Sir *Geofrey Pool* was the only Perſon of the number that was not Executed, for he had diſcovered the matter. At the ſame time alſo, Cardinal *Pool*, *Michael Throgmorton* Gentleman, *John Hilliard* and *Thomas Goldwell* Clerks, and *William Peyto* a Franciſcan of the Obſervance, were Attainted in Abſence; becauſe they had caſt off their duty to the King, and had ſubjected themſelves to the Biſhop of *Rome*, *Pool* being made Cardinal by him; and for writing Treaſonable Letters, and ſending them into *England*. On the 4*th* of *February* following, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, that was both Maſter of the Horſe, and Knight of the Garter, was Arraigned for being an adherent to the Marquiſs of *Exeter*, and having ſpoke of his Attaindor as unjuſt and cruel, he was alſo Attainted and Executed upon the 3*d* of *March*. When he was brought to the Scaffold, he openly acknowledged the Errors and Superſtition in which he had formerly lived; and bleſſed God for his Impriſonment, 'for he then began to reliſh 'the Life and Sweetneſs of God's holy Word, which was brought him 'by his Keeper, one *Phillips*, who followed the Reformation, and had 'formerly ſuffered for it.

After theſe Executions, followed the Parliament in the year 1539, 1539.
in which not only theſe Attaindors that were already paſſed were confirmed, but new ones of a ſtrange and unheard-of nature were Enacted. It is a blemiſh never to be waſhed off, and which cannot be enough condemned, and was a breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable Rules of Juſtice, which is capable of no excuſe; it was the Attainting of ſome Perſons, whom they held in cuſtody, without bringing

Some Attaindors without hearing the Parties.

1539. bringing them to a Tryal. Concerning which, I shall add what the great Lord Chief Justice *Cook* writes, 'Although I question not the 'Power of the Parliament, for without question the Attaindor stands 'of force in Law, yet this I say of the manner of proceeding, *Au-* '*ferat Oblivio, si potest, si non utrumque silentium tegat.* For the more 'high and absolute the Jurisdiction of the Court is, the more just 'and honourable it ought to be in the proceedings, and to give Ex- 'ample of Justice to inferior Courts. The chief of these were the Marchioness of *Exeter* and the Countess of *Sarum*. The special matter charged on the former, is, her confederating her self to Sir *Nicolas Carew* in his Treasons; to which is added, 'That she had com- 'mitted divers other abominable Treasons. The latter is said to have 'confederated her self with her Son the Cardinal, with other aggra- 'vating words. It does not appear by the Journal, that any Witnesses were examined; only that day that the Bills were read the third time in the House of Lords, *Cromwel* shewed them a Coat of white silk, which the Lord Admiral had found among the Countess of *Sarum*'s Cloths, in which the Arms of *England* were wrought on the one side, and the Standard that was carried before the Rebels was on the other side. This was brought as an evidence that she approved of the Rebellion. Three *Irish* Priests were also Attainted for carrying Letters out of *Ireland*, to the Pope and Cardinal *Pool*, as also Sir *Adrian Fortescue* for endeavouring to raise Rebellion, *Thomas Dingley* a Knight of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*, and *Robert Granceter* Merchant, for going to several Foreign Princes, and persuading them to make War upon the King, and assist the Lords *Darcy* and *Hussie* in the Rebellion they had raised. Two Gentlemen, a Dominican Friar, and a Yeoman, were by the same Act Attainted, for saying that, *that venemous Serpent, the Bishop of* Rome, *was Supream Head of the Church of* England. Another Gentleman, two Priests, and a Yeoman are Attainted for Treason in general, no particular crime being specified. Thus fifteen Persons were in this manner Attainted, and if there was any Examination of Witnesses for convicting them, it was either in the Star-Chamber, or before the Privy Council; for there is no mention of any evidence that was brought in the Journals: There was also much haste made in the passing this Bill: it being brought in the 10*th* of *May*, was read that day for the first, and second time, and the 11*th* of *May* for the third time. The Commons kept it five days before they sent it back, and added some more to those that were in the Bill at first; but how many were named in the Bill Originally, and how many were afterwards added, cannot be known. *Fortescue* and *Dingley* suffered the 10*th* of *July*. As for the Countess of *Sarum*, the Lord *Herbert* saw in a Record, that Bulls from the Pope were found in her House, 'that she kept correspondence with her Son, and that she forbade 'her Tenants to have the new Testament in *English*, or any other 'of the Books that had been published by the King's Authority. She was then about seventy years of Age, but shewed by the answers she made, that she had a vigorous and masculine mind. She was kept two years Prisoner in the *Tower*, after the Act had passed, the King by that reprieve designing to oblige her Son to a better behaviour; but upon a fresh provocation by a new Rebellion in the North, she was be-

4 Instit. 37. 38.

headed,

headed, and in her, the name and line of *Plantagenet* determined. The Marchioneſs of *Exeter* died a natural death. In *November* this year were the Abbots of *Reading*, *Glaſſenbury* and *Colcheſter* Attainted of Treaſon, of which mention was made formerly. 1547.

In the Parliament that ſate in the year 1540 they went on to follow that ſtrange precedent, which they had made the former year. By the *56th* Act *Giles Heron* was Attainted of Treaſon, no ſpecial matter being mentioned.

By the *57th* Act, *Richard Fetherſtoun*, *Thomas Abell*, and *Edward Powel* Prieſts, and *William Horn* a Yeoman, were Attainted for denying the King's Supremacy, and adhering to the Biſhop of *Rome*: by the ſame Act, the Wife of one *Tirrell* Eſq; was Attainted, for refuſing he duty of Allegiance, and denying Prince *Edward* to be Prince and Heir of the Crown; and one *Laurence Cook* of *Doncaſter* was alſo Attainted for contriving the King's death.

By the *58th* Act, *Gregory Buttolph*, *Adam Damplip*, and *Edward Brindeholm* Clerks, and *Clement Philpot* Gentleman, were Attainted, for adhering to the Biſhop of *Rome*, for correſponding with Cardinal *Pool*, and endeavouring to ſurprize the Town of *Callais*: By the ſame Act *Barnes*, *Gerrard* and *Jerome* were Attainted, of whoſe ſufferings an account has been already given.

By the *59th* Act, *William Bird* a Prieſt, and Chaplain to the Lord *Hungerford* was attainted, for having ſaid to one that was going to Aſſiſt the King againſt the Rebels in the North, 'I am ſorry thou go-'eſt, ſeeſt thou not how the King plucketh down Images and Abbeys 'every day? And if the King go thither himſelf, he will never come 'home again, nor any of them all which go with him, and in truth it 'were pity he ſhould ever come home again; and at another time 'upon ones ſaying, O good Lord, I ween all the World will be Here-'ticks in a little time: *Bird* ſaid, Doeſt thou marvel at that? I tell thee 'it is no marvel, for the great Maſter of all is an Heretick, and ſuch a 'one as there is not his like in the World.

By the ſame Act the Lord *Hungerford* was likewiſe Attainted. 'The 'Crimes ſpecified are, That he knowing *Bird* to be a Traitor, did enter-'tain him in his houſe as his Chaplain; that he ordered another of his 'Chaplains, Sir *Hugh Wood*, and one Dr. *Maudlin* to uſe Conjuring, 'that they might know how long the King ſhould live, and whether 'he ſhould be victorious over his Enemies or not; and that theſe three 'years laſt paſt he had frequently committed the deteſtable Sin of Sodo-'my with ſeveral of his Servant: All theſe were Attainted by that Parliament. The Lord *Hungerford* was Executed the ſame day with *Cromwell*; he dyed in ſuch diſorder that ſome thought he was frenetick, for he called often to the Executioner to diſpatch him, and ſaid he was weary of Life, and longed to be dead, which ſeemed ſtrange in a Man that had ſo little cauſe to hope in his death. For *Powel*, *Fetherſtoun*, and *Abell*, they ſuffered the ſame day with *Barnes* and his friends, as hath been already ſhewn.

This year *Sampſon* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and one Doctor *Wilſon* were put in the *Tower*, upon ſuſpicion of correſpondence with the Pope. But upon their ſubmiſſion they had their pardon and liberty. In the year 1541, five Prieſts and ten ſecular Perſons, ſome of them being Gentlemen

1549. tlemen of Quality, were raising a new Rebellion in *Yorkshire*; which was suppressed in time, and the Promoters of it being apprehended, were Attainted and Executed, and this occasioned the death of the Countess of *Sarum*, after the Execution of the Sentence had been delayed almost two years.

The last instance of the King's severity was in the year 1543, in which one *Gardiner* that was the Bishop of *Winchester*'s Kinsman and Secretary, and three other Priests, were tryed, for denying the King's Supremacy, and soon after executed. But what special matter was laid to their charge, cannot be known, for the Record of their Attainder is lost.

The Conclusion. These were the Proceedings of this King against those that adhered to the interests of *Rome*: in which, though there is great ground for just censure, for as the Laws were rigorous, so the Execution of them was raised to the highest that the Law could admit; yet there is nothing in them to justifie all the clamours, which that Party have raised against King *Henry*, and by which they pursue his memory to this day; and are far short, both in number and degrees, of the cruelties of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, which yet they endeavour all that is possible to extenuate or deny.

To Conclude, we have now gone through the Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*, who is rather to be reckoned among the *Great* than the *Good* Princes. He exercised so much severity on Men of both Persuasions, that the Writers of both sides have laid open his faults, and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, so none have taken so much care to set forth his good Qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices: I do not deny that he is to be numbred among the *ill* Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the *worst*.

The End of the Third Book and of the first Part.

AD

ADDENDA.

After ſome of the ſheets of this Hiſtory were wrought off, I met with Manuſcripts of great Authority, out of which I have Collected ſeveral particulars, that give a clear light to the proceedings in thoſe times, which ſince they came too late to my knowledge to be put in their proper places, I ſhall here add them with references to the places to which they belong.

Ad Page 202. *line* 13.

THere it is ſaid, that the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Father to Queen *Anne Boleyn*, was one of the Peers that Judged her.

In this I too Implicitly followed Doctor *Heylin*, he ſeeming to write with more than ordinary care for the Vindication of that Queen, and with ſuch aſſurance, as if he had ſeen the Records concerning her, ſo that I took this upon truſt from him. The reaſon of it was, that in the ſearch I made of Attainders, I did not find the Record of her Tryal; ſo I concluded, That either it was deſtroyed by Order during her Daughters Reign, or was accidentally loſt ſince that time: And thus having no Record to direct me, I too eaſily followed the Printed Books in that particular. But after that part of this Hiſtory was wrought off, I by chance met with it in another Place where it was miſlaid; and there I diſcovered the error I had committed. The Earl of *Wiltſhire* was not one of her Judges; thoſe by whom ſhe was tryed were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquiſs of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Derby*, *Worceſter*, *Rutland*, *Suſſex* and *Huntington*, and the Lords *Audley*, *Delaware*, *Mountague*, *Morley*, *Dacres*, *Cobham*, *Maltravers*, *Powis*, *Mounteagle*, *Clinton*, *Sands*, *Windſor*, *Wentworth*, *Burgh*, and *Mordant*: in all twenty ſix, and not twenty eight as I reckoned them upon a Vulgar Error. The Record mentions one particular concerning the Earl of *Northumberland*, that he was taken with a ſudden fit of ſickneſs, and was forced to leave the Court before the Lord *Rochford* was Tryed. This might have been only Caſual: but ſince he was once in Love with the Queen, and had deſigned to Marry her (ſee Page 44) it is no wonder if ſo ſad a change in her Condition, did raiſe an unuſual diſorder in him.

When I had diſcovered the miſtake I had made, as I reſolved to publiſh this free Confeſſion of it; ſo I ſet my ſelf not without ſome Indignation to examine upon what Authority Doctor *Heylin* had led me into it. I could find no Author that went before him in it, but *Sanders*; the chief deſign of whoſe writing, was to defame Queen *Elizabeth*, and to blaſt her Title to the Crown. To that end it was no ill piece of his skill, to perſuade the World of her Mothers lewdneſs, to ſay, that her own Father was convinced of it, and condemn-

ed her for it. And Doctor *Heylin* took this, as he has done many other things, too easily upon *Sanders* Testimony.

Ad Page 217. line 37.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 1. The Articles of Religion of which an abstract is there set down, are indeed published by *Fuller*: but he saw not the Original, with all the Subscriptions to it; which I have had in my hands, and therefore I have put it in the Collection with three other Papers, which were soon after offered to the King by *Cranmer*.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 2. The one is in the form of fifteen queries, concerning some abuses by which the People had been deceived; as namely, by these Doctrines, that without Contrition Sinners may be reconciled to God: that it is in the Power of the Priest, to pardon or not pardon sin at his pleasure; and that God's Pardon cannot be attained without Priestly Absolution. Also he complained that the People trusted to outward Ceremonies; and their Curates for their own gain encouraged them in it. It was observed that the opinion of Clergy-mens being exempted from the Secular Judge was ill grounded; that Bishops did ordain without due Care and Tryal: that the Dignified Clergy misapplyed their Revenues, did not follow their first Institution, and did not reside upon their Benefices.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 3. And in fine he moves that the four Sacraments, which had been left undetermined by the former Articles, might be examined: the outward signs and actions, the promises made upon them, and the efficacy that was in them being well considered.

The second Paper consists of two Resolutions, made concerning Confirmation by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, (by which I perceive the way of examining matters by giving out of questions to Bishops and Divines was sooner practised, than when I first took notice of it, page 286.) There are several other Papers concerning Confirmation, but these are only Subscribed: and the rest do generally follow these two Prelates who were then the heads of two different Parties. The Arch-Bishop went on this ground, that all things were to be tryed by the Scripture; but *Stokesly* and almost the whole Clergy, were for receiving the Tradition of the Church, as not much inferior to the Scriptures, which he asserts in his Subscription.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 4. The third Paper was offered to the King by *Cranmer*, to persuade him to proceed to a further Reformation: that things might be long and well considered before they were determined, that nothing might be declared a part of God's faith, without good proofs from Scripture: the departing from which rule had been the occasion of all the Errors that had been in the Church: that now men would not be led as they had been, but would examine matters: that many things were now acknowledged to be truths, such as the unlawfulness of the Pope's Usurped Power, for which many had formerly suffered death. Whereupon he desires that some points might be Examined by Scripture; as, whether there is a Purgatory; whether departed Souls ought to be Invocated; whether Tradition ought to be believed; whether there be any satisfaction besides the satisfaction of Christ; whether free will may

may diſpoſe it ſelf to grace, and whether Images ought to be Kiſſed, or uſed to any other end, but as repreſentations of a piece of Hiſtory? In all theſe he deſired the King would ſuſpend his Judgment; and in particular, that he would not determine againſt the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage of the Clergy, but would for ſome time ſilence both Parties. He alſo propoſed that this Point might by order from the King, be examined in the Univerſities before indifferent Judges: that all the Arguments againſt it, might be given to the Defendants twelve days before the publick diſputation; and he offered, that if thoſe who ſhould defend the Lawfulneſs of Prieſts Marriage, were in the Opinion of indifferent Judges overcome, they ſhould willingly ſuffer death for it; but if otherwiſe, all they deſired was, That in that Point the King might leave them in the liberty to which the Word of God left them.

Ad Page 249. *line* 18.

I have ſeen a much fuller Paper concerning Orders and Eccleſiaſtical Functions (which the Reader will find in the Collection) ſigned by *Cromwell*, the two Arch-Biſhops and eleven Biſhops, and twenty Divines and Canoniſts, Declaring that the Power of the Keys and other Church-functions is formally diſtinct from the Power of the Sword. That this Power is not abſolute, but to be limited by the Rules that are in the Scripture; and is ordained only for the edification and good of the Church: that this Power ought to be ſtill preſerved, ſince it was given by Chriſt as the mean of reconciling ſinners to God. Orders were alſo declared a Sacrament, ſince they conſiſted of an outward action inſtituted by Chriſt, and an inward grace conferred with them: But that all Inferiour Orders, *Janitors*, *Lectors*, &c. were brought into the Church to beautifie and adorn it, and were taken from the Temple of the *Jews*: And that in the New Teſtament there is no mention made but of Deacons or Miniſters, and Prieſts or Biſhops: nor is there belonging to Orders any other Ceremony mentioned in the Scripture, but Prayer and Impoſition of hands. This was ſigned either in the year 1537, or 1538, ſince it is Subſcribed both by *John Hilſey* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Edward Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*, for the one was conſecrated in 1537, and the other dyed in *May* 1538. Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 5.

On this Paper I will add two remarks, the one is, that after this I do never find the Inferiour Degrees under a Deacon mentioned in this Church; ſo it ſeems at this time they were laid aſide. They were firſt ſet up in the Church about the end of the ſecond, or the beginning of the third Century, in the middle of which we find both *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and St. *Cyprian* mentioning them as Orders that were then eſtabliſhed; and it ſeems they were deſigned as previous ſteps to the Sacred Functions, that none might be Ordained to theſe, but ſuch as had been long before ſeparated from a ſecular ſtate of Life, and had given good Proofs of themſelves in theſe lower degrees. But it turned in the Church of *Rome* to be only a matter of form; and many took the firſt Tonſure, that they might be exempted from the Secular Power, and be qualified for Commendams, and ſome other Wordly advantages to which theſe lower Orders were ſufficient, by thoſe Rules which the Canoniſts had brought in.

Another thing is, that both in this Writing and in the Neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſtian Man, Biſhops and Prieſts are ſpoken of as one and the ſame Office. In the Ancient Church they knew none of thoſe Subtilties which were found out in the latter Ages. It was then thought enough that a Biſhop was to be dedicated to his Function by a new Impoſition of Hands, and that ſeveral Offices could not be performed without Biſhops, ſuch as Ordination, Confirmation, &c. but they did not refine in theſe matters, ſo much as to enquire whether Biſhops and Prieſts differed in Order and Office or only in degree. But after the Schoolmen fell to examine matters of Divinity with Logical and unintelligible Niceties, and the Canoniſts began to Comment upon the Rules of the Ancient Church, they ſtudied to make Biſhops and Prieſts ſeem very near one another, ſo that the difference was but ſmall. They did it with different deſigns. The Schoolmen having ſet up the grand Myſtery of Tranſubſtantiation, were to exalt the Prieſtly Office as much as was poſſible: for the turning the Hoſt into God was ſo great an action, that they reckoned there could be no Office higher than that which qualified a Man to ſo mighty a Performance: therefore as they changed the form of Ordination from what it was Anciently believed to conſiſt in, to a delivering of the Sacred Veſſels, and held that a Prieſt had his Orders by that rite, and not by the Impoſition of Hands; ſo they raiſed their Order or Office ſo high as to make it equal with the Order of a Biſhop: But as they deſigned to extol the Order of Prieſthood, ſo the Canoniſts had as great a mind to depreſs the Epiſcopal Order. They generally wrote for preferment, and the way to it was to exalt the Papacy. Nothing could do that ſo effectually as to bring down the Power of Biſhops. This only could juſtifie the Exemptions of the Monks and Friars, the Popes ſetting up Legantine Courts, and receiving at firſt Appeals, and then Original cauſes before them; together with many other Encroachments on their Juriſdiction: All which were unlawful, if the Biſhops had by Divine right, Juriſdiction in their Dioceſſes: Therefore it was neceſſary to lay them as low as could be, and to make them think that the Power they held, was rather as Delegates of the Apoſtolick See, than by a Commiſſion from Chriſt or his Apoſtles: So that they looked on the declaring Epiſcopal Authority to be of Divine right, as a blow that would be fatal to the Court of *Rome*; and therefore they did after this at *Trent* uſe all poſſible endeavours to hinder any ſuch Deciſion. It having been then the Common ſtyle of that Age to reckon Biſhops and Prieſts as the ſame Office, it is no wonder if at this time the Clergy of this Church, the greateſt part of them being ſtill leavened with the old Superſtition, and the reſt of them not having enough of ſpare-time to examine leſſer matters, retained ſtill the former phraſes in this particular.

On this I have inſiſted the more, that it may appear how little they have conſidered things, who are ſo far carryed with their zeal againſt the eſtabliſhed Government of this Church, as to make much uſe of ſome Paſſages of the Schoolmen and Canoniſts that deny them to be diſtinct Offices; for theſe are the very dregs of Popery, the one raiſing the Prieſts higher for the ſake of Tranſubſtantiation, the other pulling the Biſhops lower for the ſake of the Pope's Supremacy, and by

by such means bringing them almost to an equality. So partial are some Men to their particular conceits, that they make use of the most mischievous Topicks when they can serve their turn, not considering how much further these Arguments will run if they ever admit them.

Ad Page 255. line 28.

The Princes of *Germany* did always press the King to enter into a Religious League with them: the first League that was made in the year 1536 was conceived in general terms, against the Pope as the Common Enemy, and for setting up true Religion according to the Gospel: But they did afterwards send over Ambassadors to treat about particulars; and they having presented a Memorial of these, there were Conferences appointed between them and some Bishops and Divines of this Church. I find no Divines were sent over hither but *Frederick Miconius* Minister of *Gotha*, by whom *Melanthon*, who could not be spared out of *Germany*, sent several Letters to the King; the fullest and longest of them will be found in the Collection. It is all to this purpose, to persuade the King to go on vigorously in the Reforming of Abuses, according to the word of God. The King sent over the particulars which they proposed in order to a perfect agreement, to *Gardiner* who was then at *Paris*: Upon which he sent back his Opinion touching them all; the Original of which, under his own hand I have seen, but it relates so much to the other Paper that was sent him, which I never saw, that without it his meaning can hardly be understood, and therefore I have not put it in the Collection. The main thing in it, at which it chiefly drives, is to press the King to finish first a Civil League with them, and to leave those particulars concerning Religion to be afterwards treated of. The King followed his advice so far as to write to the *German* Princes to that effect. But when the King declared his resolution to have the six Articles established, all that favoured the Reformation were much alarmed at it, and pressed their friends in *Germany* to interpose with the King for preventing it. I have seen an Original Letter of *Hains* Dean of *Exeter*, in which he laments the sad effects that would follow on that Act, which was then preparing; that all the Corruptions in the Church rose from the establishing some Points without clear Proofs from Scripture: he wished the *Germans* would consider of it, for if the King and Parliament should make such a Law, this was a President for the Emperor to make the like in the Diet of the Empire. Neither were the *German* Ambassadors backward in doing their friends in *England* all the service they could: for after they had held several conferences with these that were appointed by the King to treat with them; they finding they could not prevail with them, wrote a long and Learned Letter to the King, against the taking away the Chalice in the Sacrament, and against private Masses and the Celibate of the Clergy, with some other abuses which the Reader will find in the Collection, as it is Copied from the Original which I have seen. To this I have added the Answer which the King wrote to it: He employed *Tonstall* Bishop of *Duresm* to draw it, for I have seen a rude draught of a great part of it written with his hand. By both

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 6.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 7.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 8.

both these compared together, every indifferent Reader will clearly see the force and simplicity of the Arguments on the one hand, and the art and shuffling that was used on the other side. As soon as the Act was past, notwithstanding all their endeavours to the contrary, they in an Audience before the King, represented the great concern their Masters would have, when the King on whom they had relyed so much, as the Defender of the Faith, should proceed with the severity expressed in that Act, against those that agreed with them in Doctrine, and pressed the King earnestly to put a stop to the Execution of it. The King promised he would see to it, and that though he judged the Act necessary to restrain the Insolence of some of his Subjects; yet it should not be Executed but upon great provocation: he also proposed the renewing a Civil League with them, without mentioning matters of Religion. To this the Princes made answer, that the League as it was at first projected, was chiefly upon a design of Religion, and therefore without a common consent of all that were in their League, they could not alter it: they lamented this passing of the late Act, but writ their thanks to the King for stopping the Execution of it, and warn'd him that some of his Bishops, who set him on to these courses, were in their hearts still for all the old Abuses, and for the Pope's Supremacy, and were pressing on the King to be severe against his best Subjects, that they might thereby bring on a design which they could not hope to effect any other way: they advised the King to beware of such Counsels. They also proposed that there might be a Conference agreed on between such Divines as the King would name, and such as they should depute, to meet either in *Gueldres*, *Hamburgh*, *Bremen*, or any other place that should be appointed by the King, to examine the Lawfulness of private Masses, of denying the Chalice, and the Prohibiting the Marriage of the Clergy. On these things they continued treating till the Divorce of *Anne* of *Cleve* and *Cromwell*'s fall, after which I find little Correspondence between the King and them.

Ad Page 256. *line* 4.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 9.

When I mentioned the King's Letters, directing the Bishops how to proceed in a Reformation, I had not seen them, but I have since seen an Original of them subscribed by the King's hand. In these he challenged the Clergy as guilty of great Indiscretions: that the late Rebellion had been occasioned by them; therefore he required the Bishops to take care, that the Articles formerly published should be exactly obeyed; and to go over their Dioceses in Person, and preach Obedience to the Laws, and the good ends of those Ceremonies that were then retained, that the People might neither despise them, nor put too much trust in them: and to silence all disputes and contentions concerning things indifferent; and to signifie to the King's Council, if there were any Priests in their Dioceses that were Married, and yet did discharge any part of the Priestly Office. All which, will be better understood by the Letter it self, that I have put into the Collection.

Ad Page 258. *line* 8.

I do there acknowledge that I knew not what Arguments were uſed againſt the neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion: But I have made ſince that time, a Conſiderable diſcovery in this particular, from an Original Letter written all with the King's own hand to *Tonſtall*; by which it appears, there had been conferences in the Houſe, and that the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and *Dureſm* had pleaded much for it, as neceſſary by a Divine Inſtitution, and that both the King and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* had maintained, that though it was good and profitable, yet it was not neceſſary by any precept of the Goſpel: and that though the Biſhops brought ſeveral texts out of Scripture and Ancient Doctors, yet theſe were ſo clearly anſwered by the King, and the Arch-Biſhop, that the whole Houſe was ſatisfied with it: Yet *Tonſtall* drew up in a writing all the reaſons he had made uſe of in that debate, and brought them to the King, which will be found in the Collection, with the Annotations and reflections which the King wrote on the Margent, with his own hand, taken from the Original; together with the King's Letter written in anſwer to them: By this it will appear that the King did ſet himſelf much to ſtudy Points of Divinity, and examined matters with a ſcrupulous exactneſs. The iſſue of the debate was, that though the Popiſh Party endeavoured to have got Auricular Confeſſion declared to be Commanded by Chriſt, as a part of the Sacrament of Pennance; yet the King over-ruled that, ſo it was enacted that Auricular Confeſſion *was neceſſary and expedient to be retained in the Church of God.* Theſe debates were in the Houſe of Lords, which appears not only by the King's Letter, that ſpeaks of the *Houſe*, but by the Act of Parliament, in the Preamble of which it is ſaid, That the King had come himſelf to the Parliament, and had opened ſeveral Points of high Learning to them.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 10.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 11.

Ad Page 262. *line* 23.

There I mention the King's diligence in drawing an Act of Parliament with his own hand; but ſince that was Printed, I have ſeen many other Acts and Papers, if not Originally Penned by the King, yet ſo much altered by his Corrections, that in ſome ſort they may be eſteemed his draughts. There are two draughts of the Act of the ſix Articles, both corrected in many places by the King, and in ſome of theſe the Correction is three lines long. There is another Act concerning Precontracts of Marriage, likewiſe Corrected very much by his Pen. Many draughts of Proclamations, particularly theſe about the uſe of the Bible in *Engliſh* are yet extant interlined and altered with his Pen. There is a large Paper written by *Tonſtall*, of arguments for Purgatory, with Copious Animadverſions on it, likewiſe written by the King; which ſhew that then he did not believe there was a Purgatory. I have alſo ſeen the draught of that part of the Neceſſary Erudition for a Chriſtian Man, which explains the Creed, full of Corrections with

with the King's own Pen; as also the Queries concerning the Sacraments mentioned page 289. with large Annotations written with his hand on the Margent; likewise an Extract all written with his own hand of passages out of the Fathers against the Marriage of the Clergy: and to conclude there is a Paper with which the Collection ends, containing the true Notion of the Catholick Church, which has large Emendations added with the King's hand, those I have set by themselves on the Margent of the Paper.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 12.

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A COLLECTION OF RECORDS AND Original Papers;

With other

INSTRUMENTS

Referred to in the

Former Hiſtory.

A

COLLECTION

OF

RECORDS

AND

Original Papers;

with other

INSTRUMENTS

relating to the

Form of Hiroh

I. *The Record. of Card.* Adrian's *Oath of Fidelity to* Henry VII. *for the Biſhoprick of* Bath *and* Wells.

HEnricus Rex, &c. Reverend. in Chriſto Patri Domino Sylveſtro Epiſcop. Wigorn. venerabili viro Domino Roberto Sherbourn Eccleſiæ Sancti Pauli London. decano, noſtris in Romana curia oratoribus, ac Magiſtro Hugoni Yowng Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſori, ſalutem. Cum omnes & ſinguli Archiepiſcopi & Epiſcopi hujus noſtri Inclyti Regni, quorum omnium nominationes, & promotiones, ad ipſas ſupremas dignitates, nobis attinent ex regali & peculiari quadam Prærogativa, jureq; municipali, ac inveterata conſuetudine, hactenus in hoc noſtro Regno inconcuſſe & inviolabiliter obſervata, teneantur & aſtringantur, ſtatim & immediate poſt impetratas Bullas Apoſtolicas, ſuper eorundem promotione ad ipſam noſtram nominationem, coram nobis & in præſentia noſtra, ſi in hoc Regno noſtro fuerunt, vel coram Commiſſariis noſtris, ad hoc ſufficienter & legittime deputatis, ſi alibi moram traxerunt, non ſolum palam, publice & expreſſe, totaliter cedere, & in manus noſtras renunciare omnibus, & quibuſcunq; verbis, clauſulis, & ſententiis in ipſis Bullis Apoſtolicis contentis, & deſcriptis, quæ ſunt, vel quovis modo in futurum eſſe poterunt, præjudicialia, ſive damnoſa, nobis, hæredibuſq; de corpore noſtro legittime procreatis Angliæ regibus, Coronæ aut Regno noſtro, juribus vel conſuetudinibus aut Prærogativis ejuſdem Regni noſtri, & quoad hoc totaliter ſeipſos ſubmittere & ponere in noſtra bona venia & gratia; ſed etiam juramentum fidelitatis & homagij ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, per eoſdem reſpective corporaliter tacta, nobis facere & præſtare: Cumq; nos ob præclara merita eximiaſq; virtutes quibus Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem, Dominum Adrianum tituli Sancti Chriſogoni Presbyterum Cardinalem abunde refertum conſpicimus, obq; diuturnum & fidele obſequium per ipſum Cardinalem nobis factum & impenſum, eundem ad Eccleſias Bathon. & Wellen. invicem unitas nominavimus & promovimus, qui idcirco & ob id quod in curia Romana continue moram trahit, non poteſt commode hujuſmodi renunciationem & juramentum coram nobis perſonaliter facere & præſtare: Hinc eſt quod nos de fidelitatibus veſtris & provida circumſpectione, ad plenum confidentes, dedimus, & conceſſimus, ac per præſentes damus & concedimus, vobis, tribus aut duobus veſtrum, quorum præfatum Epiſcopum Wigorn. unicum eſſe volumus, plenam poteſtatem & autoritatem, vice & nomine noſtris, hujuſmodi renunciationem in manus veſtras, & juramentum ad Sancta Dei Evangelia corporaliter tacta, juxta formam & verum tenorem, de verbo in verbum inferius deſcriptum, ab eodem Reverendiſſimo Domino Cardinali recipiendi, exigendi, & cum effectu præſtari videndi; ipſumq; Cardinalem, ut hujuſmodi renunciationem & juramentum per ipſum ſic ut permittatis fiendum, & præſtandum, manu & ſubſcriptione ſuis ſignet, & muniat, requirendi, & ut ita fiat cum effectu videndi, literas quoq; & inſtrumenta publica ſuper hujuſmodi renunciatione, & juramento fieri petendi, & notarium ſive notarios publicos, unum

Treat. Rolls.

unum vel plures, ut ipsa instrumenta conficiant: Necnon testes qui tunc præsentes erunt, ut veritati testimonium perhibeant rogandi & requirendi ipsaq; juramentum vel instrumenta taliter fienda, verum ordinem re gerendæ, & renunciationis ac juramenti tenores in se continens vel continentia, nobis destinandi & transmittendi; Et generaliter omnia & singula faciendi, gerendi, & exercendi, quæ in prædictis & quolibet prædictorum necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna, ac quæ rei qualitas exigit & requirit, & quæ nosipsi facere & exercere possemus si præsens & personaliter interessemus, etiam si talia forent quæ de se mandatum exigant magis speciale. Tenor Renunciationis sequitur & est talis: Ego Adrianus miseratione divina tituli Sancti Chrisogoni Presbyt. Cardinalis Episcopus Bathon. & Wellen. coram vobis Reverendo Patre Episcopo Wigorn. Domino Roberto Shurborno decano Sancti Pauli London. & Hugone Yowng in Theologia Professore, Commissariis ad hoc à serenissimo ac excellentissimo Principe Domino Henrico Dei Gratia Rege Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Domino Hiberniæ, ejus hominis septimo, Domino meo supremo, sufficienter & legittime deputatis, expresse renuncio, & in his scriptis manu & sigillo meis in præsentia notariorum & testium subscriptorum munitis, totaliter cedo omnibus & quibuscunq; verbis, clausulis & sententiis, in bullis Apostolicis mihi factis de prædict. Episcopat. Bathon. & Wellen. contentis & descriptis, quæ sunt vel quovis modo in futurũ esse poterit præjudicialia sive damnosa præfato serenissimo Regi, Domino meo supremo, & hæredibus suis de corpore suo legittime procreatis Angl. Regibus, Coronæ aut Regno, sive Majestatis Juribus vel consuetudinibus, aut Prærogativis ejusdem Regni: & quoad hoc me integraliter submitto & potestati gratia suæ Celsitudinis, humillime supplicans suam Majestatem, dignent mihi concedere temporalia dicti Episcopatus Bathon & Wellen. quæ recognosco tenere à sua Majestate tanquam à Domino meo Supremo. Tenor Juramenti sequitur & est talis: Et ego idem Adrianus Cardinalis prædictus Juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod ab hac die & in antea, vita mea naturali durante, ero fidelis & verus ligeus & fidelitatem in ligencia mea pure & sincere servabo, fideleq; & verum obsequium secundum optimum posse meum faciam & impendam serenissimo Principi Henrico ejus nominis septimo, Dei Gratia Angl. & Fran. Regi ac Domino Hiber. Domino meo supremo, & hæredibus suis de corpore suo legittime procreatis Angl. Regibus, contra quascunq; personas, cuiuscunq; status, gradus, præeminentiæ aut conditionis extiterint: nec quicquam faciam aut attemptabo fieri, ne aut attemptari consentiam, quod in damnum, incommodum, aut præjudicium, ipsius serenissimi Regis aut hæredum suorum prædictorum, jurium, libertatum, Prærogativarum, privilegiorum & consuetudinum sui incliti Regni, quovis modo cedere poterit; sed omne id quod jam scio, vel imposterum cognoscam inhonorabile, damnosum aut præjudiciale, suæ Serenitati, aut Regno suo, seu contrarium bonum aut Serenitati suæ Majestatis, aut hæredum suorum prædictorum, non solum impediam ad extremum potentiæ meæ, sed etiam cum omni possibili diligentia id ostendam & significabo, ostendive aut significari faciam eidem serenissimo Regi, omni favore, metu, promisso aut Jurejurando cuicunq; personæ aut quibuscunq; personis cujuscunq; status, gradus, ordinis, præeminentiæ conditionisve extiterunt, quod antehac per me factũ aut interpositũ seu imposterum fiendũ aut interponendum, penitus sublato & non obstantibus. Honorem insuper suæ Majestati ad extremum potentiæ meæ servabo

ſervabo, Parliamentis quoq; & aliis Conſiliis ſuæ Celſitudinis cum in ejus Regno fuero diligenter attendam; Conſilium quod ſua Serenitas per ſe ſeu literas aut nuncium ſuum mihi manifeſtabit, nemini pandam, niſi iis quibus ipſe jufſerit: & ſi conſilium meum ſuper aliquo facto Majeſtas ſua poſtulaverit, fideliter ſibi conſulam, & quod magis ſuæ Serenitati videbitur expedire, & conducere juxta opinionem & ſcire meum, dicam & aperiam, atque id ſi ſua Serenitas mandaverit pro poſſe meo diligenter faciam. Cauſas inſuper & negotia omnia ſuæ Serenitatis mihi commiſſa, ſeu imposterum committenda, in Curia Romana proſequenda, pertractanda & ſoliciranda, fideliter, accurate & diligenter, cum omnimoda dexteritate proſequar, pertractabo & ſolicitabo: Bullaſq; & alias Literas Apoſtolicas validas & efficaces, in debita Juris forma, ſuper eiſdem cauſis & negotiis impetrare & obtinere abſq; fraude, dolo aut ſiniſtra quavis machinatione quarum in me erit, cum omni effectu enitar, operam dabo & conabor; ac eaſdem taliter expeditas, cum ea quam res expoſtulat diligentia, ſuæ Serenitati, tranſmittam aut per alios tranſmitti, tradi & liberari curabo, & faciam Servitia quoq; & homagia pro temporalibus dicti Epiſcopatus, quæ recognoſco tenere à ſua Celſitudine tanquam à Domino meo ſupremo, fideliter faciam & implebo. Ita me Deus adjuvet & hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia. In cujus, &c. T. R. apud Weſtm. 13 die Octob.

Per ipſum Regem.

II. *Pope* Julius's *Letter to Archbiſhop* Warham *for giving* K. Henry *the 8th the Golden Roſe.*

Julius Secundus Papa venerabili Fratri Guilielmo Archiepiſcop. Cantuarien.

VEnerabilis Frater, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Clariſſimum in Chriſto Filium noſtrum Henricum Angliæ Regem illuſtriſſimum, quem peculiari charitate complectimur, aliquo inſigni Apoſtolico munere in hoc Regni ſui primordio, decorandum putantes, mittimus hunc ad eum Roſam Auream, Sancto Chriſmate delibutam, & odorifero Muſco aſperſam, noſtriſq; manibus de more Romanorum Pontificum benedictam, quam ei à tua Fraternitate inter Miſſarum ſolemnia per te celebranda, cum ceremoniis in notula alligata contentis, dari voluimus noſtra & Apoſtolica benedictione. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum ſub Annulo Piſcatoris 5 April. 1510. Pontificatus noſtri Anno ſeptimo. Regiſtrum *Warhami* Fol. 26.

Sigiſmundus.

The Note of the Ceremonies of delivering the Roſe, referred to in the Letter, was not thought worthy to be put in the Regiſter.

III. *A Writ for Summoning Convocations.*

REX, &c. Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri Cantuarien. Archiepiſ. totius Angliæ Primati & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legato, ſalutem. Quibuſdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis, Nos, defenſionem & ſecuritatem *Tonſt.* Regiſt. Fol. 33.

Eccleſiæ

Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem, tranquillitatem, & bonum publicum, & defensionem Regni nostri & subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus, vobis in fide & dilectione quibus nobis tenemini rogando mandamus, quatenus præmissis debito intuitu attentis & ponderatis, universos & singulos Episcopos vestræ Provinciæ, ac Decanos & Priores Ecclesiarum Cathedralium, Abbates, Priores & alios Electivos, Exemptos & non exemptos, necnon Archidiaconos, Conventus, Capitula & Collegia, totumq; Clerum, cujuslibet Dioceseos ejusdem Provinciæ, ad conveniendum coram vobis in Ecclesia Sancti Pauli London. vel alibi prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda, modo debito convocari faciatis ad tractandum, consentiendum, & concludendum super præmissis, & aliis quæ sibi clarius proponentur, tunc & ibidem ex parte nostra. Et hoc, sicut Nos & statum Regni nostri, & honorem & utilitatem Ecclesiæ prædictæ diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meipso, &c. apud Westmin. 6. Feb. Anno Regni 14.

Warham *in his Writ of executing this Summons, prefixes the* 20th of April *for the day of their meeting.*

IV. *A Writ for a Convocation summoned by* Warham *on an Ecclesiastical account.*

Regist. *Fits-Williams.*

WIllielmus permissione divina Cantuar. Archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, venerabili confratri nostro Domino Ricardo Dei Gratia London. Episcopo, salutem & fraternam in Domino caritatem. Cum nuper Ecclesia Anglicana, quæ majorum nostrorum temporibus, multis ac magnis libertatibus & immunitatibus gaudere solebat, quorundam iniquorum hominum malitiis, & nequitiis fortiter fuerit inquietata & perturbata, qui omnia quæ à majoribus nostris sancte & pie, ob tranquillitatem dictæ Ecclesiæ fuerunt ordinata ac sancita, vel prava & sinistra interpretatione prope subvertentes, vel personas Ecclesiasticas male tractántes, ac eas contemptui habentes, dictam Ecclesiam pene prostraverunt ac pedibus conculcarunt: Ne igitur dicta Ecclesia Anglicana ad calamitatem insignem seu ruinam ac jacturam, si quod absit, desolationem perveniat, quas diu eadem Ecclesia Anglicana per diversas personas, ut præfertur præ oculis suis Deum non habentes, nec censuras Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ timentes, sustinuit & sustinebat, prout de verisimili Reformatione non habita in futurum sustinere debeat: Nos prout tenemur, congruum remedium in hac parte providere cupientes, & ob id ipsum Prælatos & Clerum nostræ Cantuar. Provinciæ convocare volentes; Fraternitati vestræ igitur committimus & mandamus, quatenus omnes & singulos dictæ nostræ Cant. Ecclesiæ Suffraganeos infra nostram Provinciam constitutos, & absentium Episcoporum si qui fuerunt Vicarios in Spiritualibus generales, ac Diocesium vacantium Custodes Spiritualitatis, & Officiales citetis seu citari faciatis, peremptorie, & per eos Decanos & Priores Ecclesiarum Cath. ac singula Capitula eorundem, Archidiaconos, Abbates & Priores, Conventus sub se habentes, & alios Ecclesiarum Prælatos exemptos, & non exemptos, Clerumq; cujuslibet Dioceseos Provinciæ nostræ antedictæ, citari peremptorie & præmoneri

volumus

volumus & mandamus, Quod iidem Episcopi Suffraganei, nostri Vicarii Generales, Decani & Custodes sive Officiales, Abbates, Priores, Archidiaconi & cæteri Ecclesiarum Prælati, exempti & non exempti, personaliter, & quodlibet Capitulum Ecclesiarum Cath. per unum de Capitulo graduatum, vel magis idoneum, dictiq; singuli Abbates, sive Priores, Conventus sub se habentes, nullo obstante impedimento legitimo, per unam Religiosam personam de Conventu graduatam si quæ sit, ceu alias per unam magis idoneam de eodem Conventu, Cleruſq; cujuslibet Dioc. Provinciæ antedictæ per duos procuratores graduatos ejusdem Dioc. seu alias si non fuerunt, per duos sufficientiores & habiliores Dioc. in eorum Beneficiis realiter residentes, compareant coram nobis aut nostris in hac parte locum tenentibus, vel Commissariis, si nos tunc (quod absit) impediri contigerit in Ecclesia Cathed. Sancti Pauli London. die Sabbat. viz. 26. mensis Januarii, &c. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Lambeth primo die mensis Novembris Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nono, & nostræ Translat. Anno sexto.

V. *The Preamble of the Act of Subsidy granted by the Clergy.*

QUum Illustrissimus & Potentissimus Dominus noster Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, Defensor Fidei & Dominus Hibern. semper extitit constantissimus Ecclesiæ Protector & Patronus optime meritus, atq; superioribus annis, in diebus fœlicis recordationis Julii ejus nominis Papæ secundi, grave Schisma in Ecclesia Romana exortum pacavit & extinxit; & postea ipsam Ecclesiam Romanam contra vim & potentiam Gallorum, qui tunc Italiam & Urbem Romanam in servitutem redigere moliebantur, validissimo exercitu & bello longe omnium sumptuosissimo fæliciter defendit, & securam reddidit: Ac præterea postremis his diebus Lutheranas Hæreses, in Ecclesiæ Sacramenta Ecclesiæq; statum furiose debaechantes doctissimo & nunquam satis laudato libello contudit & superavit; vicissim tam gladio quam calamo hostes Ecclesiæ strenuissime profligans, quibus meritis suam clarissimam famam immortali gloriæ pariter consecravit, tales laudes & gratias sua incomparabili bonitate ab Ecclesia promeruit, quales nunquam satis dignas quisquam mortalium referre poterit, sed Deus effatim persolvet præmia digna. Quumq; idem Rex noster & Protector illustrissimus à Rege Gallorum per Mare & per Terras, incolas hujus Regni contra percussum fœdus, promissam fidem, & suum ipsius salvum conductum assidue infestante, & Scotos contra Regnum hoc instigante ac suis stipendiis conducente, atq; Ducem Albaniæ in perniciem principis Scotorum nostri Regis ex sorore Nepotis impellente, aliasq; injurias multas & graves contra Regiam Majestatem suosq; amicos & subditos quotidie multiplicante, provocatur, irritatur atq; urgetur ut bellum suscipiat, suumq; Regnum tam contra Gallos quam contra Scotos ut decet invictissimum Principem potenter defendat; non enim ultra pacem colere vel pacem longius expectare convenit, postquam Rex Gallorum summum Pontificem bene moventem, & quæ pacis sunt suadentem, audire recusat, exercitum instruens & bellum apparans, fortassis in multos annos duraturum: dignissimum est ob præfata tam præclara facinora, ut sicut Rex noster illustrissimus plus cæteris Regibus antecessoribus suis pro Ecclesiæ defensione, utilitate & honore insudavit, & plus expensarum sustinuit; ita ad sustinendâ

An. Dom. 1523. Regist. *Cuthberti Tonstall.* Folio 40.

nenda bellorum onera imminentia, pro Ecclesiæ & totius Regni hujus defensione, per Ecclesiam tali subsidio adjuvetur quale anterioribus Regibus nunquam antehac concessum est, nec fortassis posterioribus Regibus unquam simile, nisi ob talia benefacta vel extremam bellorum necessitatem postea concederetur. Quocirca ut Regia Majestas ad fovendam & protegendam Ecclesiam, & Clerum Angliæ, magis indies animetur, & ut jura, libertates & privilegia Ecclesiæ concessa benigne Ecclesiæ foveat, & ab aliis servari faciat, & nè præfata benefacta in ingratos conferre videatur.

NOs Prælati & Clerus Cant. Provinciæ in hac Sacra Synodo Provinciali sive Prælatorum & Cleri ejusdem Convocatione, in Ecclesia Cathed. Divi Pauli London. vicesimo die mensis Aprilis Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo tertio inchoata, ac usq; ad & in decimum quartum diem mensis Augusti proxime extunc sequentis de diebus in dies continuata, congregati, Illustrissimo Domino Regi perpetuo & potentissimo Fidei & Ecclesiæ defensori, subsidium dare & concedere decrevimus, quam nostram Benevolentiam ut gratam & acceptam habet humillime deprecamur, protestantes expresse, quod per præsentem concessionem, quam tanquam novam & ante insolitam pro nostra singulari & personali in Regiam Majestatem observantia sine exemplo donamus, omnino nolumus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ aut successoribus nostris in alterius præjudicium generari, nec casum hunc singularem ad sequen. trahi: Quod si præsentem Concessionem pro exemplo & (ut vocant) pro Præsidente similes unquam Concessiones exigendas accipiendam fore præsentium series in eam omnino consentire recusassemus; quandoquidem subsidium sub modis, formis, conditionibus, exceptionibus ac provisionibus, & protestatione super & infrascriptis, & non aliter, neq; alio modo, Damus & Concedimus, viz. Subsidium se extendens ad Medietatem sive medianpartem valoris omnium fructuum, reddituum, & proventuum, possessionum, unius anni, omnium & singulorum Episcoparuum, Ecclesiarum Cathed. & Collegiatarum, Dignitatum, Hospitalium, Monast. Abbatiarum, Prioratuum aliarumq; domorum Religiosarum, necnon quorumcunq; beneficiorum & Possessionum Ecclesiasticarum, &c.

VI. *Bishop* Tonstal's *Licence to Sir* Thomas More *for reading Heretical Books.*

Regist. *Tonst.* Fol. 138.

CUthbertus permissione Divina London. Episcopus Clarissimo & Egregio viro Domino Thomæ More fratri & amico Charissimo Salutem in Domino & benedict. Quia nuper, postquam Ecclesia Dei per Germaniam ab hæreticis infestata est, juncti sunt nonnulli iniquitatis Filii, qui veterem & damnatam hæresim Wyckliffianam & Lutherianam, etiam hæresis Wycliffianæ alumni transferendis in nostratem vernaculam linguam corruptissimis quibuscunq; eorum opusculis, atq; illis ipsis magna copia impressis, in hanc nostram Regionem inducere conantur; quam sane pestilentissimis dogmatibus Catholicæ fidei veritati repugnantibus maculare atq; inficere magnis conatibus moliuntur. Magnopere igitur verendum est ne Catholica veritas in totum periclitetur nisi bonis

& eruditi viri malignitati tam prædictorum hominum ſtrenue occurrant; id quod nulla ratione melius & aptius fieri poterit, quam ſi in lingua Catholica veritas in totum expugnans hæc infana dogmata ſimul etiam ipſiſſima prodeat in lucem. Quo fiet ut Sacrarum Literarum imperiti homines in manus ſumentes novos iſtos Hæreticos Libros, atque una etiam Catholicos ipſos reſellentes, vel ipſi per ſe verum diſcernere, vel ab aliis quorum perſpicacius eſt judicium recte admoneri & doceri poſſint. Et quia tu, Frater Chariſſime, in lingua noſtra vernacua, ſicut etiam in Latina, Demoſthenem quendam præſtare potes, & Catholicæ veritatis aſſertor acerrimus in omni congreſſu eſſe ſoles, melius ſubciſivas horas, ſi quas tuis occupationibus ſuffurari potes, collocare nunquam poteris, quam in noſtrate lingua aliqua edas quæ ſimplicibus & ideotis hominibus ſubdolam hæreticorum malignitatem aperiant, ac contra tam impios Eccleſiæ ſupplantatores reddant eos inſtructiores: habes ad id exemplum quod imiteris præclariſſimum, illuſtriſſimi Domini noſtri Regis Henrici octavi, qui Sacramenta Eccleſiæ contra Lutherum totis viribus ea ſubvertentem aſſerere aggreſſus, immortale nomen defenſoris Eccleſiæ in omne ævum promeruit. Et ne Andabatarum more cum ejuſmodi larvis lucteris, ignorans ipſe quod oppugnes, mitto ad te infanas in noſtrate lingua iſtorum ineptias, atque una etiam nonnullos Lutheri Libros ex quibus hæc opinionum monſtra prodierunt. Quibus abs te diligenter perlectis, facilius intelligas quibus latibulis tortuoſi ſerpentes ſeſe condant, quibuſq; anfractibus elabi deprehenſi ſtudeant. Magni enim ad victoriam momenti eſt hoſtium conſilia explorata habere, & quid ſentiant quove tendant penitus noſſe: nam ſi convellere pares quæ iſti ſe non ſenſiſſe dicent, in totum perdas operam. Macte igitur virtute, tam ſanctum opus aggredere, quo & Dei Eccleſiæ proſis, & tibi immortale nomen atq; æternum in Cœlis gloriam pares: quod ut facias atque Dei Eccleſiam tuo patrocinio munias, magnopere in Domino obſecramus, atq ad illum finem ejuſmodi libros & retinendi & legendi facultatem atque licentiam impertimur & concedimus. Dat. 7. die Martii, Anno 1527. & noſtræ Conſ. ſexto.

Ad Librum Secundum.

I. *The Bull for the King's Marriage with Queen* Katherine.

Julius Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilecto filio Henrico clariſſimi in Chriſto Filio Henrici Angliæ Regis illuſtriſſ. Nato, & dilectæ in Chriſto Filiæ Catharinæ Clariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri Ferdinandi Regis, ac Chriſtinæ in Chriſto Filiæ noſtræ Elizabeth. Reginæ Hiſpaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ, illuſtribus, ſalutem & apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Autoritas conceſſa ſibi deſuper utitur poteſtate, prout perſonarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate penſata, id in Domino conſpicit ſalubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte veſtra petitionis ſeries continebat, Quod cum alias tu Filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus, Chariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ Regis illuſtriſſimi primogenitus, pro conſervandis pacis & amicitiæ nexibus & fœderibus inter chariſſimum in Chriſto Filium noſtrum Ferdinandum, & chariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell.* B. 12.

noſtram Elizabeth. Hiſpaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicos, ac præfatum Angliæ Reges & Reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti contraxiſſetis, illudq; carnali Copula forſan conſummaviſſetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujuſmodi Matrimonio non ſuſcepta deceſſit ; Cum autem, ſicut eadem petitio ſubjungebat, ad hoc ut hujuſmodi vinclum Pacis & Amicitiæ inter præfatos Reges & Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præſenti contrahere, ſupplicari nobis feciſtis, ut vobis in præmiſſis de opportunæ Diſpenſationis gratia providere de benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur : Nos igitur, qui inter ſingulos Chriſti fideles, præſertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, Pacis & Concordiæ amœnitatem vigere intenſis deſideriis affectamus, voſque & quemlibet veſtrum à quibuſcunque Excommunicationis, Suſpenſionis & Interdict. aliiſque Eccleſiaſticis Sententiis, Cenſuris, Pœnis, à jure vel ab homine, quavis occaſione vel cauſa latis, ſi quibus quomodolibet innodati exiſtitis, ad effectum præſentium duntaxat conſequendum, harum ſerie abſolventes, & abſolutos fore cenſentes hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, vobiſcum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujuſmodi ex præmiſſis proveniente, ac Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis cæteriſq; contrariis nequaquam obſtantibus, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti inter vos contrahere, & in eo, poſquam Contractum fuerit, etiamſi jam forſan hactenus de facto publice vel clandeſtine contraxeritis, ac illud Carnali Copula conſummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis, Auctoritate Apoſtolica tenore præſentium & ſpecialis dono Gratiæ Diſpenſamus ; ac vos & quemlibet veſtrorum ſi contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab exceſſu hujuſmodi, ac Excommunicationis Sententia quam propterea incurriſtis, eadem Auctoritate Abſolvimus, Prolem ex hujuſmodi, Matrimonio, ſive contracto, ſive contrahendo, ſuſceptam forſan vel ſuſcipiendam legitimam decernendo. Proviſo quod tu (Filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris ; volumus autem quod ſi hujuſmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxiſtis, Confeſſor, per vos & quemlibet veſtrum eligendus, pœnitentiam ſalutarem propter vobis injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ Abſolutionis, Diſpenſationis & voluntatis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire ; ſi quis autem hoc attemptare præſumpſerit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ milleſimo quingenteſimo tertio, ſeptimo Cal. Januarii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno primo.

II. *The King's Proteſtation againſt the Marriage.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 12.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Chriſto Patre & Domino Domino Richardo Dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia Epiſcopo Wintonienſi, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ & Comes Ceſtriæ, dico, allego & in his Scriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens, & intra annos pubertatis notorie exiſtens, cum Sereniſſima Domina Katharina Hiſpaniarum Regis Filia, Matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem Contractus, quamvis obſtante ipſa minore ætate mea de ſe jam invalidus, imperfectus, nullius efficaciæ aut vigoris extiterit ; quia tamen annis pubertatis & matura ætate jam ſuperveniente, Contractus ipſe per tacitum Conſenſum, mutuam cohabitationem, munerum aut interſignium dationem ſeu receptionem, vel aliis quæ

quemcunq; modum jure declaratum, forſan exiſtimari ſeu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Ea-propter, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati exiſtens, & anno pubertatis attingens, Proteſtor, quod non intendo eundem prætenſum contractum per quæcunque per me dicta ſeu dicenda, facta aut facienda, in aliquo approbare, validare, ſeu ratum habere, ſed nunc in præſenti, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, ſed ſponte & libere, nullo modo coactus, contra hujuſmodi Contractum reclamo, & eidem diſſentio, volcque & omnino intendo ab eodem contractu Matrimoniali prætenſo, melioribus modo & forma, quibus de jure melius, validius, aut efficacius potero & poſſim, penitus reſilire, & eidem expreſſe diſſentire, prout in præſenti contra eundem reclamo, & eidem diſſentio. Proteſtorq; quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut geſtum per me, aut nomine meo per alium quemcunque, quandocunque aut qualemcunque, impoſterum faciendum, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum Matrimonialem, aut in dictam Dominam Catharinam tanquam Sponſam, aut Uxorem meam conſentire. Super quibus vos omnes teſtimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atque obteſtor.

Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

LEcta fuit & facta ſupraſcripta Proteſtatio, per præfatum Sereniſſimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Chriſto Patre & Domino Domino Richardo permiſſione Divina Winton. Epiſcopo, Judicialiter pro tribunali ſedent. Et me Notarium infra ſcriptum ad tunc præſentem in ejus Actorum Scribam in hac parte aſſumente, & Teſtium infraſcriptorum præſentiis, Anno Dom. 1505. Indictione octava, Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini noſtri Julii, Divina Providentia eo nomine Papæ ſecundi Anno ſecundo, Menſis vero Junii die 27; quo die Dominus Sereniſſimus Princeps proximus pubertati, & annos pubertatis attingens erat, & tunc ibidem aſſerebat, in quadam baſſa Camera infra Palatium Regium Richemondiæ, in parte occidentali ejuſdem Palatii ſituat. Super quibus omnibus & ſingulis, præfatus Sereniſſimus Princeps me Notarium præmemoratum Inſtrumentum conficere, & teſtes infra nominatos teſtimonium perhibere requiſivit inſtanter, & rogavit. In quorum omnium & ſingulorum fidem & teſtimonium, præfatus Sereniſſimus Princeps ſupra, & teſtes, ut præmittitur, rogati & requiſiti, ſua nomina propriis manibus infra ſcripſerunt. Ita eſt ut ſupra, quod ego Joannes Raed manu & ſigno meo manuali Atteſtor.

Giles Daubney, C. Somerſet.
Thomas Rowthale.
Nicholas Weſt.
Henry Marny.

III. *Cardinal* Wolsey's *first Letter to Sir* Gregory Caſſali, *about the Divorce. Taken from the Original.*

Cotton libr. *Vitell.* B. 9.

DOmine Gregori, Poſt meam cordatiſſimam Commendationem, poſt ultimum veſtrum à me diſceſſum ex compendio ad vos ſcripſi, ut ob nonnullas maximi momenti cauſas procurare differretis quod de Regiæ Majeſtatis negotio in quibuſdam nobis traditis Commiſſionibus continebatur, quoad rurſus vobis ſignificarem quid ea in re fieri vellemus. Ubi vero ad Regiam Majeſtatem rediiſſem, variis crebriſq; cum ea habitis ſermonibus, adeo abunde ac diſtincte illi apperui quam ex animo ac diligenter, & quam ſincere & ex fide, diu noctuque exopteris eidem Regiæ Majeſtati inſervire; neque ullum unquam laborem, periculum aut moleſtiam vos velle recuſare, ut omni ſtudio ac viribus id fideliter præſtare poſſitis quod illi gratum aut acceptum quoquo modo eſſe poſſe cognoveritis, omnemq; induſtriam vos eſſe adhibituros quo veſtræ fidei curæque commiſſa optatum finem conſequantur; quem veſtrum animum perpenſiſſima voluntate ſic ſub mea fide Regiæ Majeſtati inſinuavi, ut meam hanc relationem atque ſponſionem pectori ſuo conſtantiſſime adſciverit, certiſſimaque fiducia concepit, omnino futurum ut noſtræ tunc expectationi quacunque in re & occaſione reſpondeatis: Ex quo fit ut noſtræ operæ, curæ atque prudentiæ ea nunc tractanda & procuranda committat, quibus nihil magis cordi habeat, nihil ardentius exoptet, ac majoris ſit momenti vel gravioris ſucceſſus, nec ullum habet Conſilium, utcunque intimum, cui graviora poſſit committere. Quum itaque, me intercedente & procurante, nunc vos Regia Majeſtas præ cæteris hoc fidei adſciverit & elegerit, ut in re tam gravi fideliſſima veſtra opera & miniſterio utatur, fidemque illi meam de vobis jam ei adſtrinxerim, nil ambigens quin poſtquam ejus animam ac voluntatem cognoveritis, ſeritiſque abunde inſtructi quam maximi hæc quæ nunc expono ſuæ momenti, utpote quæ potiſſimum concernunt Regiæ conſcientiæ exonerationem animæque ſuæ ſalutem, vitæ conſervationem & incolumitatem, Regii Stemmatis continuationem, publicumque commodum & quietem ſubditorum omnium, eorum pariter qui ſub ejus imperio nunc vivunt vel qui poſtea unquam in hoc ſuo Regno vivent; quumque perſpicue ſedulum veſtrum Miniſterium hoc in negotio impendendum omnino redundaturum eſſe in præcipuam veſtram exaltationem & utilitatem, poſquam infelices iſtos jam paſſos ſucceſſus occaſionem ſe obtuliſſe videat, qua veſtra familia hujuſmodi operam huic Sereniſſimo Principi navare poſſit, quod ſtatum omnem veſtrum in longe meliorem quam antea ſit haud dubie reſtituturus & adaucturus, certiſſimum compertiſſimumque habeo, quod ob has tam urgentes cauſas & tam graves ſucceſſuros effectus, adeo toto pectore vires omnes veſtras induſtria ac ſtudio tantæ conficiendæ rei addicetis, ut omnia queatis ad optatum exitum perducere atque ita promiſſum fidemque meam præſtabitis, tam optimum Regiæ Majeſtatis inſtitutum juvabitis, ejus deſiderio & expectationi omni ex parte ſatisfacietis, & præter bene peractæ rei honorem & laudem comparandam, mercedem quoque reportabitis tanti Principis liberalitate dignam, quæ certiſſime cedet in perpetuum veſtrum totiuſque veſtræ familiæ commodum & incrementum: Et quum jam mihi perſuadeam fu-

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rum omnino ut officiis actionibusque vestris sitis promissis sponsionibusque meis omnino satisfacturi, ad id pluribus verbis neutiquam adhortabor, proinde ad rem nunc ipsam venio. Ante hoc tempus vobis aperui, quemadmodum Regia Majestas, partim assiduo suo studio & eruditione, partim relatu ac judicio multorum Theologorum, & in omni Doctrinæ genere Doctorum virorum asseveratione, existimans conscientiam suam non esse sufficienter exoneratam, quod in conjugio existeret cum Regina, Deumque primo & ante omnia ac animæ suæ quietem & salutem respiciens, mox vero suæ Successionis securitatem, perpendensque accurate quam gravia hinc mala provenirent, aperte sentit quam maxime surrum sit Deo molestum, inhonorificum sibi, & ingratum apud homines, suisque subditis periculosum, ex hoc non sufficienti conjugio, si deprehenderetur dicta Majestas sciens ac volens in eo perstare, & vivere præter modum debitum, juxtaque ritum & legitima Ecclesiæ Statuta: quibus igitur ex causis longo jam tempore, intimo suæ conscientiæ remorsu, summique Dei rationem habens, existimat animam suam læsam & offensam, adeo quod, quum in suis conatibus actionibusque quibuscunque Deum potissimum sibi semper proponat, ingenti cum molestia cordisque perturbatione in hoc Matrimonio degit; super qua re maturum sanumque judicium consuluit clarissimorum celeberrimorumq; Doctorum aliorumque complurimum in omni eruditionis genere excellentiorum virorum ac Prælatorum, partim Theologorum, partim Jurisperitorum, tum in suo Regno, tum alibi existentium, ut aperte vereque cognosceret, an Dispensatio antea concessa pro se & Regina, ex eo quod Regina Fratris sui uterini Uxor antea extiterit, valida & sufficiens foret, necne; deinumque a variis multisq; ex his Doctoribus asseritur, quod Papa non potest dispensare in primo gradu affinitatis, tanquam ex jure Divino, moraliter, naturaliterque prohibito, ac si potest, omnes affirmant & consentiunt quod hoc non potest, nisi ex urgentissimis & arduis causis, quales non subfuerunt; Bulla præterea Dispensationis fundatur & concessa est ob quibusdam rationibus falso suggestis & enarratis, in ea namque asseritur, quod hæc Regia Majestas Matrimonium hoc cum Regina percupiebat, pro bono pacis inter Henricum septimum Ferdinandū & Elizabetham, quum revera nulla tunc dissentio aut belli suspicio esset inter dictos Principes, vel Regiam Majestatem prædictam, quæ in teneris adhuc annis, nec in discretione aut judicio constitutis agebat; nunquam deinde audierit, aut quicquam cognovit de hujusmodi bullæ Impetratione, nec unquam hoc Matrimonium optavit, aut aliquid de eo accepit ante bullæ impetrationem. Quocirca ab his omnibus Doctoribus atq; Prælatis judicatur hujusmodi Dispensationem non adeo validam & idoneam esse ac efficacem, ut prædictum Matrimonium manifeste justum legitimumque sit; sed potius quod multa possunt objici, magnis probabilibusque fundata & corroborata rationibus, in non leve periculum Regiæ prolis, totiusque Regni ac subditorum gravem perturbationem. Ad hæc postquam Regia Majestas, qui Walliæ Princeps tunc erat, decimum quartum annum artigisset, contractus Revocatio subsequuta est, Rege Patre exigente nolente quod hujusmodi Matrimonium ullo pacto sortiretur effectum. His causis Rex hic Serenissimus, tanquam bonus & Catholicus Princeps, timens ne ob tam diuturnam cum Regina continuationem, indignatus & iratus Deus citius ex humanis evocaverit Masculam è Regina susceptam prolem, gravisque à Deo supplicium expaverit si in Matrimonio

trimonio hoc non legitimo perſeveraverit; ex hac ideo occaſione, intimis præcordiis hunc Conſcientiæ ſcrupulum concepit, in animo nihilominus habens, pro animi conſcientiæque ſuæ quiete & ſalute, proliſque ſecuritate, ad Sanctam Domini noſtri ſedemque Apoſtolicam confugere, tantæ rei remedium impetraturus confidens, quod ob complura ſua erga eam merita & officia tum calamo ingeniique viribus, tum armis præſtita, ſubſidia in Eccleſiæ calamitatibus prompte ſubminiſtrata, Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter non gravabitur ſua benignitate, Authoritate ac facultate, intimum hunc Regiæ Majeſtatis cordi inhærentem dolorem amovere, eumque modum ac rationem inire qua Regia Majeſtas prædicta Uxorem aliam ducere, &, Deo volente, maſculam prolem in ſuæ ſucceſſionis ſecuritatem queat ex ea ſuſcipere, & tam certam quietem in ſuo Regno conſtituere: Quumque ejus Sanctitas ab his nunc captiva detineatur, qui pro virili ſua forſan conabuntur impedire, turbareque hoc Regiæ Majeſtatis deſiderium & Statutum, ipſa præterea cogitur vias omnes excogitare, quibus dicta Sanctitas de hac re dexterius & commodius inſtrui & facilius adduci queat ad ea concedenda, quorum medio & vigore Regiæ Majeſtatis animus & deſiderium queat optatum ſortiri effectum: Proinde ipſa Regia Majeſtas de fide, induſtria, dexteritate prudentiaque veſtra plenisſime confidens, vult ut ſtatim his literis acceptis, rebus aliis omnibus quibuſcunque ab eo vel à quovis alio vobis commiſſis omnino poſthabitis, ea modoſque omnes poſſibiles excogitetis quibus poteſtis ſecretiſſime, mutato habitu & tanquam alicujus Miniſter, vel tanquam Commiſſionem habens à Duce Ferrariæ pro nonnullis inter Pontificem & eum componendis controverſiis, vel alia qua licuerit ſecuriori via, ad Pontificis præſentiam & colloquium accedendi, omnibus arbitris ſemotis, ſi fieri poſſit, pro veſtris obeundis mandatis; quorum obtinendorum gratia, ſi ita expedire judicaveritis, eam mercedem ac pecuniarum ſummam promitteris ac tradetis, his qui revera volent atq; poterunt hoc negotium ad effectum pertrahere, quam ſummam, & ejus limitationem, judicio, prudentiaque veſtræ integram Regia Majeſtas remittit; etiam ſi his danda foret quæ Pontificem aſſervant, vel cuicunque alio qui vos tuto ad ſecretum cum ſua Sanctitate Sermonem adducere, in locumque tutum reducere poſſit. Cujus rei gratia, aliiſque ad hunc finem conſequendum ſuſtinendis occurrentibus neceſſariis, pecuniæ ad ſummam decem mille ducatorum, per Mercatorios Venetias tranſmittentur, qui illic in promptu aderunt, perſolvendas & conſignandæ. Prothonotario Fratri veſtro, Regio illic exiſtenti Oratori; per eumque de tempore in tempus ad vos tranſmitti ea ſumma poterit quam huic obtinendo negotio conducere poſſe exiſtimaveritis, nihil ambigo quin dictam pecuniam fideliter collocetis, ex Regiæ Majeſtatis utilitate, expectatione atque ſententia. Atque ubi ad Sanctum Dominum noſtrum acceſſeritis, poſt filiales & cordatiſſimas Regiæ Majeſtatis meæ devotas & humilimas commendationes, & poſt exhibitas à Regia Credentiæ literas, in quibus in negotii adjumentum clauſula vehementer propria ejus manu conſcripta, ut ex earum exemplo cognoſcetis, eidem Sanctitati exponetis quam grave, moleſtumq; Regiæ Majeſtati & mihi audire infœliciſſimos eventus, calamitatemque miſerandam, in qua nunc ejus Sanctitas cum Reverendiſſ. Cardinalib. verſatur, cum graviſſimo patrimonio irreparabilique ſedis Apoſtolicæ illiuſque Patrimonii jactura, quæ mala ſublevanda & corrigenda nullum in Regia Majeſtate officium deſiderabitur, quod ab ullo erga Sanctam Domini noſtri vel ſedem Apoſtolicam

blicam observantissimo Principe queat excogitari; in eoq; omne meum ministerium ac studium non minus promptum aderit, quam si ex ea solum possem mihi cœlum comparare: quemadmodum experientia, aliqua in parte, jam docuit, & Deo duce posthac uberius comprobabit; quam rem copiosius optimisq; verbis agetis, præsertim, quum sciatis quanto & quam sincero affectu Regia Majestas ejus Sanctitatem prosequatur, & quanta mea sit in ipsam devotio, in hisque sermonibus insistetis prout loci, temporis, negotiique ratio videbitur judicio vestro posse.

Secundo, Sanctissimo Domino nostro solita vestra dexteritate aperietis id quod in his ipsis literis ad vos scripsi concernens hujus Matrimonii insufficientiam, ab hisq; rationibus & causis fundamentum capietis, quæ superius enarrantur, integrumq; discursum ejus Sanctitati declaratis, non omittentes intrinsecum dolorem, conscientiæ scrupulum, Dei rationem, Masculæ prolis respectum, hujus Regni bonum, & alia omnia ut superius scripta sunt: addentes insuper, nihil vehementius optari à tota Regni Nobilitate, subditisque omnibus nullo discrimine, quam è Regiæ Majestatis corpore Masculum hæredem à Deo sibi dari, in perpetuam consolationem, gaudium, quietem, ac totius Regni securitatem, posteritatisque firmissimum columen; prudentiorumq; opinionem esse, quod Deus omnipotens à tanto bono concedendo divinam istam manum substrahit, ob errorem, culpamque in dicto Matrimonio hactenus admissam, quæ nisi mature corrigatur, graviora ex hac occasione in hoc Regno mala succedent, quam antea unquam fuerunt audita; necnon si hoc negotium in suspenso & indiscussum relinqueretur, hujusmodi possent quæstiones, controversiæ & contentiones ac factiones post defunctum Regem exoriri, ob Regni hæreditatem, quæ non possent in multorum ævo restingui, ut antea olim ex causa longe leviori accidit, ergo ex re tam ambigua, tam sævæ olim depopulationes, bella, intestinæq; controversiæ exortæ, & ad multum tempus continuatæ sunt, in extremum & ferme ultimum Regni excidium; quæ quum tam gravia sint, Sanctissimus Dominus noster veluti pater & gubernator Christianitatis prospicere ex officio debet, & quibuscunque modis potest, pro viribus adniti & conari, ut hæc Regna ac dominia quæ nunc supersunt in fide & obedientia Ecclesiæ assidue contineat, inter quæ, Deo sit gratia, hoc Regnum haud recensendum est inter minima, sed tanquam illud quod hactenus juvavit, & posthac pro tuto præsidio semper haberi poterit, adversus ea quæ cedere possent in Ecclesiæ Catholicæ vel Sanctæ Sedis detrimentum.

Tertio, Sanctissimo Domino nostro proponetis præsentem Ecclesiæ statum, rogabitisque ut in mentem velit redigere, quo nunc in statu res Sanctitatis res cum Christianis Principibus versentur, cumq; privatæ contentiones, quæ illi sunt cum magna eorum Principum parte, additæ ambitione immoderatoq; regum appetitu & ex arbitrio suo, Temporale jus omne atq; Spirituale tractandi, Ecclesiasticamq; Jurisdictionem & Authoritatem invertendi, eo certe animo ut sedis Apostolicæ dignitatem extinguant; his omnibus in unum connexis ac bene consideratis, cognoscet Sanctitas manefeste, Principem nullum, neq; portum, aut refugium tam tutum, cui in omnem eventum queat inhærere, sibi dictum esse, quam hæc Regia Majestas est quæ nihil sibi vendicat, nil habet, quod præjudicio esse possit dictæ Sanctitati, sed ejus, Apostolicæque

quæ sedis, semper fuit, est, esseq; decrevit firmissimum scutum, munimq; propugnaculum, ita suas actiones cum cæteris Principibus humanis & connectens, ut semper ex ea occasione in suam hanc opinionem sententiam reliquos possit attrahere, adeo quod Regi tam optimo Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum affecto nihil denegari debeat, utcunque maximum quod possit ab ejus Sanctitate præstari ordinaria vel absoluta sua Authoritate; tam procul dubio, post vias modosq; omnes tentatos omnino perspicietur omnia alia amicitiæ officia, si huic quod petitur comparentur, esse perquam exigua, & hoc amicum officium hujusmodi futurorum, ex quo reliqua queant incrementum capere, sine eo fundamento quasi parvi ac nullius fere momenti.

Tertio, probe notandum est, quod res hanc apertam & petitam, a qua gia q; Majestate tantopere optata, ex tam magno conscientiæ scrupulo cordisq; remorsu oritur, ut unicuiq; debita sit, quamcumcunq; maximam quam Regia Majestas sit de Sanctissimo Domino nostro merito. Quæ circa judicat, & pro re comperta sibi persuadet, quod si ulla rerum vel officiorum ratio haberetur, nunc ipsius Sanctitas huic suo desiderio & petitioni benignissime liberrimeque adjuvet, nullo pacto sus dubio, difficultate, contradictione aut mora injecta. Negotium hujusmodi est, ut cognita Dispensationis insufficientia, quam si non requisivisset Rex, ultro proponi offerrique debuisset ab eadem Sanctitate tanquam à Patre Spirituali, in ejus salutis & conscientiæ beneficium.

In gratiam igitur & contemplationem præmissorum omnium instantissime vehementissimeque à Sanctissimo Domino nostro requires contenderis, ut dubio, metuque omni sepposito, respicere velit ad status, & ad ea quæ subsequutura videantur, rationemq; habere minorum commodorum, quæ ex hac re suæ Sanctitati Apostolicæ inde proveniant, rem hanc statim, absq; temporis tractu, & cautelæ cumstantia, nemini eam aperiens, libere concedere & indulgere, nullo communicata speciale Commissionem ad hunc effectum & finem effectam in forma Brevis concedere, & ad me dirigere, Facultatem addens, ut mihi liceat quoscunq; voluero ad me vocare, mihiq; assistere ad procedendum in hac causa, & inquirendum de dictæ Bullæ Dispensationis sufficientia, juxta formam ac tenorem expressum in quodam libello hujus rei gratia confecto; quem cum his ad vos mitto, ita debita forma conscriptum & digestum ut non sit futurum opus quod denuo ab ullo alio exscribatur, si forsan periculosum putaretur eam rem ante patefacere vel in dubium aut dilationem protractum iri negotium, si ex Sanctissimi Domini nostri officiariis committeretur rursus consulendum; sed quod in hujusmodi periculi eventum possit ejus Sanctitas ullo discrimine vel alicujus cognitione eam dicto libello signaturam, sigillumq; apponere, ut aperte inde constet, Pontificis meram voluntatem sic esse, illiusque Signaturæ ac Sigilli vigore, legitime & sufficienter possim ego procedere ad inquisitionem de dictæ Dispensationis insufficientia, cognitionem & aliarum causarum & rationum, quæ adduci possunt pro dicti Matrimonii invaliditate.

Item cum his ad vos mitto Dispensationem in debita forma confectam & scriptam in modum Brevis, secreto impetrandam & expediendam eidem Signaturam vel Sigillum apponendo, vel alio quovis modo quo do: Et quamvis ex hac re multa pendeant, ob quæ ista requirunt

quæ, Deo favente, neutiquam timenda ſunt; Attamen Regia Majeſtas exemplo innitens, & recordationi complurium rerum, quæ olim prætereis temporibus fuerunt injuſte aſſerta, vel adducta, in animo habens cauſas ſuas omnes abſq; ulla controverſia aut difficultate ad perfectum finem perducere, & ne ullo quovis prætextu, argumento aut colore, poſtmodum emergente perturbarentur, hoc à Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro requirit, veluti rem neceſſariam, qua nullo pacto carere queat; firmiter confidens, quod Sanctitas ſua, benigne atq; amanter iſti ejus deſiderio annuet, & concedet ſine ullo obſtaculo dictam Commiſſionem, juxta formam quam Regia Majeſtas petit & eodem tempore, atque hæc omnia ita benigne ac liberaliter expedire, ſecretiori & validiori quo fieri poſſit modo, quo optatus finis ſubſequi poſſit in eum effectum, laudabileque propoſitum, de quo ſuperius dictum eſt; Qua ex occaſione Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum in perpetuum ſibi adſtringet, indiſſolubiliq; amicitiæ vinculo hanc Regiam Majeſtatem ſibi alligabit, quæ nulli labori, periculo, opibus, Regno, ſubditis, nec ipſi ſanguini parcens, ab ejus Sanctitate unquam divelletur aut eam deſeret, ſed totis ſuis viribus conſtantiſſime ſemper illi abhærebit, tum in ſuæ ſanctitatis & Cardinalium liberationem, tum in hoſtibus perſequendis; ad quem finem, magnam jam pecuniarum ſummam ad Regem Chriſtianiſſimum miſit, pro illo Italiæ exercitu continuando, & præter id in animo ſtatutum habet, quod niſi Cæſar de dicta Sanctitate liberanda conſentire, & ad pacem devenire voluerit, bellum gerere adverſus has inferiores Cæſaris Regiones & Dominia, quo vehementius urgeat Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri liberationem, Eccleſiæq; in priſtinam ſuam dignitatem & authoritatem reſtitutionem, atque de ſe indicia exhibebit ut univerſo orbi manifeſtum ſit futurum, dictam ſuam Majeſtatem eſſe ſolidum perfectum amicum, filium obſequentiſſimum & ejus devotiſſimum; à qua pectoris ſui ſententia, nullo theſauro, nullis opibus, nullis Regnis, ſeu Ditionibus, vel occaſione quacunq; unquam adducetur, ſed ex filiali ſua obſervantia & in Chriſtianam Religionem zelo, innatoq; erga ſedem Apoſtolicam ſtudio, & præcipuo quodam affectu, quem Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro gerit: in compenſationem quoq; gratitudinis, quam tam avide in hoc ſuo negotio ab ejus Sanctitate expectat, decretum prorſus habet in conſtantiſſimo hoc & indiſſolubili amicitiæ & conjunctionis vinculo ſinceriſſimo perſtare, id quod dicta Regia Majeſtas Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum vehementiſſime rogat, ut probe velit in omnem partem librare, viciſſemq; efficere, ut ex Regiæ petitionis indulgentia palam conſtet parem benevolentiam & humanitatem à Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro ex mutuo præſtari.

Hac autem cauſa ipſius Sanctitati à vobis, ut dictum eſt, expoſita & declarata, neutiquam dubitandum eſt, quin benevole atq; libenter ſtatim annuat Regiæ Majeſtatis expectationi & quod huic aſſentiet, dictam Commiſſionem ſecreto modo ipſa concedens, neminem de ea re ut dictum eſt, participem faciens; qui modus ſervandus eſt, ſi videritis hæc effici non poſſe, niſi cum periculo quin hæc res eis communicetur, qui eam ſint perturbaturi, vel ſi id præſtare fuerit in Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri arbitrio, tunc ejus Sanctitas non gravetur, per Brevia, vel per Bullas, aput validius & magis ſufficiens fore judicaverit, præmiſſa omnia considere, ad quod veſtram omnem induſtriam, prudentiam, ſtudium, diligentiamq; adhibebitis: Sic omnia prudenter ac circumſpecte agentes,

ne in discrimen deveniatur negotium hoc his detegendi, qui illud vel impedire vel retardare forsan voluerint aut poterint, sed potius quam ad id periculi res deducatur contenti eritis sola dictorum libellorum Se. natura, in eam formam confecta, quum ex ea palam constet, Pontifici assensum in id actualiter concurrisse, qui postea recentioribus scriptis, si ita opus fuerit, firmius confirmari corroborariq; poterit.

Et quoniam incertum est, utrum ante vestrum ad Pontificem accessum, ejus Sanctitas fuerit in suam libertatem restituta, necne, quæ forsan libera non tanti faciet Regiæ Majestatis amicitiam & conjunctionem, vel allegabit, se nec audere nec posse, ex suis cum Cæsare conventionibus ista concedere, nec secreto ullo modo, vel ullo colore, quod ita re fecisset apud Cæsarem justificare, & potuisset antea in Regiæ Majestatis auxilio pro sua liberatione sperans, dum adhuc detineretur captivo, eo casu Sanctissimo Domino nostro in mentem redigetis, quam parum dere possit ullis sibi factis à Cæsare promissis, quum nulla in parte tuta dare possit in commodum aut securitatem, sed solum in extremum exidium ac detrimentum sedis Apostolicæ; & licet ad breve tempus utile videretur Cæsar in ejus Sanctitatis gratiam facturus, compertissimum semen semper Pontifici esse debet Cæsarianos ea facere, semperq; facturos quæ Cæsarem possint exaltare, & tendant ad usurpationem, potius oppressionem status Ecclesiastici, quam ad ejus continuationem, vel conservationem; & quotiens adversus Ecclesiam ista tentarentur, Regia Majestas in hac sua petitione passa repulsam, quæ alioquin ejus Sanctitati in omnem eventum firmissime adhæsisset, & alios suos consectatos in eandem sententiam pertraxisset, quam, ea deficiente, in contrarium facile possent alici, quo animo futura sit, & quam bene suum affectum & observantiam collocasse existimatura: summæ est prudentiæ omnia considerare.

Haud incognitum præterea est Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum Cæsaris instantiam, quum non multam ab ejus Sanctitate gratiam promeritus esset, ei concessisse Dispensationem & Absolutionem à jurejurando ab illo præstito, de ducenda in Conjugem Domina Principissa, nullo par fuisset à Regia Majestate habito, seu petito consensu, non obstante quod Cæsar in validissima forma, non solum præstito jurejurando, sed cautione & Ecclesiasticarum censurarum & pœnarum adhibita, quæ perstringeretur de dicto Matrimonio perimplendo, ac si Pontifex contentus esse potuit, tantum ei ostendere gratitudinem, quum veluti hac indies certior tunc poterat haberi, & qui majora parabat quam justum esset optare, suis petitionibus, Regia Majestate inconsulta, neutiquam consecens, quanto propensius ejus Sanctitas adnuere debet ejus Principis, cuius fidem & observantiam vere filialem sæpe experta est. Verumtamen si Sanctissimus Dominus noster difficulter visus fuerit posse adduci ut in meam Personam dictæ Commissioni assentiat, allegans quod insum indifferens, cui ex suæ Sanctitatis honore hoc negotium committi possit, cum Regiæ Majestati sum subditus & intimus consiliarius, tunc tamdiu perstitetis ea in re, quoad vobis visum fuerit conveniens, nec tii expeditionem non ideo protrahentes, aut differentes, sed instantes ut juxmodi Commissio concedatur; affirmabitisq; me pro re nulla quantalibet grandi, nullo favore, aut commodo, quicquam effecturum quod aversetur officio meo, & erga Christum præstitæ professioni, unquam à recto, vero, justoq; tramite digressurum; Et quin Cæ-

lis ſim & Apoſtolicæ ſedis de latere Legatus, ejus Sanctitatis honor, integraque conſcientia, à me omnino conſervaretur, ex hujuſmodique conceſſa Commiſſione, omni ex parte exoneraretur. Tandem ſi ad hoc, nullis rationibus Pontifex potuerit adduci, ab ejus Sanctitate requiretis, ut dictam velit Commiſſonem concedere in perſonam Domini Staphylei Decani Rotæ, qui & vir indifferens eſt, & hujuſmodi rei ob eruditionem accommodatus, nullo pacto omittentes Diſpenſationis expeditionem, ut dictum eſt; & hujus rei gratia Commiſſionem nunc ad vos mitto, in debita forma confectam & paratam, quæ ſignetur ad dictum Dominum Staphyleum directa, quam Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro redderis, ſalvo quo alia nequeat obtineri, rogabitiſq; ut cum dicta Diſpenſatione eam velit concedere. Et quoniam fieri poſſit quod dum fieret mentio de me excipiendo, forſitan ejus Sanctitas aliquem alium quam Dominum Staphyleum nominaret, ad quem Commiſſio hujuſmodi dirigeretur, hoc eam in loco tenaciſſime inſiſtetis, firmiterq; inhærebitis ei rei, nec in illum aliquem virum exterum ullo pacto conſentientes, ſed ſolum pro eodem Domino Staphyleo inſtantes ejus Sanctitatem ſummis precibus quam clementiſſime rogantes, & rationibus omnibus ſuadentes, ne alium ullum nominare velit, aſſerentes quod quum in Inſtructionibus veſtris non contineatur, nec de alio ullo fiat mentio, niſi illo, me recuſato, iterum atq; iterum ab eadem Sanctitate petetis, ut nomine hujus Auditoris Rotæ hæc res expediatur Commiſſio, vos nec audere nec poſſe vobis præſcriptos fines transgredi.

De Regii vero deſiderii ac petitionis fruſtratione ſuper dicta Commiſſione obtinenda dicetis unum & idem eſſe, hanc illi denegare, vel alii concedere quam in veſtris Inſtructionibus contineatur, non quod Regia Majeſtas aliorum rectitudine aut indifferentia quicquam ſuſpicetur, vel quod judicet eorum aliquem affectibus obnoxium; ſed quod pro re certiſſima credidit, quod Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter in neminem tam facile condeſcenderet, quam indictæ Rotæ Decanum, ob idque de eo in Inſtructionibus veſtris mentionem fecit: ſed Commiſſiones in debita forma cum his nominibus fieri & conſcribi juſſit, quod ſi hic credidiſſemus, Dom. Staphyleum habitum iſtic iri pro ſuſpecto, affirmare poteſtis me fuiſſe omnino miſſurum conſimilem Commiſſionis formulam, ſpatio relicto pro aliquo alio inſcribendo nomine, aliquamq; aliam ſuper ea re Inſtructionem me daturum fuiſſe; & haud dubie, ſi de nominibus duntaxat fuerit controverſia, hæ rationes facile poterunt Pontificem attrahere, ut in me conſentiat, vel in Staphyleum. De aliis vero neminem admittetis, eos tamen Pontifici aperietis vos, ne id faciatis habere in mandatis, ſed ſuperius enarratas Cauſas in veſtram excuſationem allegantes, omnino ut vobis injungitur, ea in re inſiſtetis.

Quod ſi nullis modis dictam Commiſſionem & Diſpenſationem impetrare poteritis, ad id q; nequiverit Pontifex adduci, niſi rem prius alicui ex Cardinalibus vel Officiariis communicaverit, in eo tunc caſu, ejus Sanctitati in memoriam reducite, quot & quam gravia mala ex hujus negotii longiore poſſent provenire, ſi ex ea occaſione aliquæ contrarietates vel impedimentum ſuboriretur, unde Regiæ Majeſtatis expectatio poſtmodum fruſtraretur; Quo igitur, ſi ullæ injiciantur in hac re tractandæ difficultates, ut Pontifex etiam facilior ad Regium votum concedendum promptiorq; reddatur, alias etiam præter has literas ſeorſim ad vos ſcripſi, quas una cum his accipietis, in quibus copioſe aggeſſi, quam multas

magni momenti rationes, ob quas ſententia judiciumq; meum eſt, ne ullo pa cto Pontifex hanc petitionem Regiæ Majeſtatis deneget; quas literas quum in eis argumentum vehemens eſt, nec ob prolixitatem tædioſas aut moleſtum quod legatur, modum aliquem ipſius Sanctitati legendi invenietis; ſpemq; certam habeo, ſi earum ſumma, tenor, atq; ſententia profunde perpendatur, quam ſatis id eſſe poterit ad omnem tollendam difficultatem, quæ poſſit obverſari in dicta Commiſſione Diſpenſatione que obtinenda, in eis contenta ſigillatim exponetis adeo, quod hoc negotium confici queat, Arbitris aut Conſiliariis ad id neutiquam accitis ſi fieri poſſit: ſi tamen Pontifex ſperaverit ſe poſſe hæc omnia eos cele qui huic rei forſan voluerint refragari, & omnino decreverit aliqu Cardinales vel officiarios iſtius cauſæ participes facere, omnem tunc induſtriam ſtatim adhibebitis, ut his cognitis, eorum gratiam & favore in re vobis comparetis, partim eis reſpectus, & cauſas omnes in meis literis contentas, etiam in cauſæ commodum facientes, uberius exponendo, partim vero eam remunerationem illis dantes, quæ judicio veſtro conveniens habebitur, dummodo optatum res ſortiatur effectum. Et ut omnia queatis præſtare commodius cum his, meas literas accipietis quas ad Cardinalem *Sanctorum Quatuor* & Collegium Cardinalium ſcribo, eaſque reddetis ut expedire cenſueritis, plane confidens nihil à vobis omitti iri, ut hac in re eorum gratiam atq; favorem queatis obtinere, in quem eventum ea munera offeretis, quæ convenientia viſa fuerint, Regia Majeſtas quicquid ejus nomine promiſeritis, id fideliſſime, uberrime præſtabit, pro quarum rerum expeditione, illis pecuniis uti poteritis per literas Cambii Venetias tranſmiſſis, quouſq; ſuffecerint, neceſſarias vos exiſtimaveritis rei impetrandæ. Et quum ambiguum ſit an vobis cuerit hoc tempore ad Pontificis præſentiam accedere, hujuſmodi acceſſus defectus, ſi aliæ rem ad bonum exitum perducendi rationes non cogitarentur, cauſa eſſe poſſet longioris moræ, & totius rei impedimento; proinde Regia Majeſtas, ut modos omnes experiatur, nec ullo ſoli inhæreat, hæc eadem in mandatis dedit Domino Secretario, quæ non procul ab Urbe eſſe intelleximus, quemadmodum in his aliiſq; non brevioribus literis continentur, ita quod alter veſtrum, vel uterque ſi fieri poſſit, ad Pontificis præſentiam acceſſum habeat, nihil tamen ſi ſpe Domini Secretarii, veſtræ vos diligentiæ aut induſtriæ omittet nec ille ſub ſpe veſtra, in re hac modis omnibus promovenda remiſſus erit, ſed nihil conjunctim aut diviſim intentatum relinquetis. Quod uterq; veſtrum ad Pontificem admittatur, alter de altero neſcius, non oberit, ſed multum proficiet, etiam ſi ante alterius adventum negotium hoc alter impetraſſet, ſed ſi aliquis veſtrum cognoverit causam hanc expeditam eſſe, omniaq; pro certo impetrata eſſe, tunc labori ſumptibus Pontificem pro eadem re accedendi parcere poteritis, neq; eam amplius ingerere, neq; neceſſarium aut opportunum erit, ut pro alia re in præſentia quam pro hac apud Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum agatis, ſed ſolum nunc procurabitis de Commiſſione & Diſpenſatione formam ad vos miſſam obtinenda, necnon de feſtinatione illa, quo compendio ad vos dedi, in quibus omnibus & ſingulis apte tractatis Regia Majeſtas magnam fiduciam in veſtra prudentia collocavit, in quibus cum tam magni ſint momenti, ex Regiæ Majeſtatis ſententia tum vobis maxime elaborandum eſt.

Deniq; quum intelligam Dominum Lautrek nonnihil mirari, quo

Reg

Regiæ Majeſtatis iſtic agentis, nullam ſuorum mandatorum partem cum eo conferunt, ad eum nunc ſcribo, & nonnulla Domino Roberto Jernyngham ei exponenda committo, concernentia actiones cum Ferrariæ Duce, & alia quædam eodem Domino Lautrek; ſignificans, vos miſſos eſſe ad dictas cauſas juvandas, & Pontificis liberationem promovendam, quemadmodum ex literarum ad Dominum Jernyngham exemplo cognoſcetis: expediens itaq; fuerit, ut præ ſe feratis, vos dictæ rei gratia miſſos eſſe, ne forſan Dominus Lautrek in falſam aliquam conjecturam aut ſuſpicionem incideret, quæ communibus rebus nocere poſſet, & in veſtrarum quoq; actionum impedimentum redundare.

Illud deinde reticere nolui, quod ſi ullo pacto vobis liceat ad Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri præſentiam accedere, nihil omittatis in favorem & gratiam Reverendi Domini Datarii, de cujus animo nihil dubitamus, comparandam, eiq; aſſeretis quod quum in noſtris omnibus occurrentiis illius opera ac Patrocinio ſemper uſi fuerimus, ipſe vero tanta ſemper fide ac ſedulitate omnia effecerit quæ nobis grata & optata eſſe cognovit, ut noſtram omnem operam ſuis rebus reddiderit promptiſſimam, & ſuæ utilitatis & exaltationis cupidiſſimam. Quocirca hæc Regia Majeſtas hac in re, qua nullam magis cordi habet, nec gravioris momenti quicquam ſibi accidere poſſe judicat, ex animi ſui ſententia conficienda, poſt Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum, in Domino Datario ſpem omnem collocavit, qui ex hac occaſione, ſi operam ſuam ad optatum uſq; exitum interponere non gravetur, Regiæ Majeſtatis animum & pectus, ſic omni ex parte promerebitur, ut dicta Majeſtas non ſolum omnia curatura ſit, quæ ex Domini Veronenſis commodo & ornamento fuerint, ſed eam etiam munificentiam & gratitudinem addet, quæ majorem vel integram partem, à captivitate Redemptionis perſolvendæ compenſabit; in me vero non aliam fidem & amicitiam experietur, quam ab ullo fratre poſſet expectare. Et bene valete. Londini ex meis Ædibus. Die quinto Decemb. M. D. XXVII.

Veſter tanquam frater Amantiſſ.

T. Cardinalis Eborac.

Rome *Jan.* 1. 1528.

IV. *Two Letters of Secretary* Knights *to the Cardinal and the King, giving an account of his Conference with the Pope about his Divorce. Taken from the Originals.*

PLeaſe it your Grace to underſtand, That immediately upon the receipt of your Grace's Letters, ſeverally directed unto Mr. *Gregory* and me; he and I reſorted unto the Pope his Holineſs, making congratulation of his reſtitution unto liberty on yours and his behalf, to his ſingular comfort and conſolation; and ſo much the more, becauſe that I was the firſt that made like ſalutation in any great Prince's Name; He being well aſſured that I ſpake the ſame on the behalf of his two chief, ſincere, & unfeigned Friends: Wherefore with great high thanks, and long diſcourſe, *Cotton* Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

diſcourſe, with rehearſal of the King's and your merits and Acts, in moſt vertuous and Catholick manner, employed for his reſtitution, and your continual and effectual ſtudy how the See Apoſtolique might recover the priſtine Reputation and Dignity; He confirmed as much as I had ſpoken. After this Mr. *Gregory* and I entred into our Charge, ſhewing at length the high deſerts of the Princes and Realm of *England*, the devotion of the ſame towards the Church; how expedient it was, as well for the See Apoſtolique, as for the ſaid Realm, to foreſee and provide that all occaſions of Diſſention and War were extinct and put away; which for lack of Heir Male of our Sovereign's Line, and Stemm, ſhould undoubtedly follow, with other conſiderations at length contained in our Inſtructions. We deſired his Holineſs to commit the knowledg of the Diſpenſation that was obtained in time of *Julius*, of famous memory, for Matrimony to be had between the King and the Widow, Relict late of Prince *Arthur*; and that we might have it in form as that was that your Grace ſent hither. His Holineſs anſwered, That our ſayings had great likelyhood of truth, for lacking of Iſſue Male of the King's Stemm, conſidering the nature of Men being prone unto Novelties, and diſpoſed unto Parties and Factions, the Realm of *England* would not onely enter into their accuſtomed Diviſions, but alſo would owe or do ſmall devotion unto the Church; Wherefore his Holineſs was right well content and ready to abhibit all Remedy that in him was poſſible as this time would ſerve. And becauſe he was not expert in making of Commiſſions, he would conſult with the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and uſe his advice, which we ſhould ſhortly know.

We perceiving that the obtaining of our Charges after the King's and your Grace's pleaſure, depended much upon the Advice of *Sanctorum Quatuor*, did prevent his going unto the Pope, and delivering your Grace's Letters with Recommendations accordingly, we deſired him to be good and favourable unto our Requeſts in the King's behalf; and for the better obtaining of our deſires, we promiſed to ſee unto him with a competent reward. And this communication had, we ſhewed unto him the Commiſſion, which he ſaid could not paſs without perpetual diſhonour unto the Pope, the King, and your Grace; and a great part of ſuch Clauſes as be omitted, he hath touched and laid reaſon for the ſame in a Writing, which I do ſend unto your Grace with this. Conſidering his great Experience, Wiſdom, Learning, and the entire affection that he beareth unto the King and your Grace; and that it was far from the King's deſire, and nothing for your purpoſes, that I ſhould firſt have ſent the ſaid Cardinal's Sayings unto your Grace to abide anſwer, and eft-ſoons prevent to do the ſame: Conſidering alſo that the ſaid King deſireth a Commiſſion convenient and ſufficient, we deſired him to make the minute of one, which he gladly did; When it was made, the Pope ſaid, That at his being in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* the General of the Obſervants in *Spain*, required his Holineſs, in the Emperor's Name, not to grant unto any Act that might be preparative, or otherwiſe, to a Divorce to be made between the King and the Queen; and moreover deſired an Inhibition, that the ſaid Cauſe ſhould not come in knowledg before any Judge within the King's Dominions. The Pope anſwered that *Inhibitio non datur niſi poſt litem motam.* And as unto the firſt his Holineſs was content, if any like thing were demanded

ed, to advertiſe the Emperor before, that he did let it paſs; and this was in a manner for his Holineſs being in Captivity. But his Holineſs being yet in Captivity, as your Grace reports, and eſteemeth him to be as long as the *Almaines* and *Spaniards* continueth in *Italy*; he thought if he ſhould grant this Commiſſion, that he ſhould have the Emperor his perpetual Enemy, without any hope of reconciliation: Notwithſtanding he was content rather to put himſelf in evident ruine, and utter undoing, than the King, or your Grace, ſhould ſuſpect any point of ingratitude in him, heartily deſiring *cum ſuſpiriis & lacrymis*, that the King and your Grace, which have always been faſt and good unto him, will not now ſuddenly precipitate him for ever; which ſhould be done, if immediately upon delivering of the Commiſſion, your Grace ſhould begin Proceſs. He intendeth to ſave all upright thus: If *Monſieur de Lautrech* would ſet forwards, which he ſaith daily that he will do, but yet he doth not, at his coming the Pope's Holineſs may have good colour to ſay, He was required by the Ambaſſadour of *England* of a like Commiſſion. And denying the ſame, becauſe of his promiſe unto the General, he was eft ſoons by *Monſieur de Lautrech*, to grant the ſaid Commiſſion, inaſmuch as it was but a Letter of Juſtice. And by this colour he would cover the matter, ſo that it might appear unto the Emperor, That the Pope did it not as he that would gladly do diſpleaſure unto the Emperor, but as an indifferent Prince that could not, nor might deny Juſtice, ſpecially being required by ſuch Perſonages; and immediately he would diſpatch a Commiſſion, bearing date after the time that *Monſieur Lautrech* had been with him or nigh unto him. The Pope moſt inſtantly beſeecheth your Grace, to be a mean that the King's Highneſs may accept this in a good part, and that he will take patience for this little time, which as it is ſuppoſed will be but ſhort, and (*in omnem eventum*) I do bring a Commiſſion with me, and a Diſpenſation, which muſt the King and your Grace will like well.

We have given unto my Lord Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* 4000 Crowns, and unto the Secretary 30 Crowns.

With this Your Grace ſhall receive a Letter from the Pope's Holineſs, how, a Councel of *Oldrand.* that giveth light unto the King's Cauſe; I ſhall make the moſt diligence homeward that I can. Our Lord Jeſus preſerve Your Grace.

At Orvieto, this
firſt day of
January.

Your moſt humble Servant
and Chaplain,
W. Knight.

Rome

Rome *Jan.* 1. 1528.

To the KING.

PLeaſe it your Highneſs to underſtand, That as ſoon as the Pope was at liberty, and came unto *Orvieto*, I reſorted unto his Holineſs with all diligence; and at my coming unto him, did make congratulation on your Highneſs behalf; foraſmuch as he was reſtored unto his Liberty, which he accepted very joyfully and thankfully, giving unto your Highneſs manifold and high thanks for your great goodneſs, as well proved in his adverſity, as when he was in his moſt felicity. After this he rehearſed my being at *Rome*, how dangerous it was, inaſmuch as when my being there was detect, eſpial was made, and I was not paſſed out of *Rome* by the ſpace of two hours, e're two hundred *Spaniards* invaded and ſearched the Houſe. He ſhewed alſo that he had received all ſuch Letters as I at my being in *Rome* did ſend unto his Holineſs; whereby he did perceive the Effect of your Highneſs deſire concerning your Deſpenſation: And albeit he did ſend me word that I ſhould depart, and his Holineſs would ſend unto me the ſaid Diſpenſation fully ſped. Nevertheleſs he truſted that your Highneſs would be content to tarry for a time: for the General of the Obſervants in *Spain* being lately in *Rome*, had required him, according unto his Inſtructions, that he ſhould ſuffer nothing to paſs that might be prejudicial or againſt the Queen, directly or indirectly, but that the Pope ſhould firſt advertiſe thereof certain of the *Caſaxians* here. And foraſmuch as this Diſpenſation might encourage your Grace to cauſe my Lord Legate *Auctoritate Legationis* to hear and decern in the Cauſe that your Highneſs intendeth, and his Holineſs ſtandeth as yet in manner in captivity and perplexity: His Holineſs therefore beſought your Grace to have patience for a time, and it ſhould not be long e're your Highneſs ſhould have, not only that Diſpenſation, but any thing elſe that may lie in his Power. I replied unto this, That his Holineſs had once granted it, and that I had diſpatched a Poſt, and made relation thereof, by my Writings, unto your Highneſs; ſo that I could not imagine by what reaſon I might perſwade unto you that he would perform the promiſe that he had once broken. In concluſion; He was content that your Highneſs ſhould have it, but he would have it delivered with this condition; That the *Prothonotary* and *Gambora* and I, ſhould beſeech your Highneſs not to attempt any thing in your Cauſe againſt the Queen, till ſuch time as the Pope were frankly at his Liberty; which could not be as long as the *Almaynes* and *Spaniards* did thus reign in *Italy*; and promiſe made, we ſhould deliver the Diſpenſation: and in my poor judgment, it was beſt alwaies to be in poſſeſſion of this Diſpenſation. After this he ſhewed the Minute unto the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, willing him to reform it according to the ſtile of this Court; which done, he ſhewed it unto me, and after ſaid, That he thought good I ſhould depart, becauſe I rode but competent Journies, and the Prothonotary *Gambora* ſhould follow by Poſt and bring the Bull with him, which is of the ſame form and ſubſtance that your Highneſs's Minute is of: And if there be any thing omitted

ted, or to be added, his Holineſs is alwayes content to reform it, and to put it under the ſame date that the ſame Diſpenſation now beareth; the Copy whereof I do ſend unto your Highneſs with this, the Commiſſion General and Proteſtation being void, becauſe they were conceived *durante captivitate* only. And here on my behalf, none other thing being to be done, I took my leave of the Pope and departed. At my coming unto *Scarperii* near unto *Bonony*, I did meet with *Thadeus* this Courier; which brought certain Expeditions Triplicat; the one unto the Protho-notar *Gambora*, the other unto *Gregory de Caſſali*, and the third unto me; among which was a general Commiſſion Triplicat, the one to be committed to my Lord Legate, and if that could not be obtained, becauſe my Lord Legate might be thought partial, then the ſame to be committed unto *Staphileus*. *Item*; There was a Copy of a Diſpenſation, where I perceived, by your Grace's Letter, that your pleaſure was to have your Diſpenſation in form, after the minute that *Barlow* brought; which was then ſped, and already paſſed; ſo remained nothing to be ſped, but the Commiſſion your Highneſs pleaſes. This knowing, I cauſed my Servants to continue their Journey, and with one Servant and the Courier, I returned unto *Orvieto* with Poſt-Horſes, where Mr. *Gregory* and I, with much Buſineſs, have obtained a Commiſſion directed unto my Lord Legate, not in the form that was conceived in *England*, but after ſuch manner as is ſufficient for the Cauſe, and as I truſt ſhall content your Highneſs; wherein the Lord Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, hath taken great pains to pen, as well your Diſpenſation as the Commiſſion; for which, and that hereafter he may do unto your Highneſs the better ſervice, Mr. *Gregory* and I have rewarded him with 4000. Crowns, of ſuch Money as your Highneſs hath cauſed to be made unto *Venice* for the furtherance of your Cauſes. But albeit that every thing is paſſed according to your Highneſs pleaſure, I cannot ſee, but in caſe the ſame be not in execution at this time, the Pope is utterly undone, and ſo he ſeeth himſelf. The *Imperialiſts* do daily ſpoil Caſtles and Towns about *Rome*; *Monſieur de Lautrek* is yet at *Bonony*, and ſmall hope is of any great Act that he intends. The *Ceſarians* have taken within theſe three days, two Caſtles lying within ſix miles of this: and the Pope being in this perplexity, not aſſured of any one Friend but of your Highneſs, that lieth too far off; if he do at this time any diſpleaſure unto the Emperour, he thinketh he is undone for ever; wherefore he puts his Honour and Health wholly into your Highneſs Power and Diſpoſition. This morning I return homewards, and *Gregory de Caſſali* goeth in my Company as far as unto *Florence*; and from thence he goeth unto *Monſieur de Lautrek*, to ſolicit him forwards, if it may be. The Holy Ghoſt ſend your Highneſs a proſperous New Year, and many.

At *Orvieto*, the laſt day of *January*.

Your moſt humble Subject, Servant, and Chaplain,

W. Knight.

Rome 10. *Jan.* 1528.

V. *A part of an Original Letter from the ſame Perſon to Cardinal* Wolſey, *by which it appears that the Diſpenſation was then granted and ſent over.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10. YOur Grace commandeth, That I ſhould ſend the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation with diligence, in caſe they were ſped, before the receit of your Grace's Letters ſent at this Time. Wherefore the Protonotar *Gambora* and I being commanded *ſub pœna Excommunicationis* to deliver the ſame, with a certain Requeſt to be made to the King's Highneſs and his Grace, at the time of delivery, I ſend the ſame at this time unto *Gambora*, requiring him in any wiſe to make diligence towards the King's Highneſs, and not to abide my coming; the Requeſt and cauſe thereof your Grace ſhall perceive by mine other Letters adjoined herewith. And ſuppoſing that when your Grace hath ſeen my Letters, and the Diſpenſations, and conſidered this time well, it may chance that the King and your Grace will be rather well content with that that is paſſed, without ſueing for any other thing that could not be obtained without long tract, and peradventure not ſo. Your Grace hath committed as much unto *Gregory de Caſſali* at this time, as unto me, which being near unto the Pope, will without fail do his beſt diligence: And if it ſhall be thought good unto the King's Highneſs, and your Grace, that I do return unto *Orvieto*, I ſhall do as much as my poor Carcaſe may endure, and thereby at *Turine* I ſhall abide the knowledge of your Grace's pleaſure. The Datary hath clean forſaken the Court, and will ſerve no longer but only God and his Cure. The Cardinal *Campegius* continueth in *Rome* ſore vexed with the Gout; The Cardinals *Piſane*, *Triuulcis*, *Urſine*, *Gadis* and *Ceſis*, remaineth for Hoſtages. The Cardinals, *Monte*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, *Ridulph*, *Ravenna*, and *Perusin*, be with the Pope; the reſt abides abſent. Our Lord Jeſus preſerve your Grace.

At *Aſte* the 10*th* day of *January*.

Your moſt humble Beadſman and Servant,

W. Knight.

Orvieto *the* 13*th of* January.

VI. Gregory Caſſali's *Letter about the Method in which the Pope ordered the Divorce ſhould be managed. Taken from a Copy written by Cardinal* Wolſey's *Secretary.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10. HEri & hodie ad multam diem ſum alloquutus Sanctũ Dominũ noſtrũ de mittendo legato, inſequens ordinem à Reverendiſſimo Domino Eboracen. ſuis literis 27. Decemb. mihi præſcriptum. Pontifex oſtendit

se cupidissimum satisfaciendi Regiæ Excellentiæ, cui omnia se debere fatetur, & nunc habuit mecum longum de hac re colloquium, ut inveniatur modus omnia bene, firme & secure faciendi, quo facto & tueri possit; ideoq; consulere voluit judicium Cardinalis *Sanctorum Quatuor* & *Symonettæ*, qui excellentior & doctior Auditor *Rotæ* est, cum quibus sub sigillo Confessionis egit, ut ex eorum consilio inveniatur modus ad moram tollendam, & causam secure peragendam: Atq; ita Pontifex cum illis, in hoc quod sequitur, se revolvit, videturq; optimus, verus & securus modus, & me rogavit, ut nullo pacto dicam hoc obtinuisse ab ejus Sanctitate sicuti revera obtinui, nam Cæsariani eum statum pro suspecto allegarent, sed quod dicam me habuisse à Cardinali Sanctorum Quatuor & à dicto auditore. Dicunt quod Rex deberet committere istic causam Cardinali, ratione Commissionis quam attulit Secretarius, vel propria Authoritate Legationis, quod facere potest; & ubi causa fuerit commissa, si Rex conscientiam suam persentiat coram Deo exoneratam, & quod recte possit facere quod quærit, quia nullus Doctor in mundo est, qui de hac re melius decernere possit quam ipse Rex, itaq; si in hoc se resolverit, ut Pontifex credit, statim causam committat, aliam Uxorem ducat, litem sequatur, mittatur publice pro Legato, qui Consistorialiter mittetur, ita enim maxime expediret: nam Cardinalis Sanctorum Quatuor & *Symonetta* dicunt hoc certum esse, quod si Regina citetur illa nihil volet respondere nisi quod protestabitur locum & judices suspectos esse, & Cæsariani petent à Pontifice per viam Signaturæ, justitiæ Inhibitionem, qua Rex aliam nullam possit Uxorem capere, & si capiat proles non sit legitima donec causa non definiatur, & petent Commissionem qua Causa audiatur in Curia; de Inhibitione vero Pontifex non potest negare, neq; & Commissionem nisi injustitia & mera vis inferatur, adversus quam omnis mundus exclamaret. Quod si Rex aliam Uxorem ceperit, hoc non possunt petere, & si petant, negabit Pontifex quod jure possit, nec aliud dicere poterunt vel allegare, nisi quod Cardinalis Eboracen. & Cardinalis mittendus & locus sit suspectus, & petere quod Causa videatur hic, in quo si deducatur, statim feretur sententia quam Pontifex maturabit, non servatis terminis propter momentum negotii & alias rationes, quas sciet Pontifex adducere, & ita hic obtinebuntur sententiæ quæ per totum Orbem approbabuntur, quibus nullus Hispanus aut Germanus poterit contradicere, & mittentur in Angliam declarandæ per Cardinales prout Rex voluerit, & hoc etiam non obstante Pontifex mittet Cardinalem.

Tandem hic est modus rebus omnibus secure medendi, ad quem sequendum vos Pontifex hortatur, & rogat, ut nihil dicatur quod ab eo procedat. Iste modus non videtur inutilis, quia hic Auditor asserit, non aliter esse faciendum si bene volumus; & quia Reverendissimus Cardinalis Dominus Eboracen. instat pro celeritate, interim accersiri poterit qualiscunq; Legatus Rex voluerit, & magis satisfiet vulgo in mittendo Legato, veluti ad definiendam causam, & hic etiam ut dixi omnia fient quæ super id Rex petierit.

Præterea Pontifex, id quod fecit ut me resolverem ad has Literas scribendum, contentus est mittere quemcunq; Cardinalem ego petiero, sed ait oportere ut aliquis mittatur habilis, id est Doctor in Jure, vel in Theologia, qui sunt isti *Campegius*, *Cæsarinus*, *Senensis*, *Cesis*, *Araceli*, *Simbre*, qui senex est & immobilis; *Cesis* in obsidem ivit Neapolim. *Cæ-*

ſarinus Epiſcopatum habet in Hiſpania, *Araceli* podagra laborat & Frater eſt, *Senenſis* eſt Imperialis & non valde prudens, *Campegius* eſſet maxime ad propoſitum, ſed Romæ eſt locum tenens Pontificis, unde non poſſet diſcedere, continuantibus diſcordiis inter Germanos & Hiſpanos, neq; auderet egredi à caſtro; ſed hoc periculum & dubium breui expedietur, nam intra octo dies Cæſariani cogentur ſibi conſulere ut eant in Regnum, ſi Dominus Lautrek eo progrediatur, vel ibunt Senas per iter Florentiæ, & tunc *Campegius* poterit exire, & ſi Rex ita jusſerit ſtatim accingetur itineri. Pontifex juſſit ut ſcribam, quod nunquam ingenio aut ſtudio deerit in excogitando ut adimpleat deſiderium & voluntatem Regis, & quod ſolum iſta proponit pro meliori ſecuritate, ut iſta fiant quæ poſtea referri debeant, quod pareret dilationem & difficultatem, & quantum ego poſſim conjicere Pontifex exoptat ſatisfacere Regiæ voluntati. Pontifex denuo replicavit quod ſe totum rejicit in Brachia Regiæ Majeſtatis, & quod certus eſt quod Cæſar nunquam hoc illi ignoſcet, & quod ex hac occaſione vocabit eum ad Concilium, vel nihil aliud quæret niſi ut eum omni ſtatu & vita privet; & dicta Sanctitas parvam ſpem habet in Gallis, niſi quantum operabitur per Regiam Majeſtatem & Reverendiſſimum Dominum Eboracen. Ad quod Reſpondi, illum ex præteritis & præſentibus poſſe judicare futura. Tandem affirmo, quod ſi ſemel tollatur Cæſarianorum metus, poteritis ex arbitrio veſtro diſponere de Sede Apoſtolica.

Cardinalis *Campegius* ad Pontificem ſcripſit, quod ſunt tres dies ex quo frater Generalis communicaverat ſecum negotium Regiæ Majeſtatis, & quod dixerat ut ad ejus Sanctitatem ſcriberet, ut omnino faceret, aliquam Inhibitionem ne cauſa iſtic tractaretur. Ad quod Pontifex non reſpondit, ſed reſpondebit, ſe nihil de eo poſſe facere, quia non pendet cauſa.

Januar. 1528. ad Collegium.

VII. *A Duplicat. The King's Letter to the Colledg of Cardinals; from which it appears how much they favoured his Cauſe.*

Cotton Lib. *Vitel.* B. 10. HEnricus Rex, Reverendiſſimis in Chriſto Patribus Dominis Epiſcopis, Patribus & Diaconis S. R. E. Cardinalibus & Amicis noſtris Cariſſimis ſalutem. Nihil unquam tam grande eſſe poſſe putavimus, quin de iſta Sancta ſede, veſtrarumq; Reverendiſſimarum Dominat. ſumma erga nos benignitate, illud ſemper audacter nobis fuerimus politi, quod certe S. Sanctum iſtud Collegium, quotiens ullam nobis gratificandi occaſionem oblatam habuit, cumulatiſſime præſtitit: Cæterum benevolentiam iſtam veſtram, & ſingulare in nos ſtudium, nunc longe ſuperavit alacritas quam in noſtra omnium graviſſima cauſa, juvanda ac promovenda, in publico Conſiſtorio, amantiſſime omnes exhibuiſtis, quo certe beneficio ſic Sacro iſti Collegio Sanctiſſimæq; iſti Sedi adſtrictos nos fatemur, ut vehementiſſime optemus Gratiam, vel ſanguine ipſo publice ac privatim Reverendiſſimis Dominat. veſtris quoq; poſſe referri. Quocirca iterum eas impenſe rogamus, ut in ſuo erga nos affectu perſeverare non graventur, efficiemuſq; (Deo bene juvante) ut brevi perſpiciant, apud gratum & memorem Principem, Sanctæq; Rom. Eccleſiæ obſervan-

obſervantiſſimum, ſua ſe beneficia & officia collocaſſe. Interim vobis quas poſſumus ex animo, tum his literis, tum per Oratorem iſtic noſtrum immortales gratias Reverendiſſimis veſtris Dominis agimus, exiſtimetiſq; quicquid à nobis præſtari queat, id ſuo ornamento & commodo promptiſſimum futurum.

Febr. 10. 1528.

VIII. *A Duplicate of the Cardinal's Letter to the Pope, about the Divorce; corrected with his own hand*

BEatiſſime Pater, poſt humillimam Commendationem, & Sanctiſſimorum pedum oſcu'a, doleo atq; graviſſime excrucior, quod ea quæ tanta ſolicitudine, literis & nuntiis apud Beatitudinem veſtram ago, nequeam, ut unice & rerum omnium maxime vellem, prius tractare, hoc eſt, negotium Potentiſſimi Domini mei Regis, negotium inquam rectiſſimum, honeſtiſſimum ac ſanctiſſimum, in quo procurando non aliter me interpono, quam in ejus Regiæ Majeſtatis ſalute tuenda, in hoc Regno conſervando, in publica tranquillitate fovenda, in Apoſtolica Autoritate, in mea deniq; vita & anima protegenda debeo. Beatiſſime Pater, ad veſtræ Sanctitatis genua provolutus, obſecro & obteſtor, ut ſi me Chriſtianum virum, ſi bonum Cardinalem, ſi S. Sancto iſto Senatu dignum, ſi Apoſtolicæ Sedis membrum non ſtupidum & inutile, ſi recti, juſtitiæque cultorem, ſi fidelem Creaturam ſuam, ſi demum æternæ ſalutis cupidum me exiſtimet, nunc velit mei Conſilii & interceſſionis rationem habere, & pientiſſimis hujus Regis precibus, benigne, prompteq; adnuere; quas niſi rectas, ſanctas ac juſtas, eſſe ſcirem, omne prius ſupplicii genus ultro ſubirem, quam eas promoverem, pro hiſq; ego vitam meam & animam ſpondeo. Alioquin vereor (quod tamen nequeo tacere) ne Regia Majeſtas humano, divinoq; jure (quod habet ex omni Chriſtianitate ſuis his actionibus adjunctum) freta, poſtquam viderit Sedis Apoſtolicæ gratiam, & Chriſti in terris Vicarii clementiam deſperatam, Cæſaris inimici, in cujus manu neutiquam eſt tam Sanctos conatus reprimere, ea tunc moliatur, ea ſuæ cauſæ perquirat remedia, quæ & non ſolum huic Regno, ſed etiam aliis Chriſtianis Principibus, occaſionem ſubminiſtrarent, Sedis Apoſtolicæ Autoritatem & Juriſdictionem imminuendi, & vilipendendi non abſq; Chriſtianæ Reip. perturbatione: quibus malis poteſt veſtra Sanctitas ſua autoritate & prudentia mederi. Hæc loquor ut Chriſtianus, & ut devotiſſimum iſtius Sedis membrum ſincere ſuadeo; non affectus, non Principis amor, non ſervitutis vinculum me impellit, ſed ſola rectitudine ad id adducor. Cæterum animi ſolicitudo non ſinit plura exprimere. Veſtra Sanctitas, in tam juſto Regis voto adnuendo, ſic ejus Majeſtatis animum ſibi devinciet & conſervabit, ut non ſolum ipſe & ego, ſed omnes ejus ſubditi ſint ad omnem occaſionem, opes, vires, & ſanguinem in Sanctitatis veſtræ, Apoſtolicæ Sedis beneficium, libentiſſime profuſuri. Mitto ad Beatitudinem veſtram hujus rei gratia, Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum, Primarium Secretiſſimorum Conciliorum Secretarium, mei dimidium, & quo neminem habeo cariorem; referet ille cuncta diſtinctius, meum pectus aperiet. Veſtram igitur Sanctitatem humillime

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

humillime rogo, ut eum loquentem me loqui existimares, & eam fidem quam præsenti mihi haberet, illi & Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiari in omnibus præstare, & me à tam anxia expectatione liberare dignetur.

IX. *Cardinal* Wolsey's *Letter to* Gregory Cassali, *directing him to make Presents at* Rome.

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

TAnta deinde sunt, tamq; magna officia, quæ Reverendissimus Dominus *Sanctorum Quatuor*, tum erga Regiam Majestatem, tum erga me, nunquam non amantissime exhibuit, ut quum ea in agendis gratis assequi conamur, id animo facilius complecti, quam exteriori ullo pensæ nostræ in eum voluntatis testimonio indicare queamus: ad nostrum in eum summum studii & affectionis cumulum, nunc tantum accessit, quantum vix unquam possit à nobis exsolvi; licetq; de ejus Reverendissim. Dominat. ingenti Regiæ Majestati, & mihi gratificandi ardore nunquam addubitaverim, sic tamen pectus suum, in Regiæ Majestatis promovenda juvandaq; causa, sic in meis seorsim curandis expediendis negotiis, operam, fidem, autoritatemq; suam interposuit, ut non minora semper efficeret, quam nos optare potuerimus: quo certe nomine, ita utrumque nostrum, suo suorumq; omnium commodo & ornamento devinxit, ut non prius conquieturi sumus: quam aliquo indicio rebus ipsis nostram vicissim gratitudinem fuerimus testati; quot enim modis & quanta sollicitudine Reverendissimus *Sanctorum Quatuor* de nobis sit optime meritus, res præstita indicat, & Dominus *Stephanus* Secretarius noster suo sermone ac relatu assidue prædicat; & quamvis munusculum illud olim oblatum recusaverit, non tamen Regiæ Majestati satisfactum ille potest, nisi memoris sui animi pignus aliquod exhibuerit. Quocirca cum eodem Reverendissimo Domino dexterrime agite, ut in familiari aliquo colloquio eliciatis, quibus rebus ille maxime oblectetur, mihiq; quam primum significate, num illi, aulæa, Vasa aurea, aut equi maxime prebentur, efficiamq; ne putet apud Principem inhumanum aut ingratum sua se officia collocasse. Intellexi quoq; ex eodem Domino *Stephano*, quam ardenter idem Dominus *Sanctorum Quatuor* cupiat ædificium Sancti Petri absolvi, veluti monumentum illud Religionis ac pietatis perpetuo futurum, quod certe ejus animi consilium, ut Sanctum atq; religiosissimum censeo, ut Christianorum Principum liberalitatem quam plurimum mereatur; meo igitur nomine affirmabitis, sic meam me esse operam apud hunc Serenissimum Regem interpositurum, ut palam constet omnibus, me Ecclesiæ membrum non omnino inutile aut stupidum esse.

De aliis vero rebus in quibus S. D. N. benignitatem & Reverendissimi Domini *Sanctorum Quatuor* opera & Patrocinio Regiæ Majestati mihi in præsentia est opus, per Dominum Stephanum copiose vos instruo, iterum atq; iterum impense rogans, ut solita vestra diligentia & sedulitate ex nostra expectatione eas curare conficereq; velitis.

Rom

Rome *Feb.* 1527.

X. *The Decretal Bull that was desired in the King's Cause.*

Dilecto, &c. Salutem & Apostolicam Benedict. Sedis Apostolicæ Suprema Autoritas potestatis suæ copiam sic omnibus exhibet, ut pro causarum, personarum & temporum qualitate remedia singulis ad ædificationem subministrare, & causas ad Canonum Sanctiones expensas æquissima certissimaq; lance trutinans, laborantibus conscientiis & fluctuantibus consulere, summamque ipsis tranquillitatem statuere contendat. Cum itaque Clarissimus in Christo Filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, & Dominus Hiberniæ, sua nobis conquestione monstraverat, quod cum Annos abhinc decem & octo nobilem Mulierem Catharinam Ferdinandi quondam Hispaniarum Regis Filiam, Illustris Principis Arthuri Fratris sui defuncti quondam Uxorem, hortatu, fusu, ac consiliis eorum, quibus se totum in prima Regni sui Administratione crediderat, quadam sedis Apostolicæ Dispensatione prætensa sit bona fide Matrimonio copulasset, ac ab eo tempore hactenus cum eadem tanquam cum Uxore cohabitasset, prole interim fœmina suscepta & superstite ex eadem, ac jam tandem post desperatam prolem Masculam, de stabilienda & confirmanda ejusdem Filiæ suæ successione cogitaret, lustratisque Scriniis dictam super Matrimonio præfato Dispensationem fieret proferri, doctorumque Virorum judicia examinari, cujus quidem Dispensationis tenor sequitur, & est talis, &c. *Cotton* Libr: *Vitel:* B. 12.

Quidam Sanctionum & Canonum Ecclesiasticorum consulti, datum esse cum narratis ejusdem conferentes, aliasque nonnullas circumstantias tum ante dictæ Dispensationis impetrationem, quæ etiam post eandem impetratam intervenerunt, ponderantes, tum quod causa quæ in dicta prætensa est pacis continuandæ, viz. quæ ipsa tum coaluerat, fœderibus percussis firma constiterat, mutuis etiam populorum commerciis aucta, nullum suæ violationis timorem incutiens, qui justus & non omnino vanus dici posset, nec urgentissima proinde nec evidentissima videretur, qualem prohibitionis relaxatio exigat & requirat; tum quod preces falsi erant dum narrabatur Prædecessori nostro, eundem Carissimum Filium nostrum tum cupere cum dicta charissima Domina Catharina contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera diutius continuarentur, cum eo tempore, ut asserit, impetrationem prorsus ignoraret, & per ætatis immaturitatem, duodecimum, viz. annum non excedentis, affectum hujusmodi inducere non potuerat; tum quod Protestatione postmodum interveniente & vim Renunciationis habente, Dispensatio tunc per Renunciationem extincta videretur; Denique quod principes inter quos fœdera conservarentur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam fatis concesserant; Bullam ipsam, tum ex surreptionis & obreptionis vitiis, quam aliis etiam de Causis minus validam & inefficacem esse renunciarunt & retulerunt, scrupulum dicti Regis animo conscientiæque gravem incutientes eamque illi opinionem inducentes, ut Matrimonium prædictum non consistere, neque hactenus jure constitisse judicaret. Porro autem non frequentius apud se, ut asserit, animo volveret, ac meditaretur, tales exitus hujusmodi nuptiæ præfatæ habuerunt, ex quibus, viz. aliquot

quot partus masculi imperfecti parumque vitales prodiere, atque ideo omni spe successoris prorsus destitui, quo suam familiam ad paucos redactam conservaret, occurrente simul memoriæ Divina interminatio quæ Fratris sui turpitudinem revelanti, & illius Uxorem contra S. Sancti Dei præcepta accipienti inscribitur, præsertim ubi Dispensatio non interveniat, quæ ex omni sua parte valeat & consistat, nonnullis etiam affirmantibus nostram non eatenus potestatem patere ut in ea specie gratiam faciamus, etiamsi ut scribit de nostræ potestatis plenitudine non dubitet, juste duntaxat legitimeque interpositæ, quam sanctam in terris agnoscit & veneratur, ad improbandas illas nuptias tantum undique videt consensum ut illas animo abhorreat, nec aliorum rationibus possit dissuaderi quin abominandas eas judicet, & Divinæ Majestati odiosas. Denique idem Carissimus Filius noster debita cum instantia nos precibus sollicitaverit, quatenus personæ suæ & Regni nobis semper devotissimi rationem habentes, maturo judicio ab angustiis liberemus, quibus ex præsentis Matrimonii per legem conscientiæ privatum, nec ad alios per leges publicas ante sententiam admissum, vehementer conqueritur comprehensum esse. Nos igitur considerantes quot, quanta, tum in Sedem Apostolicam, tum in fidem Christianam officia præ cæteris exhibendo promeritus eo nomine ut nostræ vicissim potestatis gratiam uberrimam & promptissimam referat, aliamque illius causam atque privati esse, ex quo nimirum pendeat salus plurimorum, nec posse dictæ causæ decisionem diutius proferri & protelari sine gravi discriminis periculo, dicti vero Principis cruciatu maxima quæ nos ex gratitudinis vicissitudine mutuo ret debeamus, qua decet festinatione procedi facientes ut ad finem ejusmodi lerrime perducatur, de Consilio Fratrum nostrorum, quorum in hac causa tam gravi atque urgenti judicium adhibuimus, ac etiam eorum qui & Sacræ Theologiæ peritissimos & juris Ecclesiastici callentissimos ac super consulendos audiendosque putavimus, quoniam vitia & defectus prædictos ejusmodi esse comperimus, quæ penitus præfatæ Prohibitionis naturâ, vires ipsius Bullæ merito enervarent; quo magis, vir, attestamur & palam faciamus, quanta animi cura & solicitudine præfati Carissimi Filii nostri conscientiam hujusmodi scrupulis & difficultatibus impeditam implicari atque vexari sustineamus, cum alioquin te dilectum Filium nostrum Cardin. Eboracen. in illa Provincia & Apostolicæ Sedis Legatum à præclaris animi tui virtutibus, ad justitiam vero & æquitatem propensissimo sinceriissimoq; affectu nobis sic commendatum & cognitum habeamus, ut tibi merito soli omnem nostram Authoritatem, cum in hac Causa expedienda, tum etiam in reliquis committendam putaverimus, qui nullimus quidem nobis existimatus, qui partes nostras tractes & vices sentis posses supplere: Te tamen Dilectum Filium —— à nobis speciatim istuc destinandum duximus, ut conjunctim in hac causa procedere possitis, ita nihilominus propter incertum casuum eventum mandatam Authoritatem temperantes, ut altero vestrum nolente aut impedito, alter omnia exequi & causam fine debito valeat terminare. Vobis ut præfertur conjunctim & ut præfertur divisim, ad cognoscendum & procedendum summarie & de plano, sine strepitu & figura judicii, ac de & super viribus dictæ Bullæ sive Dispensationis inquirendum, ipsamque Bullam sive Dispensationem, si de vitiis prædictis aut eorum aliquo tali probatione constiterit, quæ licet aliis minus clara videatur, animo tamen religioso, conscientiæque vestræ, aut ejus vestrum qui in hac Causa procedet

cesserit, divisim ut præfertur, satisfecerit, & verisimile apparuerit, vel causam quæ in Bulla prætenditur sine hujus Matrimonii contractu consistere potuisse & continuari, vel dictum Charissimum Filium nostrum, ut allegabatur, non cupisse contrahere Matrimonium ad hoc ut pacis fœdera conservarentur, vel deniq; Principes in Bulla nominatos, inter eos fœdera per illud Matrimonium continuatum iri allegabatur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam satis constitisse, ipsam nullam, minus validam, ex surreptione & obreptione inefficacem, irritam & inanem fuisse, semper & esse pronuntiandam & declarandam; Matrimonium autem prædictum, quod ejusdem virtute consistere videtur, nullum simul ac minus legitimum esse, ac pro nullo minusq; legitimo haberi deberi decernendum; ipsos porro contrahentes ab omni contractu Matrimoniali hujusmodi liberos, à consortio conjugali quod hactenus observarunt separari deberi, sententiendum & autoritate nostra separandum. Deniq; utrumque ad contrahendum cum alio vel alia, novum conjugium ineundi, licentiam & facultatem tribuendum & concedendum, citra omnem recusationem, aut appellationis interpositionem, committimus & demandamus vices nostras; ac vos conjunctim, & altero vestrum nolente ut præfertur aut impedito, divisim, ad præmissa exercenda & expedienda, plenæ finaliq; executioni demandanda, Vicarios nostros & nostrum Vicarium, aut si quo alio nomine uti poterimus, quod demandatum in prædictis Autoritatem ampliaret, cum omni potestatis plenitudine tam absolutæ quam ordinariæ, quatenus vel ad præfati Matrimonii contracti dissolutionem, vel novi contrahendi firmam Constitutionem, expedire videbitur aut pertinere; ita etiam ut Autoritate præsentis Commissionis nostræ, cum omnibus illis Canonibus, ad validiorem efficaciorem; processus vestri firmitatem poteritis dispensare, quæcunq; eidem adhiberi putabuntur, omnemq; defectum quacunq; ex causa contingentem nostræ Autoritatis interpositione, Dispensatione Apostolica supplere possitis & valeatis, tam prolem ex primo Matrimonio susceptam propter quam fidem Parentum, si ita expedire visum fuerit, legitimam decernendo pronuntiando & promulgando, quam ex secundo Matrimonio suscipiendam; legitimitatem etiam utriusq; prolis, censuris & pœnis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, per modum decreti aut Sanctionis perpetuæ mutando & vallando, omnibus validioribus & efficacioribus modis & formis quæ de jure concipi & excogitari poterunt, facimus, constituimus & ordinamus per præsentes: & quicquid per vos conjunctim, ut præfertur, aut divisim procedentes, per cognitionem judiciariam & summariam, aut extrajudiciariam, processus quoscunq; faciendo, pronunciando ac promulgando, eosdemve executioni mandando, Dispensationes quascunq; aut gratias in præmissis concedendo & faciendo, & generaliter in omnibus prædictorum potestatem nostram vel ordinariam vel absolutam exercendo, ut præfertur, actum, gestum, decretum, dispensatum, pronunciatum, mandatum, aut executum fuerit, id omne & eorum cum primum poterimus, ratum, gratum & firmum habentes, in validissima & efficacissima forma confirmabimus, nec eorum aliqua unquam infirmabimus aut infringemus, aut eorum alicui contraveniemus, nec interim revocabimus; declarantes etiam & protestantes per præsentes, nostræ intentionis esse, ut præsens Commissio, sive Delegatio Autoritatis nostræ, perpetuo effectu gaudeat, & usq; ad finalem prædictorum conclusionem extremumq; terminum duret & consistat, non obstantibus quibuscunque

decretis, ſententiis, mandatis reſcriptis, literis aut Brevibus in contrarium, deinceps per nos tanquam irritatoriis, derogatoriis aut revocatoriis præſentis Conceſſionis noſtræ, emittendis, deſtinandis aut promulgandis; quibus omnibus expreſſe per præſentes derogantes, & illa omnia pro nullis, caſſis, irritis & inanibus reputantes, ac talia eſſe & haberi, iſtiſq; omnino anteriora judiçari, præſentia vero ſemper poſteriora, & poſt illa repetita, emiſſa & deſtinata, cenſeri ac tanquam ultima & poſteriora contrariis ſic deinceps emittendis derogare debere, & cætera contrariis non obſtantibus quibuſcunque.

Rome *Jan.* 1528.

XI. *The Cardinal's Letter to* John Caſſali *about it; Taken from a Duplicate written by his Secretary.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

REverende Domine Protonotari, tanquam Frater Amantiſſime, cum aliis meis literis copioſe ad vos perſcripſi Regiæ Majeſtatis animum, & deſiderium ſuper his rebus quas vobis in præſentia commiſit, ſuo nomine S. D. N. declarandas.

Nunc vero ob humillimam ſinceramq; meam Devotionem, quæ ex jure & officio non ſolum ejus Sanctitati, ſed miſeris Eccleſiæ ſublevandis rebus, dignitatiq; Apoſtolicæ reſtituendæ adſtringor, his literis vos inſtruam ſuper quibuſdam rebus, præcipue & accurate notandis & conſiderandis, quas poſt humillimam, reverentiſſimamq; meam commendationem dictæ Sanctitati, meo nomine ſigillatim, ſpeciatim declarabitis: & cum cauſam concernant, quam Regia Majeſtas nunc maxime operæ requirit, eandem Sanctitatem vehementiſſime rogabitis, ut cuncta legere & bene notare non gravetur.

Primo itaq; indolens infœlicem adverſumq; præſentium rerum ſucceſſum, in quo S. D. N. Cardinaliumq; Collegium verſatur, diuq; ac ſedulo mente volvens, quo pacto quibuſve modis, totis meis viribus, omni ſumptu moleſtiaq; neglecta, & cum proprii ſanguinis vitæque effuſione, miniſterium aliquod impendere, tantæque afflictioni ſolamen afferre, & Eccleſiæ Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri collapſo ſtatui opitulari, in quam rem haud dubie quoadq; vita ſuppetet incumbam; mihique in hac cogitatione verſanti, in mentem recordationemq; ſubiit, mirus quidem & grandis affectus. Qui divina ſic diſponente Providentia, ex inſtanti aſſiduæque mea opera provenit, ut hunc optimum Dominum meum Regem inducerem, eique perſuaderem quod ad arctiſſimam iſtam intimamque cordis & animi conjunctionem deveniret erga, S. D. N. Eccleſiæq; & ſedis Apoſtolicæ tutelam ac patrocinium ſuſcipiendum, memoriæque ſuccurrunt innumeræ rationes à me adductæ, ut Regiam Majeſtatem, quæ Cæſari tenaciſſime inhærebat, adducerem, ad S. D. N. defenſionem, rerumq; Italicarum tutelam amplectendam, ac inter omnes allegatas rationes, nulla fuit validior aut vehementior, vel quæ Regiæ Majeſtatis pectus magis permoveret, quam intima ſecuritas, perfectaque conſtantia, quam ei aſſidue indeſinenterq; inſinuavi de ejus Sanctitatis vera optimaq; & flagrans correſpondentia in amore perpetuo indiſſolubiliq; amicitia, animo & voluntate, petitionibus ſemper ſuæ R. Majeſt. & deſideriis concedendis, quod

Eccleſiæ

Eccleſiæ Theſaurus & Autoritas ejus Sanctitati Chriſti Vicario conceſſa permittit, vel quoad ſe extendit, ſeu poſſit extendere; ſuper idq; omnia uberrime promiſi, meam etiam ſalutem, fidem, honorem animamque adſtringens, quod omnia ex ipſius Regiæ Majeſtatis votis, in omne tempus præſtarentur, abſq; ulla prorſus occaſione aut ſcrupulo, ab hujuſmodi indulgendis petitionibus digrediendi, adeo quod Regia Majeſtas, ex hoc meo aſſeveranti relatu, hunc propenſum S. D. N. in ſe animum perſpiciens, mihique ejus Sanctitatis nomine, veluti Legato, & ſedis Apoſtolicæ membro loquenti, firmam, certamq; fidem adhibens, periculis omnibus poſthabitis, laboribus ſumptibuſq; ſpretis, nullaq; ſui Regni aut ſubditorum habita ratione, animum adfixit, prorſuſq; ſtatutum & decretum in omnibus ſe adjungere, atque perpetuo & conſtanter cum S. D. N. in affectu concurrere, in eoq; certum habeo velle decreviſſeque perſtare, ad mortem uſque, niſi forſan ex eventibus, longe diverſis à meo promiſſo & ejus expectatione, occaſio ſubminiſtretur ſuam Regiam Majeſtatem ab hoc animi ſui decreto amovendi. Id ſi illi accideret (quod avertat Deus) merito mihi poſſet adſcribere perfidiam, levitatem, violationemque promiſſionis, quo caſu quid mox officii aut miniſterii poſſem Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro præſtare, aut quæ fides in Eccleſiæ rebus mihi haberetur, ſingulari ejus Sanctitatis prudentiæ judicandum relinquo: nunquam enim meo in arbitrio poſthac eſſet, quicquam alicujus momenti hinc efficere, in ejus Sanctitatis commodum, hac nunc in re Regiæ Majeſtatis concepta ſpe, aut expectatione fruſtrata.

Eſt ſecundo accurate conſiderandum quantopere hoc negotium Regiæ Majeſtati interſit, & quanti ſit momenti, unde namque, præter Conſcientiæ Regiæ exonerationem, omnis quoque Regiæ lineæ, & ſtemmatis continuatio pendet; huic adnectitur totius Regni fœlicitas, vel excidium, hic ſecuritas & ſalus eorum conſiſtit, qui ſub Regis ſunt Imperio, & qui ullo unquam tempore naſcentur in ejus Regno, qua ex re oriri poteſt occaſio, & fomes tranquillitatis perpetuæ, aut diſcordiæ belliq; atrociſſimi in univerſum Chriſtianum Orbem, quæ omnia majoris ſunt momenti & vigilantius proſpicienda quam cujuſq; Principis vel Principiſſæ gratia, favor & expectatio.

Tertio, Cauſa ex ſe eſt hujuſmodi ut in animam meam ſpondere auſim, ejus conceſſionem, futuram non ſolum in conſcientiæ, honoriſq; Pontificis exonerationem coram Deo & hominibus, ſed in Cœlis quoq; gratam, acceptamque extituram: In hac deinde re ſecreta inſunt nonnulla, ſecreto S. D. N. exponenda, & non credenda literis, quas ob cauſas, morboſq; nonnullos, quibus abſq; remedio Regina laborat, & ob animi etiam conceptum ſcrupulum, Regia Majeſtas nec poteſt, nec vult ullo unquam poſthac tempore, ea uti, vel ut Uxorem admittere, quodcunque advenerit. Non exigua præterea habenda eſt ratio eorum, quæ aliis meis literis continentur, concernentia, quæ pro ingenti Theſauro S. D. N. habere queat, tam certam Regiæ Majeſtatis amicitiam, cum ejus Sanctitate conſtantiſſime conjunctam futuram in proſperis & adverſis, in quas etiam partes amicos ſuos omnes pertraxit, & aſſidue pertrahit: ad Eccleſiæ defenſionem, Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri conſervationem, cauſas omnes ſuas & actiones dirigens; poſſentq; hi omnes, Regia Majeſtate deficiente, in contrarium verti, &, ut vera loquar, nullum Principem video in quo S. D. N. poſſit, quam in Regia Majeſtate plenius aut perfectius confidere, vel cujus medio Apoſtolicæ ſedis ſtatus in pri-

ſtinam ſuam dignitatem queat certius reſtitui, cum abſq; ejus ſubſidio, niſi ſolus Deus ex immenſa ſua bonitate manum citiſſime apponat, omnino imminutus iri videatur. Quod ſi Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter nunc (quod abſit) in his Regiis petitionibus durum ſe, aut difficilem ſe exhibuerit, mihi certe moleſtiſſimum eſt futurum vivere diutius, ob innumera mala, quæ inde ſubſecutura videntur, hoc præſertim firmo, tutoq; Regio ſubſidio tam ingrate abjecto; hocq; ſolum, & certum, & ſalubre remedium videtur tantæ corrigendæ calamitati ſupereſſe, quo neglecto omnia corruant neceſſe eſt. Hac autem in re S. D. N. ſua erga Regiam Majeſtatem animi gratitudine comprobata, poterit de illius amicitia & conjunctione quæcunque volet ſibi polliceri, adverſus eos omnes, qui ejus Autoritatem aut dignitatem voluerint oppugnare. Tandem his cauſis rationibuſq; omnibus in unum congeſtis, mecum ipſe reputans, quam multa graviſſimi momenti in hujus conjugii Diſſolutione occurrant, in tanta æquitate juſtoq; fundamento poſita, ob quæ hæc Diſſolutio nec poſſit abſq; graviſſimo detrimento, nec debeat diutius protrahi aut intermitti; videns quoq; quid allegari poſſit & allegabitur omnino ad Regiæ Majeſtatis conſcientiam coram Deo purgandam, etiamſi id à S. D. N. neutiquam admittatur, quæ in hujuſmodi allegationibus conſiſtit, vereor ne in tanta rerum extremitate conſtituta, potius quam ingentia mala, quæ hinc apertiſſime imminent, ſuccedant, dicta Regia Majeſtas ex duobus malis minus malum eligat, & ſoli ſuæ puræq; conſcientiæ innitens, id agat, quod nunc tam reverenter à Sedis Apoſtolicæ Authoritate exigit, unde Sedis contemptus indies gravior excreſceret, hoc præſertim tempore admodum periculoſo: quæ omnia ſunt à S. D. N. ſumma ſua prudentia alte conſideranda, nullo prorſus dubio aut difficultate in re tam gravi mature concedenda interjecta; nec eam retardare debet cujuſquam mortalis inſtantia, contemplatio vel ſatisfactio, præſertim quum in multis aliis rebus, forſan non tam manifeſtis & apparentibus, Sanctitas ſua liberalem, facilemq; erga alios ſe ſæpe præſtiterit; cui humillima reverentia præmiſſa meo nomine dicetis, quod hæc loquor tanquam fidele, utcunq; Eccleſiæ indignum membrum, omnia excogitans quæ poſſent in Eccleſiæ augmentum & exiſtimationem cedere, ea etiam admovens & conſulens ut evitentur, quæ ceſſura videantur in contrarium. Quocirca Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro affirmabitis, quod præmiſſis omnibus tam maximi momenti exiſtentibus probe conſideratis, non veluti Mediator aut Interceſſor, ob privatum illum affectum quem Regiæ Majeſtatis cauſis, ut mei juris eſt, promovendis gero, ſed tanquam is qui in re tanta & ex tam certa ſcientia & cognitione, velim Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro ſuadere, ut quod nunc petitur omnino concedat, idq; ſuaderem etiam ſi in hoc Regnum nunquam veniſſem, neque hic commune quicquam haberem; rogoque, precor, & obteſtor ejus Sanctitatem, ut omni dubio, reſpectu, metuque depoſito, nullo pacto neget aut differat ea concedere aut adnuere, quæ Regia Majeſtas urgentiſſimas ob cauſas tanta nunc animi ſollicitudine expoſcit; ſed his potius benignius liberaliterq; adnuat, & omnia concedere non gravetur in pleniorem modum qui hujus rei gratia poſſit excogitari, compertiſſimumque ſibi ſua Sanctitas habeat, ſe id affecturum, quod coram Deo & hominibus juſtum omnino habebitur, arctiſſimeque Regiam Majeſtatem devinciet ad ſuæ Sanctitatis, Eccleſiæ Apoſtolicæque Sedis, cauſaſque omnes pro viribus juvandas protegendaſque, nec ea in re, ulli labori, ſumptui,

Regio

Regno vel Subditis parcet, nec (ſi opus fuerit) propriam Perſonam exponere recuſabit, in ea opinione conſtantiſſime permanſura, in eandemque ſententiam Gallorum Regem & alios confœderatos attrahet, tum pro ſuæ Sanctitatis & Cardinalium liberatione, tum pro ſedis Apoſtolicæ Auroritatis & dignitatis reſtitutione; & præterquam quum dicta Sanctitas mei humillimæ ſuæ Creaturæ fidem & exiſtimationem conſervabit, quo in omnem eventum & neceſſitatem ea poſſim hic facilius commodiuſque tractare quæ in Eccleſiæ commodum, beneficium & ſecuritatem ceſſura videbuntur, in quæ officia omnem meam induſtriam, zelum, ſtudiumque adhibebo, hunc quoque Sereniſſimum Regem in perpetuum ſibi lucrifaciet. Quod ſi harum rerum rationem non habuerit, vereor ne ſit futurum in mea poteſtate, ut ullo modo hanc Regiam Majeſtatem vel alium ullum Principem ad ea adducam, quæ Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro ſolatio aut ſubſidio eſſe poſſunt. Sed confido ab ipſius Sanctitate tantam malorum occaſionem ſublatam iri, gratiſſimo, benigniſſimo, liberrimoque animo, omnia ut petuntur conceſſuram eſſe, nullo objecto impedimento, contradictione aut mora.

Rome *Jan.* 20. 1528.

XII. Staphileus's *Letter to the Cardinal, that ſhews how much he was perſwaded of the juſtice of the King's Cauſe. The Original.*

REverendiſſime & Illuſtriſſime Domine D. mihi colendiſſime, poſt humillimam commendationem D. V. Reverend. dignabitur intelligere qualiter quintadecima die poſt receſſum noſtrum à Londino conſcendimus navem, retenti interim in portu ob tempeſtatem Maris & contrarios ventos: interim in itinere fui cum Reverendo Domino Roffen. & diſputavimus materiam multum, copioſe, & ſatis prolixe, in præſentia Domini Doctoris Marmeduci, qui intellexit omnia ex utraq; parte ab utroque dicta & ſæpius replicata; penes quem autem ſteterit victoria, vel ſaltem, uter noſtrum validius certaverit, D. V. Reverend. percipiet ex fideli relatione præfati D. Marmeduci. Unum certifico D. V. Reverend. quod pro uno mediocri Epiſcopatu deſideraſſem quod huic noſtræ Diſputationi interfuiſſet Sereniſſimus Rex noſter & D. V. & Regina, pro intelligentia veritatis & pro modo diſputandi: etenim commendo humiliter D. V. Reverend. iſtum bonum virum, bonum ſervitorem ac diligentem Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtatis & D. V. Reverendiſſ. Quibus me quoq; humillimum ac ex toto devotiſſimum eorum ſervum quam humillime poſſum, ex toto corde meo ſemper commendo, præſtiturus utriq; fideliſſ. & amantiſſ. obſequium in rebus & negotiis mihi commiſſis & committendis. Bene valeat D. V. Reverendiſſ. quæ dignabitur tenere me ſemper in bona gratia Sereniſſimi Regis noſtri, qui eſt decus & ornamentum Regiæ dignitatis. Ex Bononia 20. Jan. 1528.

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

D. V. Reverendiſſ.

Humillimus Servitor, Epiſcopus Staphileus.

The

Ad Campegium, 1528.

XIII. *The Cardinal's Letter to* Campegius, *taken from the Draught of it; Corrected with his own hand.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 10. REverendiſſime in Chriſto Pater, grata ſemper huic Regiæ Majeſtati extiterunt Veſtræ Reverend. Dominat. officia, ſed gratiſſimum omnium illud fuit, quod tanta fide & ſedulitate in ipſius promovenda cauſa ab ea fuiſſe præſtitum ex Reverendi Domini Jerdonen. ſermone cognovit: quam optimi amoris ſignificationem toto pectore amplexatur, juſſitq; ut ſuis nominibus ingentes veſtræ Reverendiſſime D. gratias haberemus: Cui ego eo quoq; nomine maxime quoque me debere fatear, nulla enim in re magis obnoxium me ſibi poteſt efficere, quam ſi totis ſuis viribus, omni gratia & Authoritate adnitatur, quo negotium hoc ex Regiæ Majeſtatis ſententia quam citiſſime conficiatur; hujuſmodi enim eſt ut nullum gravius poſſit accidere, dilationem nullam patitur, utpote quod totius hujus Regni conſervationem, Regiæ ſobolis continuationem & ejus animi ſalutem in ſe contineat: cauſa quidem manifeſtior eſt quam diſputatione egeat, & ſanctior quam debeat in controverſiam adduci, hanc unam gratiam & nunc primum à Sede Apoſtolica votis omnibus petit, & eam tum ex rei juſtitia, tum ex ſua in S. D. N. filiali devotione, ſpem concepit, ut nullo pacto ſibi perſuadeat unquam fieri poſſe ut ſua expectatione fruſtretur, quam ſit veſtræ R. D. opera ac pio patrocinio maxime poſſe juvari.

Iterum igitur atq; iterum Reverendiſſimam D. veſtram obſecro, ut poſtquam recenti & claro hoc teſtimonio purgavit quicquid antea in Regiam Majeſtatem fide ſiniſtre fuerit ad nos delatum, & noſtrum animum ſibi totum devinxit, non gravetur nunc ſtrenue in hoc Regio promovendo negotio ad optatum uſque finem perſeverare, quod ita cor noſtrum premit, ut vel proprio ſanguine id vellemus poſſe à S. D. N. impetrare. Cætera, veſtra Reverendiſſima D. uberius ac diſtinctius cognoſcet ex Reverendo Domino Epiſcopo Jerdonenſi, & ex Domino Stephano Gardinero intimo meo ſervo, & Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiari, quibus rogo ut certiſſimam in omnibus fidem velit habere. Et fœliciſſime valeat.

Maii 7. 1528.

XIV. *The Cardinal's Letter to* G. Caſſali, *deſiring a Decretal Bull to be ſent over. A Duplicate.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10. MAgnifice Domine Gregori, &c. Ingentem Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas & ego lætitiam concepimus, quum tum ex Domini Stephani literis, tum vero ex Domini Foxi relatu cognovimus, quanta fide, induſtria, ac vigilantia uſi ſitis in ejuſdem Regiæ Majeſtatis conficiendo negotio, quem veſtrum animum, etſi ſæpe antea arduis in rebus exploratiſſimum certiſſimumq; haberemus, hoc tamen tam claro teſtimonio nihil [illegible] vobis

vobis omissum perspicimus, quod votum nostrum utcunq; juvare potuisset. Cæterum quum nonnulla adhuc meo aliorumq; Doctiss. virorum judicio superesse videantur, ad Regiæ Majestatis causam securissime stabiliendam finendamque de quibus ad D. Stephanum in præsentia perscribo; Vos iterum atq; iterum rogo, ut de illis impetrandis apud S. D. N. una cum Domino Stephano vestram gratiam & Authoritatem, quam apud ejus Sanctitatem maximam esse & audio & gaudeo, pro viribus interponatis, maxime autem ut in Commissione illa Decretali à S. D. N. nullis Arbitris seu consultoribus admissis concedenda, & secreto ad me mittenda, omnes vires ingenii, prudentiæ diligentiæq; vestræ adhibeatis, affirmabitisq; & in salutem animamq; meam eidem S. D. N. spondetis, quod dictam Bullam secretissime nullis mortalium oculis conspiciendam apud me asservabo, tanta fide & cautione, ut ne minimum quidem ex ea re periculum, vel periculi metum ejus Sanctitas sit sensura; non enim eo consilio aut animo eam Commissionem impetrari tam vehementer cupio, ut vell illius vigore ullus processus aut aliud præterea quicquid ageretur, vel eadem publice privatimve legere illa ulli exhiberetur, sed ut hac quasi arrha & pignore summæ paternæque S. D. N. erga Regiam Majestatem benevolentiæ apud me depositio, quum videat nihil illi denegaturum quod petiverit, perspiciatq; tantum fidei ejus Sanctitatem in me reposuisse, sic mea apud dictam Majestatem augeatur Authoritas, ut quanquam vires omnes suas opesq; Apostolicæ Sedis conservationi & in pristinum statum reparationi sic sponte dicaverit, me tamen suasore & consultore omnia in posterum, & in sanguinis effusionem sit concessura & effectura, quæ in ejusdem Sedis & suæ Beatitudinis securitatem, tranquillitatem & commodum, quaquam ratione cedere poterunt.

XV. *The Brieve of Pope* Julius *for the King's Marriage; suspected to be forged.*

Julius Papa Secundus. Dilecte Fili & dilecta in Christo Filia, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Authoritas concessa sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout (personarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate pensata) id in Domino conspicit expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestra petitionis series continebat, quod cum alias tu Filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus Carissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis illustrissimus primogenitus, pro conservandis pacis & amicitiæ nexibus & fœderibus inter præfatum Angliæ Regem, & Carissimum in Christo Filium nostrum Ferdinandum Regem, & Carissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Elizabeth. Reginam Catholicos Hispaniarum & Siciliæ, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præsenti contraxeritis, *illudque carnali copula consummaveritis*, quia tamen Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujusmodi Matrimonio non suscepta, decessit, & hujusmodi vinculum pacis & concordiæ inter præfatos Reges & Reginam ita firmiter verisimiliter non duraret, nisi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo consoveretur & corroboraretur, ex his & certis aliis causis, desideratis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præsenti contrahere: Sed quia desiderium vestrum

Caton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 12.

vestrum in præmissis adimplere non potestis, Dispensatione Apostolica desuper non obtenta, nobis propterea humiliter supplicari fecistis, ut vobis providere in præmissis de Dispensationis gratia & benignitate Apostolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter singulos Christi fideles, præsertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, pacis & concordiæ amœnitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, his & aliis causis animum nostrum moventibus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut alio impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente non obstante Matrimonium inter vos contrahere, & in eo postquam contractum fuerit, remanere, libere & licite valeatis, Authoritate Apostolica per præsentes Dispensamus; & quatenus forsan jam Matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel clandestine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula consummaveritis, vos & quemlibet vestrum ab excessu hujusmodi, ac Excommunicationis sententia quam propterea incurristis, eadem Authoritate absolvimus, ac etiam vobiscum ut in hujusmodi Matrimonio sic de facto contracto remanere, seu illud de novo contrahere, inter vos libere & licite valeatis, similiter Dispensamus, prolem ex hujusmodi Matrimonio sive contracto sive contrahendo suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Volumus autem, si hujusmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxistis, Confessor, per vos & quemlibet vestrum eligendus, pœnitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die 26. Decemb. millesimo quingentesimo tertio, Pont. nostri Anno primo.

Sigismundus.

XVI. *A part of the Cardinal's Letter to* G. Cassali, *desiring him to shew the Decretal Bull to some of the King's Council. A Duplicate.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10. ILlud igitur video maxime necessarium superesse ut Decretalis Bulla, quam Reverendissimus Dominus Legatus secum defert, secreto legenda exhibeatur nonnullis ex Regis Consultoribus, eo quidem consilio, non ut in judicium proferatur, vel ad causam definiendam adhibeatur, sed solum ut perspicientes illi, quorum prudentia & Autoritas non parva est, nihil a me fuisse omissum, quod causam Regis possit secundam reddere, omniaq; fuisse a S. D. N. concessa, quæ in causæ firmamentum ullo pacto queant excogitari facilius, ubi Regiæ Majestatis secreta, Regni quies, & perpetuo totius rei stabilimento undiq; consultum viderint, in sententiam nostram deveniant, summaq; cum diligentia in Autoritate Apostolica ad Dei gloriam conjuncta rectissime absolvatur. Proinde, Domine Gregori, iterum atq; iterum vos impense rogo, quod ad S. D. N. genua devoluti ejus Beatitudinem meo nomine de secretis, ut hoc reliquum meæ fidei meæq; dexteritati de Bulla Decretis ostendenda committere velit, quam rem sic moderabor, ut nullum periculum, nullum damnum, nullum odium queat unquam sibi, Sedi Apostolicæ provenire; hoc eq; tam instanter precor, ut pro salute conservanda petere queam ardentius nihil.

Reverendissimus

XVII. John Cassali's *Letter about a Conference he had with the Pope. An Original.*

Reverendissime ac illustrissime Domini D. mi Colendissime, &c.

QUum Tabellarius D. Vestræ Reverendissimæ cum ejus mandatis literisq; die 2. Novemb. datis Bononiam ad Equitem fratrem pervenisset, neq; ipse tunc posset præ debilitate properatis itineribus Romam venire, ne ad eam rem longioris temporis moram interponeret, misit per dispositos equos D. Vincentium Cassalium fratrem nostrum patruelem, volens ipsum statim subsequi; venit igitur D. Vincentius Cassalius. At ego vestræ Dominationis Reverendissimæ literis lectis ac perpensis, S.D.N. adivi, & ea quæ D. V. Reverendissima scripserat, diligenter ejus Sanctitati exposui, ipsasq; etiam literas recitavi, quæ prudentissime & efficacissime omnia explicabant. Atq; hujusmodi verbis sum loquutus. *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell.* B. 10.

Non locus hic nec tempus postulat, Beatissime Pater, ut ego nunc commemorem, quanto amore, quanto animi affectu, quibusq; officiis illa Regia Majestas Apostolicam Sedem Sanctitatemq; Vestram sit ubique omni tempore prosecuta, quantaq; observantia & fide Reverendissimus Dominus Eboracen. semper coluerit; nec recensendum hic videtur, quot labores, quot incommoda subiverint, quæ officia, quas multoties impensas effecerint, quærentes Ecclesiasticum statum, Christianam Religionem, & Catholicam Fidem protegere ac conservare: nec vestra Sanctitas ignorare debet, quibus laboribus, quantis precibus, quot tabellariis, quot oratoribus missis, quot non dicam literis, sed voluminibus conscriptis, post multa insuper Jurisperitorum consilia, tum ex Anglia allata, tum hic etiam formata, fuerit tandem à vestra Sanctitate impetratum, ut res eo, quo fuit pacto, componeretur: Qua ratione Regiæ Majestatis desiderio indulgebatur, & Beatitudinis vestræ honori ac conscientiæ, justitiæq; & æquitati consulebatur: At nunc Sanctitas Vestra animadvertit illos, præter omnium nostrum spem & opinionem, omni auxilio penitus esse destitutos: Reverendiss. Campegius non modo non ostendit, se adeo urgentibus precibus Serenissimi Regis obtemperare velle, sed ut primum ad Colloquium venit, rem totam pervertit, Regiam Majestatem à Divortio dissuasit, perinde ac si ei Legatio demandata fuerit, ut Serenissimo Regi ex parte Reginæ persuadere debeat, ut se à Divortio abstineat, adeo ut non possit Regia Majestas stimulum hunc Conscientiæ suo pectore evellere, semperque in ea mentis perturbatione illi sit commorandum, ut omnibus horis cogitet successorem sui Reghi ex suo semine defuturum. Neq; adhuc Reverendissimus Campegius ullam significationem dedit, velle se ad id exequendum descendere, quod esset illa generali Commissione continetur; verum, quod pejus etiam est, quum multis precibus Bulla Decretalis in hac causa Regia impetrata esset, promiserit; Vestra Sanctitas se permissurum ut Serenissimo Regi Reverendiss. D. Eboracen. ostenderetur, & eorum manibus crederetur, quam ipsi aliquibus ex Secretissimis Consiliariis ostenderent, ut Serenissimus Rex de totius negotii æquitate instructior fieret, noluit Reverendissimus Campegius eam credere Serenissimo Regi, aut Reverendis-

simo Domino Eboracen. suo in ea causa Collegæ. Cur autem velit Vestra Sanctitas Regiam Majestatem in eam spem adduxisse, ut deinde hoc pacto illam frustretur ac deludat. Tunc S. D. N. injecta in meum brachium manu, me ulterius loqui prohibuit, se ira accensum non abscondens, dixit, non parum sibi de D. V. Reverendissima conquerendum esse, atque sub ejus fide se deceptum esse; Bullam Decretalem dedisse, ut eatum Regi ostenderetur, concremareturq; statim: ad hoc me (inquit) multis ille magnisque precibus protraxit, ostendens, si id non daretur, manifestum suæ saluti ruinam impendere; nunc autem eam Bullam quæ debuit esse Secretissima, vult divulgare, neque unquam se prorsus concessurum ut Consiliariis ostendatur: literas (inquit) ipsas Reverendissimi Eboracen. proferre possum, quibus id tantum, quod dixi, peto, & ipsum Equitem Cassalium testem volo, quod Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus & ipse nil aliud à me postulaverunt, nec si postulassent, quamquam amplius obtinuissent; atq; utinam aliter rem petissent, eam namq; facile denegassem, nec ad hanc pœnitentiam veniissem; ex qua vel unius digiti jactura (modo fieri possit) quod factum fuit revocarem, video enim quantum mali ex eo mihi subeundum sit. Quum S. D. N. hæc & similia contra suum morem dixisset, ego in eam sententiam subsequutus, sciendum esse, quod D. V. Reverendissima petit, non esse ab eo, quod ejus Sanctitas constitutum fuisse dicit alienum, nec D. V. Reverendissima hanc rem divulgari velle, aut secundum eam Bullam sententiam ferri. Cæterum Regiæ Majestati & sibi tradi, ut possent aliquibus fidelioribus cariorib usq; Consiliariis ostendere, ut ipsi de re tota fiant instructiores, quod perinde arcanum erit, ac si in nullius notitiam deveniisset. At nos (inquam) Sanctitas vestra plerosq; habet quibus quum aliquid arcani crediderit, putet id non minus celatum esse, quam si uno tantum pectore contineretur, quod multo magis Sereniissimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui singuli in suo Regno sunt subjecti, neque etiamsi velint, possunt non esse fidelissimi: Væ namq; illis si vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent. Quid hoc præterea obesse potest? an non sic pertum, sic constitutum fuit? quæ ratio Sanctitatem Vestram propositum mutare cogit? Ibi Pontifex iracundus, & concitatior etiam quam paulo ante: Haud (inquit) ita fuit constitutum, nec me latet, quid de ea Bulla facere cogitent, & cujusmodi ex eo mihi damnum redundaturum sit; firmum igitur illud habeatis, me decrevisse, neque sententiam mutaturum, neq; quicquam amplius hac in re permittere. At ego, nolit (quæso) vestra Sanctitas sic ex certa animi sententia loqui, ac potius in his literis Reverendissimi Domini Eboracen. consideret damna, ruinas, hæreses, quæ Vestræ Sanctitatis culpa in illo Regno orirentur: Regia enim Majestas male à Vestra Beatitudine tractata, injuria, & ignominia affecta, illum & voluntatem, quam semper optimam in Sedem Apostolicam habuit in contrariam partem convertere posset, hoc est Dominationi Vestræ pectore considerandum. Esto quod de hujus negotii æquitate disputum non sit, concedamus etiam hanc rem malam, & mali exempli ram (quod quidem secus esse judicaverunt omnes) an non Vestra Sanctitas novit pleraq; quæ non bona sunt, preferri nonnunquam à solere, ne pejora patiamur; atque hoc tum aliis in rebus, tum imprimis hæresium evitandarum causa providendum est, quas videmus, quum mel altiores radices egerint, non posse amplius extirpari: atq; ibi ad us pedes genibus flexis, eam precibus omnibus sum obtestatus, ut amici-

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tam potentiſſimi Regis conſervare, obſervantiam Dominationis Veſtræ Reverendiſſimæ erga ejus Sanctitatem, noſtramq; ſervitutem reſpicere vellet; relicta namque Regiæ Majeſtatis amicitia, religionis imminutio ſubſequeretur, & Regni illius à tam antiqua cum ſede Apoſtolica conjunctione diſſolutio, ac Dominationis Veſtræ Reverendiſſimæ gratia & Autoritas apud Sereniſſ. Regem non ſuo merito deficeret, ejuſq; fortaſſe ſalus periclitaretur; Nos autem qui ſemper Beatitudini Veſtræ inſervivimus, pro qua tot bonis officiis functi ſumus, & tantum operæ perfecimus, ad integram amicitiam inter Regiam Majeſtatem & Veſtram Sanctitatem conſervandam, in medio noſtrarum actionum, Regni illius damna & calamitatem, Noſtramq; certiſſimam ruinam conſpiceremus. Ad hæc S. D. N. & brachiorum & totius corporis agitatione, animum commotum oſtendens, volo (inquit) ego ruinam, quæ mihi modo immineat, conſiderare, & idipſum quod feci valde me angit; Si hæreſes, vel alia mala oritura ſunt, quænam in eo mea culpa erit? ſatis meæ conſcientiæ fuerit me vacaſſe culpa, cui eſſem obnoxius, ſi hoc etiam quod nunc ex me petitur concederem: Nec Reverendiſſimus Dominus Eboracenſis, nec vos ullam cauſam de me conquerendi habetis, quicquid nunc pollicitus ſum præſtiti, neq; aliud unquam, etſi mihi faciendi eſſet facultas Regia Majeſtas & Reverendiſſimus Dominus Eboracen. à me petierunt, quod non promptiſſime conceſſerim, ut quiſque facile intelligat, quanti eas ſemper fecerim; ad aliqua etiam Veſtri cauſa faciliorem me præbui. Cæterum ubi vertitur meæ conſcientiæ integritas, omnia poſthabenda cenſeo, agant per ſe ipſi quod volunt, Legatum remittant eo prætextu, quod in cauſam ulterius procedi nolint, & deinceps ut ipſi volent rem conficiant, modo ne me autore injuſte quicquam agatur. Tunc ego, Nonne Veſtra Sanctitas vult, ut ex vigore Commiſſionis procedatur? quod quum velle affirmaſſet, dixi, igitur Reverendiſſimus Campegius Sanctitatis Veſtræ Voluntati adverſatur, Divortium enim Regi diſſuaſit; At Pontifex Ego (inquit) illi impoſui, ut Divortium Regi diſſuaderet, perſuaderet Reginæ; quod autem ad Commiſſionem pertinet, ſi requiratur, exequetur. Sumus ergo (inquam) concordes, Beatiſſime Pater, quod quum ita ſit, quid nocere poterit Decretalem Bullam aliquibus ſecretiſſimis ac juramento adactis Conſiliariis oſtendiſſe? Tum quaſſans caput, Scio (inquit) quid de ea facere conſtituant, verum nondum Campegii literas ex Anglia legi, quapropter die craſtino ad me redibitis. Hoc pacto S. D. N. primo die me dimiſit. Adfuit his ſermonibus Dominus Vincentius Caſſalius, quem ob equitem fratrem huc miſſum dixi, qui equitem ipſum excuſavit, quod quamvis ille animadverteret negotium hoc tanti momenti eſſe, ut etiam cum vitæ diſcrimine Romam per diſpoſitos equos ſibi properandum eſſe videret, nihilominus ſuperſediſſe videns quod ſi id feciſſet neceſſe ſibi futurum domi, & in lectulo, permanere potius, quam de re tanta coram ejus Sanctitate agere. Atque interim Dominus Vincentius multas rationes ad perſuadendum, equitis Caſſalii nomine adhibuit, quas eodem pacto ejus Sanctitas in ſequentem diem rejecit.

Poſtridie ejus diei ſignatura habita eſt, cui ego tanquam referendarius interfui, in veſperumq; eſt protracta, nec judicavi opportunum Pontificem ſignaturæ munere defeſſum aggredi, quum præſertim ejus Sanctitas diceret ſe nondum Campegii literas perlegiſſe. Res igitur iterum in diem proximum rejecta fuit, quo poſtea horam commodam nactus, Pontificem

adivi, quumque omnium Capitum, quæ D. V. Reverendiſſimæ literis continebantur, quaſi ſummam effeciſſem, ne quicquam per oblivionem præterirem, ab ea primum parte cœpi, in qua dicitur ſuam Sanctitatem conceſſiſſe Commiſſionem generalem in ampliſſima forma, & promiſſe ferendam ſententiam, ſe ratificaturum. Pontifex hoc verum eſſe affirmavit, dicens ſe contentum eſſe, ut ad ſententiam procedatur; Quæ vero parte eſt, ejus ſanctitatem Bullam Decretalem conceſſiſſe, ut ſecretiores Regiæ Majeſtatis conſiliarios inſtrueret, id à veritate longe remotum dixit, poſſeq; ad id ſe literas D. V. Reverendiſſimæ oſtendere: Atque ea repetivit, quæ priore die ſuper hoc dixerat, viz. Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum & Equitem Caſſalium ſe teſtes habere, hanc Bullam non ea conditione petitam fuiſſe ut oſtenderetur cuiquam, præterquam Sereniſſimo Regi & D. V. Reverendiſſimæ, & Campegium nunc ad ſe ſcribere tantundem effeciſſe, quo facto ex conventione Bullam comburi deberi promiſſurum quoque ſe dixit, ut ſi quæ allegantur, probentur, ad ſententiam ferendam procedatur, ſe id ratum habiturum. Quumque ego quæſiſſem an vellet, quæ fierent per eam Bullam comprobare, minime id oportere dixit; negavit quoque eam conſiliariis oſtendendam eſſe, qui tametſi rem bonam non judicarent, approbarent tamen ſuper ea Sanctitatis Conſcientiam; ac ſæpius interim repetivit, non eſſe amplius in ea re commorandum. Ad aliam igitur partem deveni, in qua D. V. Reverendiſſima dicit, Reverendiſſimum Campegium Divortium inter Regem Sereniſſimum & Reginam conatum diſſuadere: Tum Pontifex Campegium ſcribere dixit, eo ſe etiam functurum officio, ut Reginæ Divortium perſuaderet, quam ab eo alienam invenerit; modeſte tamen eum ait, locutam fuiſſe, & Conſiliarios petiiſſe, qui ex Hiſpania denegati fuerint, ex Flandria autem conceſſi. Dixit etiam S. D. N. ſe literas ad Regem, Reverendiſſimo Campegio ex ſuo Chirographo dediſſe, ut Regia Majeſtas fidem his haberet, quæ Reverendiſſimus Campegius ex Sanctitatis nomine diceret. Ad illam deinde partem deveni, ubi de Cauſam Regis perinde differt, ac ſi nolit ad judicium, ſententiamque in partem ſuæ Majeſtatis ferendam deſcendere, donec S. D. N. certiorem prius effecerit, de his ad hanc cauſam concernentibus, quæ ibi vidit & audivit. Ad hæc reſpondit, Campegium quandocunq; requiſitus fuerit, proceſſurum, neq; de ſuperſedendo Commiſſionem habere; ſe tantum injunxiſſe, ut quum procedi cœptum eſſet, ſe certiorem faceret, ut tamen interim moræ aliquid interponeretur. At ubi eſt, nullo pacto adduci vult, ut mihi ſuo Collegæ Commiſſionem hanc Decretalem credat. Dixit verum id eſſe, ideo factum ne pluribus palam fieret, eaque conditione qua petitum fuit, oſtenſam nequicquam amplius expectandum, ea repetens, quæ prius etiam circa hoc dixerat. At ego, videat Sanctitas veſtra quod ex his verbis, quæ hic ſcripta ſunt loquor, quæ dicunt Sanctitatem veſtram Commiſſionem Decretalem conceſſiſſe, ea conditione ut aliquibus Regiis Conſiliariis oſtenderetur. Tum Pontifex iterum excandeſcens; Oſtendam (inquit) literas ipſius Reverendiſſimi Eboracen. nec loquor mendacia, & non minus meis verbis, literiſq; prioribus Reverendiſſimi Eboracen. fides eſt habenda quam his quas nunc affert. Tum ejus Sanctitatem mitigari quæſivi, ſi minus urgenter mandata exquerer, quoniam id à me fieri oportet. Quod ad Regni ruinas, damna, calamitates, ſcandala, & diminutionem Religionis, multa in eandem ſententiam dixit, in quam primo die locutus fuit; quum diceret, Egregium

vero decus Sereniſſimo huic Regi fuerit, ſi ipſe, qui Fidei Defenſor & ſit & appelletur, qui libros etiam pro ejus defenſione ediderit, eandem quae impugnare cogatur; Ad hæc quam recte ſint venturi, viderint ipſi. Eo autem loco, in quo dicebatur aliquid de Regio negotio, inter Generalem Fratrum de obſervantia, & ejus Sanctitatem conveniſſe, & eo autore fœdus inter ejus Sanctitatem & Cæſarianos componendum, Dixit, id oſtendere, quod de Regio negotio nihil promiſerit, quod quicunq; pollicitus ſit, & quin poterit habita ratione ſuæ conſcientiæ, re ipſa præſtare velit: In eo autem quod de Pace tractanda affertur, dixit, ſe nullum modum in tali negotio invenire, neq; ſe adhuc ſcire, quod ille Generalis ullas pacis conditiones ſit allaturus; atq; ea inſuper addidit, quæ meis literis die 15 Novemb. datis D. V. Reverendiſſimæ ſignificavi.

Aliis deinde diebus S. D. N. ſæpiſſime ſum alloquutus, qui decrevit cum Reverendiſſimis de Monte & Sanctorum Quatuor Cardinalibus de his rebus omnibus loqui, præterquam de Bulla Decretali, de qua cum nemine vult ullam fieri mentionem, juſſitq; ex omni Scriptura ejus memoriam eximi. De reliquis itaq; rebus omnibus loquutus ſum cum his duobus Cardinalibus qui dixerunt Pontificem contentum fore, ut ad ſententiam procedatur, tametſi id pleriſq; alienum videatur: deque eo nonnulli ex Cardinalibus cum obtrectatione loquuntur, & Cæſaris Orator ne procedatur, proteſtatur, voluntque fieri in Curia Cauſæ advocationem, Commiſſionemq; cum Inhibitione ad partes; dicuntq; hi duo Reverendiſſimi, quod quæ poſtulant illi, juſta ſunt, nec minimo cuiq; denegari poſſent, nolle tamen Regiæ Majeſtatis cauſa S. D. N. quicquam ex eo quod factum ſit, immutare.

Quum alio etiam die Pontificem otioſum nactus eſſem, multa cum ejus Sanctitate, de rebus præteritis diſſerui, deque eo, quod ego ad ejus utilitatem cum Venetis egiſſem, quoniam ſcirem Sereniſſimi Regis, & D. V. Reverendiſſimæ voluntatem eſſe, ut quotieſcunque occaſio daretur, pro ſuæ Sanctitatis commodo omnia fierent: Expoſui deinde quantopere elaboraſſem pro negotio Cerviæ & Ravennæ, utque multa Gallici Oratores egiſſent à D. V. Reverendiſſima potiſſimum inſtigati; Addidi eum efficaciſſima verba, quibus uſus eſt Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus. Ad omnia S. D. M. reſpondit, ſe ea de re Regiæ Majeſtati, & D. V. Reverendiſſimæ gratias habere, & mihi quoque gratias egit; dixitque, non tamen omnes ſimul tantum efficere potuiſſe, ut mihi meæ civitates redderentur. Scitis autem conditiones fœderis in quo ego quoque eram, fuiſſe, ut quum quis noſtrum injuria afficeretur, ab eo cæteri confœderati injuriam propulſarent, quod multo magis pro me faciendum erat, quum qui in ipſo fœdere eſſent, mihi injuriarentur; Et inde Cæſariani volunt mihi perſuadere Venetas non fuiſſe id facturos, ſi putaſſent Regi Angliæ aut Chriſtianiſſimo diſpliciturum: Neque interim deſiſtunt, multa, magnaq; mihi polliceri, unde ego quod alias etiam dixi, id quod affertur, quum aliter facere nequeam, accipere cogar. Illudq; etiam vos ſcire volo promiſſum mihi fuiſſe, ſi legatus ille in Angliam mitteretur, futurum ut mihi civitates à Venetis reſtituerentur. Tum ego, non omnia, Beatiſſime Pater, adhuc ſunt perfecta, Rex enim potentiſſimus omnino operam dabit, ut illæ civitates Beatitudini

dini Veſtræ reſtituantur: An non, quæ ejus Majeſtas ſcribit, Veſtra Sanctitas animadvertit? Cui videndum imprimis eſt, ne de ipſa Sereniſſimo Regi ſit conquerendum; & ex hac occaſione iterum ad Regiam Cauſam redii. At ejus Sanctitas dixit, ſe omnia quæ potuiſſet pro Regia Majeſtate & D. V. Reverendiſſima feciſſe, facturamq; etiam libenter.

Nonne igitur, (inquam) poſſet ratio aliqua inveniri qua concederetur eam Bullam aliquibus ex Secretioribus Conſiliariis oſtendi poſſe? Tum Pontifex, non (inquit) Non poteſt hoc fieri, nec à me impetrari! quod ſi ullo modo fieri potuiſſet, minime tam multas magnaſque preces à Sereniſſimo Rege, & Reverendiſſimo Domino Eboracen. expectaſſem, quumque quibuſdam validis Argumentis inſtarem, prohibuit me ulterius de hujuſmodi re loqui. Nolui ego unquam dicere, equitem fratrem brevi eſſe venturum, ne Pontifex rem in illius adventum protraheret, ea tantum de cauſa, ut moram interponeret.

Omnibus deinde aliis diebus ſuper eodem negotio inſtiti, nunquam tamen Pontifex ſententiam ſuam ulla ex parte immutare voluit; tantum illud decrevit, Nuntium mittere velle, qui ſuam ſententiam verbis explicaret: quumq; nulla mihi amplius ſpes relinqueretur quicquam amplius impetrandi, tum demum dixi, Equitem fratrem Romæ futurum ſequenti die, qui quum adeo gravis momenti rem cerneret, noluerit ſuæ valetudini conſulere, & quod is minime putaſſet, ſuæ ſervitutis in ejus Sanctitatem merita hoc modo male tractanda fuiſſe. Gratum ſibi dixit Pontifex Equitis adventum fore, quodque cum ipſo & conſtitueremus omnia, negans ſe tamen ſe ullo pacto id quod nunc petitur conceſſurum: Venit itaq; Eques frater, qui non ſecus ac ſi nunquam quiſquam de hac re cum Pontifice egiſſet, ſingula de integro tractavit, omnibus his modis & rationibus tentatis quæ excogitari poterunt. Quæ omnia minutim Dominus Vincentius Caſſalius noſter patruelis, quem ad ipſum mittimus, verbis coram explicabat, egoque ne D. V. Reverendiſſimæ jam nimis moleſtus ſim, de hac ulterius non ſcribam.

Quod ad Wintonienſem Expeditionem ſpectat, multum hi Reverendiſſimi Domini Cardinales offendebantur, nunc ab ipſis pecuniarum remiſſiones poſtulari, quum deprædata eorum bona ſint, ipſiq; propterea ad paupertatem redacti. Quibus ego oſtendi, majus emolumentum ad ipſos venturum, ſi D. V. Reverendiſſima unam Eccleſiam acciperet, alteram deponeret, quam ſi alter tantum Wintonienſis Eccleſiæ expeditionem faceret; neque D. V. Reverendiſſimam nimis hanc permutationem optare dixi, quum Wintonienſis non multo Eccleſiæ Dunelmenſi ſit dotior. Ad hæc dixerunt, quod libentius D. V. Reverendiſſimæ quam cuiquam alteri erunt gratificaturi, quoniam ipſa de ſede Apoſtolica ſit ſemper bene merita, non tamen ſe vereri, quin D. V. Reverendiſſima Wintonienſem Eccleſiam illius Regni primariam ſit acceptura. Ego quam Pontificem, & deinde Cardinales eos qui magis rebus noſtris ſtudere ambiſſem, effeci ut Pontifex, de ea re in Conſiſtorio referret, quod ejus Sanctitas effecit, multis etiam additis laudibus D. V. Reverendiſſimæ quibus aliqui Cardinales, & maxime Neapolitani, reſponderunt ea quæ ſuperius dixi. Illud tandem decreverunt, quod quum D. V. Reverendiſſima ſolvere debeat, pro expeditione Wintonienſis Eccleſiæ, & pro retentione Eccleſiæ Eboracenſis & Abbatiæ Sancti Albani, habita ratione totius ſummæ, ejus pars dimidia V. D. Reverendiſſimæ condona-

condonaretur, & ut ad 13 vel 14 millia aureorum remittant, & non multo plus eo, quod pro Wintonien. tum Eccleſia deberet ſolvere. Id Reverendiſſimis Cardinalibus ideo diſplicebat, quoniam nollent res hujuſmodi in exemplum trahi, quum præſertim Magnas Franciæ Cancellarius, ipſe quoque in magna quadam Expeditione, idipſum in præſentia flagitat, quod illi concedere nolunt.

Cætera ex Domino Vincentio D. V. Reverendiſſima copioſius coram intelligat; Quæ bene valeat. Dat. Romæ die 17 Decemb. 1528.

Humillimus ſervus

Jo. Caſſalius

Prothonotar.

XVIII. The Pope's Letter to the Cardinal, giving Credence to *Campana*. An Original.

Dilecto Filio noſtro Thomæ Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracen. In Regno Angliæ, noſtro & Sedis de Latere Legato.

Dilecte Fili noſter, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Exiſtimavimus non tam commode per literas reſponderi poſſe his, de quibus poſtremo Oratores Cariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri iſtius Regis nobiſcum egerunt; Itaq; proprium hominem Franciſcum Campanam familiarem noſtrum iſtuc mittimus, ex quo ſua Serenitas ac Circumſpectio tua plenius intelligent quæ nobis occurrant, tam de rebus ad pacem & publice ad univerſam Chriſtianitatem ſpectantibus, quam ſuper privatis Serenitatis ſuæ, de quibus nobis per literas & Oratores veſtros ſignificaſtis, quas quidem ſummopere cordi habemus. Circumſpectionem tuam hortamur, ut ſibi ac Serenitati ſuæ perſuadeat nos paternam benevolentiam atq; animum geſſiſſe & gerere erga Serenitatem ſuam, ab eodemq; eam ſe proficiſci omnia quæcunq; illi ſignificamus, ut pluribus Circumſpectionem tuam, quam merito multum amamus, exponet Dilect. Fil. Card. Campegius, Legatus una tecum noſter, ac dictus Franciſcus, quibus pleniſſimam fidem habebitis. Datum Romæ 15. Decembris MDXXVIII. *Cotton* Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

J.

Clemens manu propria.

Decemb. 1. 1528.

XIX. *A part of* Peter Vannes *his Inſtructions, directing him to threaten the Pope. An Original.*

AND *Peter*, as of himſelf, ſhall a part ſay unto his Holineſs; Sir, I being an *Italian*, cannot but with a more fervent zeal and mind than any other, ſtudy and deſire the Weal, honour, and Safety

Safety of your Holineſs and the See Apoſtolick; which compelleth me to ſhew unto your Holineſs, frankly, what I ſee in this matter. Surely, Sir, in caſe your Holineſs continuing this particular reſpect of fear of the Emperor, do thus delay, protract, and put off the accompliſhment of the King's ſo inſtant deſire in this Matter, and not impart to his Majeſty therein bounteouſly of the Treaſure and Goods of the Church, and the See Apoſtolick, *quantum poteſtis ex Theſauro Eccleſiæ & ex plenitudine Poteſtatis ac Authoritate à Deo vel ab Eccleſia collata*, I ſee aſſuredly, that it will be a means ſo to alienate the faſt and entire mind which his Highneſs beareth to your ſaid Holineſs, as not only thereby his Grace, Nobles, and Realm, but alſo many other Princes his Friends and Confederates, with their Nobles and Realms, ſhall withdraw their Devotion and Obedience from your Holineſs, and the See Apoſtolick, finding how they may acquit this your Ingratitude, in the higheſt cauſe that can be deviſed, ſhewed, and ſo long continued with the ſemblable. And therefore, Sir, at the reverence of Almighty God, caſt not from you the heart of this noble virtuous Prince, who finally cannot fail, the Peace had, which Chriſtendom may not long forbear, to have in his puiſſance, ſuch a ſtay as may be able, in the higheſt and largeſt manner, to recompence his Friends, and to acquit the contrary.

Henry R.

XX. The Cardinal's Letter to the Ambaſſadors about his promotion to the Popedom. An Original.

Magnifico Equiti Domino Gregorio Caſſalio ac Domino Petro Vanni, Sereniſſimi Domini Angliæ & Franciæ Regis in Rom. Curia oratoribus.

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MAgnifice Domine Gregori & Domine Petre ſalutem. Sicuti incommodiſſimus totius Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ, ac potiſſimum Regis Majeſtatis negotiis S. D. N. obitus accidit, ita etiam vos non latere puto quantum periculi & diſcriminis hujus Sereniſſimi Regis ſaluti & honori, ac Regni ſui quieti ab hac futuri Pontificis Electione immineat, & quantopere vobis adnitendum, ac veſtro ſtudio, diligentia, induſtria & prudentia occurrendum & obſtandum ſit, ne aliquis eligatur Pontifex alienus ab hac Regia Majeſtate; & quid pro me promovendo facere ac tractare debeatis, cumulate per communes meas literas vos admoni: nec oportet per has quicquid aliud replicare, quas ſolum ad vos ſcribere volui, ut ſignificem vobis me totum hoc graviſſimum & omnium maximum negotium, de quo acturi eſtis, veſtræ prudentiæ, fidei, & dexteritati, quam longo temporis uſu exploratiſſimam habeo, committere & credere, ſperoq; vos ſpei & opinioni meæ de vobis conceptæ omnimò reſponſuros, & bene valete. Londini die 6 Feb. 1528.

Veſter amantiſſimus Frater
T. Cardin. Eborac.

XXI. An

XXI. An Information given to the Pope about the Divorce. An Original.

Annotatio Summaria eorum quæ aliis libellis fusius explicata S. D. N. tum licere, tum expedire, persuadent, ut in Causa Regiæ Majestatis Sententiam divortii ferat.

PRimum licet atque etiam expedit dirimere hoc Matrimonium, quod juri tum divino tum humano repugnat. *Cotton* Lib. *Vitel.* B. 11.

Divinum enim jus duci prohibet Uxorem fratris, quin hic fratris Uxorem ductam fuisse sit notorium.

Humanum vero jus, duo hujus Matrimonii impedimenta continet, alterum affinitatis, quod divino jure inductum severissime sancivit; alterum publicæ Honestatis, & justitiæ, quod promulgavit Deus, si ex definitione Matrimonii, divini, humanique juris commutatio interveniret, quibusnam auspiciis hoc Matrimonium constare dicemus, quod utroque jure adversante ac repugnante, contractum est, coit, & utcunque consistit?

Sed cessavit, inquiunt, in hac specie juris utriusq; prohibitio per gratiam & Dispensationem summi Pontificis.

Respondetur quidem istis multis modis. Primo non esse videri, quod nullum est, nullum autem haberi quod sine Autoritate legitima fiat; deniq; Pontificis Autoritatem non eatenus pertinere, ut in gradibus divina lege prohibitis dispensare possit: non opinionibus Scripturiorum, qui Pontificis Authoritatem imminutam velint, sed ipsius Pontificis sententia constat, quem suæ Jurisdictionis modum, & optime noviſſe & ampliare velle potius quam restringere credendum est; quæ quum ita sint, etiam si humani juris prohibitio per Dispensationem sublata videatur, manet nihilominus immotum, quod divinum est, si ipsis contra seipsos credimus Pontificibus.

Deinde, ut posse Pontifices dispensare fateamur, & in ea parte tribuamus plus Authoritatis quam ipsi sibiipsis audeant arrogare, tamen non possim, non quocunque modo, non temere, & sine omni consideratione, posse eos dispensare; atq; fatendum est ne suo testimono Dissipatores verius, quam Dispensatores appellentur. Itaque ut causam urgentissimam & evidentissimam, tum etiam manifestissimam debet habere Dispensatio, precibus deniq; veris, non ementitis atque confictis inniti.

In Dispensatione autem, quo constat hoc Matrimonium, verbis quidem pacis causa proponitur, sed non ideo quia sic refertur, re ipsa subsistit, Pontificis facta non ad verborum superficiem, sed rei ipsius solidam veritatem expendi convenit.

Certum est, pacem multis modis, tum firmissimam fuisse unoque Matrimonio conciliatam, pactorum deniq; ac fœderum vi constantem; istud necessario Matrimonium non desideraſſe, & jam Dispensationem sine causa interveniſſe dicimus, & consequenter nullam esse, manereq; adhuc divinam prohibitionem atq; adeo & humanam.

Porro etiam, si aliqua sit, & causam haberet, tum mendaciis conflata

est, subreptitia & obreptitia merito appellanda, jure tum divino, tum humano reprobata.

Nam quum quod alioqui Canonibus cautum sit, ipsius etiam Dispensationis proœmium contineat, "Romani Pontificis Autoritatem concessa "sibi desuper uti potestate, prout personarum, causarum, & temporum "qualitate pensata, id in Domino salubriter conspicit expedire; Quomodo potuit S. D. N. hujus Serenissimi Regis qualitates pensare quas ignoravit? Neque enim de ætate quicquam, quæ in contrahendo hoc testimonio præcipua qualitas erat, narrabatur, & tamen illum annum ex tempore duodecimum non excessisse notorium est; & tacita ad hunc modum ætate, mendacium pro causa suggestum est; manifestissimum; Cupisse viz. tunc Serenissimum Regem contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur: facti veritas est, tum quid agebatur ignorasse, & etiamsi tum sciviset, tamen non fuisse verum quod cuperet ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur, ætas ostendit, quæ per communis juris dispositionem discretionem non admittit; cupere quidem affectus est, cæterum cupere contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur, judicii est & discretionis. Porro autem, quum de continuandis inter duos Principes fœderibus ageretur, aliter ante mandatam executioni Bullam satis concessit, & re integra, causa, si qua fuit, cessavit.

Sed producitur aliud Breve tenoris tam efficacis ut istas Objectiones non admittat.

Sed manet nihilominus eorum sententia, qui Pontificem non posse dispensare affirmant, secundum quos nec Breve nec Bulla consistit; deinde Breve falsum esse, & pro falso judicari debere, multis rationibus ostenditur; denique falsum cum sit, & tamen prioris Bullæ errores corrigat, illam opinionem merito confirmet, ne prior Dispensatio efficax videatur, vel eorum judicio, qui hoc Matrimonium defendere studuerunt, vix quæ veris allegationibus diffisi, ad falsas & confictas Dispensationes, vim objecta removentes confugere coacti sunt.

Ista, si singula minus sufficiant, saltem collata, obtineant & persuadeant licere. Illa vero opinio multis persuasa, Pontificem viz. non potuisse dispensare, ut sola infirmet Dispensationem, non petitur, sed hanc nihilominus aliquid considerationis; quanquam enim refellatur a quibusdam & reprobetur, manet tamen scripta, atque adeo testimonio Pontificis comprobata. Perpendatur deinde causa & suggestum veritas, si mendacium intervenisse apparet, & quod est notorium, illa Dispensationem adversariorum factis in novi Brevis fabricatione tam reprobari, quis non videt eo his causis licere ut sententia Divortii proferatur?

Postremo expedit ut id pronuntietur, quod in omnium sententia consentiat, Reprobatio autem Dispensationis cum omnibus conveniat opinionibus, sive quia Autoritas abfuit, sive quia non recte interposita dicatur; Approbatio vero cum istis dissentit omnibus.

Expedit ut firma sit & inconcussa Regni Successio, quæ contra has opiniones confirmari non potest.

Expedit ut conscientia Serenissimi Regis his scrupulis impedita, & turbata, expedita & tranquilla reddatur.

Breviter,

Breviter, expedit votis Sereniſſimi Regis ſatisfieri, qui pro genuinis & innatis ſuis virtutibus, non niſi optima cupit, & modo etiam optimo votorum ſuorum compotem effici laborat; ſi non virtutem ſpectaret, cætera nihil haberent difficultatis, ſed omnium virtutum cogitationem quandam eſſe animadvertens, ſuum juſtitiæ decorum, quod temperantia eſt, quærit, et juſtum, juſto modo, obtineat & aſſequatur. Itaque expedit ne auxilium denegetur, vel differatur ei qui id juſte implorat.

To my loving Friends Maſter Stephen Gardiner *Doctor of both Laws; Sir* Francis Brian, *and Sir* Gregory Caſſalis, *Knights; and Mr.* Peter Vannes *Secretary to the King's Highneſs for the Latin Tongue; His Graces Orators, Reſidents in the Court of* Rome.

XXII. *The ſecond part of a long Diſpatch of the Cardinals concerning the Divorce. An Original.*

ANother part of your Charge conſiſteth in expedition of the King's great and weighty Cauſe of Matrimony, whereupon depend ſo many high Conſequences, as for no earthly Cauſe to ſuffer or tolerate, tract or delay, in what caſe ſoever the Pope's Holineſs be of amendment or danger of life; nor as is aforeſaid, oweth to be by his Holineſs pretermitted, whether the ſame be in the ſtate of Recovery, or in any doubt or deſpair thereof: for one aſſured and principal fundamental and ground is to be regarded, whereupon the King's Highneſs doth plant and build his Acts and Cogitations in this behalf, which is from the reaſonable favour and juſtice, being the things from the which the Pope's Holineſs, *in proſperis nec adverſis*, may lawfully and honeſtly digreſs; and when the plainneſs of his cauſe is well conſidered, with the manifeſt Preſumptions, Arguments, and ſuſpicions, both of the inſufficiency of the Bull, and falſity of the Brief, ſuch as may lead any Man of reaſon or intendment, well to perceive, and know, that no ſufficiency or aſſured truth can be therein; How may the Pope's Holineſs, *ex æquo & juſto*, refuſe or deny to any Chriſtian Man, much leſs to a Prince of ſo high merits, and in a cauſe whereupon depend ſo many conſequences, to his Holineſs well known, for a vain reſpect of any Perſon, or by excuſe of any Sickneſs, juſtifie, colour, or defend any manner refuſal, tract, or delay, uſed in declaration of the truth in ſo great a Matter, which neither for the infinite conveniences that thereby might enſue, admitteth or ſuffereth to be delayed, nor by other than himſelf, his Act or Authority, may lawfully be declared? And well may his Holineſs know, That to none it appertaineth more to look unto the juſtneſs of the King's deſire in this behalf, than to his Highneſs his ſelf, whoſe Intereſt, whoſe Cauſe, with the ſame of his Realm and Succeſſion reſteth herein; for if his Grace were minded, or would intend to do a thing inique or unjuſt, there were no need to recur unto the Pope's Holineſs for doing thereof. But becauſe his Highneſs and his Council, who beſt know the whole of this Matter, and to whoſe part it

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it belongeth moſt profoundly to weigh and ponder every thing concerning the ſame, be well aſſured of the truth of the Matter, needing none other thing but for obſervence of his Duty towards God and his Church, to have the ſame Truth alſo approbate and declared by him to whom the doing thereof appertaineth; his Grace therefore ſeeing an untruth alledged, and that ſo craftily as by undue and perverſe ways the ſame without good reaſon adhibited, may for a ſeaſon bring things into confuſion, doth communicate unto the Pope's Holineſs preſumptions and evidences enough, and ſufficient to inform the Conſcience of his Holineſs of the very truth: which then, if his Holineſs will not do but either for affection, fear, or other private cauſe, will hearken to every dilatory and vain allegation of ſuch as led upon undue ground would colour the Truth; What doth his Holineſs leſs therein, than under a right vain colour expreſly deny and refuſe the ſaid Juſtice, which to be done either in health or ſickneſs, in a matter of ſo great moment, is in no wiſe tolerable? But for the ſame reaſons that be before mentioned, is the thing, whether the Pope's Holineſs be in hope or deſpair of life, without further tract to be abſolved and determined; for if Almighty God grant his Holineſs life, this Act is, and always ſhall be able to bear it ſelf, and is meet to be an Example, a Preſident, and a Law, in all like Caſes emerging, the Circumſtances and Specialities of the ſame in every part concurring as they do in this; nor can the Emperor make exceptions at the ſame, when he beſt knowing, perceaſe, the truth ſhall ſee the grounds and occaſions, that of neceſſity and meer juſtice have enforced and conſtrained the Pope's Holineſs thereunto, which he could not refuſe to do, unleſs he would openly and manifeſtly commit expreſs injury and notorious injuſtice. For be it that the Pope's Holineſs hearkning to the ſaid frivolous and vain Allegations, will refuſe to declare the Law herein to the King's purpoſe, then muſt his Holineſs, either ſtanding in doubt, leave and ſuffer the Cauſe to remain in ſuſpence to the extream danger of the King's Realm and Succeſſion for ever, or elſe declare the Bull or Breve, or both to be good, which I ſuppoſe neither his Holineſs, nor any true Chriſtian Man can do, ſtanding the manifeſt occaſions, preſumptions, and apparent evidences to the contrary. Then if the matter be not to be left in ſuſpence, no Judgment can be truly given to the approbation of the Bull or Breve; how can the Pope's Holineſs of Conſcience, Honour or Vertue, living or dying, thus procraſtinate or put over the immediate finiſhing thereof according to the King's deſire? or how may his Holineſs find his Conſcience towards God exonerate, if either living he ſhould be the cauſe of ſo many evils as hereof may ariſe; or dying, wilfully leave this ſo great Matter, by his own default, in this confuſion, incertainty and perplexity? It is not to be ſuppoſed, that ever Prince moſt devout to the See Apoſtolick, could ſo long tolerate ſo high an injury, as being ſo merited towards the ſaid See, is both unacquitted for his kindneſs with any ſpecial Grace, and alſo denied upon his petition of that which is evident to be plain Juſtice. This thing is otherwiſe to be looked upon than for the Pope's Sickneſs, where moſt need were to put an end unto it, to be delayed, ſeeing that living and amending, it is of it ſelf expedient and juſtifiable, and dying, it ſhall be an act both neceſſary, meritorious and honourable For this cauſe ye now knowing the King's

mind in this behalf, shall if ye have not already before this time spoken with the Pope's Holiness at length in these Matters, as the King's Grace trusteth ye have done, follicite as well by the means of *Messire Nicolo Sylviati*, as by the Bishop of *Verone*, and otherwise as ye can think best, to have such commodious access unto his Holiness, as ye may declare the Premises unto him; which by your wisdoms, in as effectual and vive manner as ye can, open it unto his Holiness. It is undoubtedly to be thought the same shall rather be to his comfort and encrease of Health, than to any his trouble or unquietness; and that his Holiness hearing these Reasons not evitable, will whether he be in way and hope of amendment, or otherwise, both proceed to the said indication, and also to the Declaration of the Law, and passing of a sufficient and ample Decretal, as hath been devised in the King's said Cause, with other such things, as by former Letters and instructions, by the Decrees mentioned in the same, that failing have been committed unto you, to be solicited and procured there; in the labouring wherof, albeit since your departures from hence, the things have by reason of the Pope's sore sickness, otherwise chanced than was here supposed, by means whereof ye not instructed what to do in any such case, were aventure not over-hasty or importune to labour these Matters, till the Pope's Holiness might be better amended, nor could percase find the means to have convenient access unto his presence for the same, ye shall nevertheless abhibit such diligence, as howsoever the sickness of his Holiness shall cease, amend, or continue, these things be not for the same, or any other cause tracted or left in longer suspense; but finding possible means to come unto the Pope's presence, to declare all such things unto the same, mentioned both in the former Letters and Instructions given unto you, and also in these presents, as may make to the purpose; and failing of often access in your own Persons to his Holiness, ye cause the Bishop of *Verone*, and other such assured Friends as ye can attain, being about him at such times as they may have with his Holiness, to inculcate unto him the said Points and Considerations, and all other that ye can excogitate and devise to the furtherance and advancement of these Matters, not forbearing or sparing also, if ye shall find difficulty at the Pope's hand, or in audience to be given to you or your Friends there, being about his Person, to break and open after a good fashion and manner the same unto such of the Cardinals, as ye may perceive assuredly and constantly to favour the King's Highness, and the French King in Election of a future Pope, in case (as God forbid) the Pope's Holiness should decease; and to shew unto the same Cardinals, all such things as you shall think meet, both for their more ample instruction in the truth and specialities of the Matters, as well concerning the Indication of Truce, as the King's said Cause, and the presumptuous Reasons, and plainer Evidences, leading to the insufficiency of the Bull, and apparent falsity of the said Breve; to the intent, that as many of the said Cardinals as ye can win, made sure in those Matters, they may, both in time of sickness, and also of amendment, move and induce the Pope's Holiness thereunto, laying before him as well the Merits and Honour that may ensue by the perfection of the Premises, as the danger imminent by the contrary: and semblably it shall be expedient that ye win and make sure to the same purpose, as many of the Officers of

the

the *Rota* and other as ye can, who as ye write be not accustomed, nor will give counsel to any Person but the Pope's Holiness; for albeit ye cannot have them to be of the King's Council, yet nevertheless they may do as much good, or more, in training and counselling the Pope's Holiness, upon the great Reasons that you can shew unto them, to hearken unto your Overtures in this behalf. To which purpose you shall adjure, make and win, as many Friends of the Cardinals, of them, and other, as possibly may, as for the thing which the King's Highness and I esteem than twenty Papalities; and amongst other, ye shall insist, by all means and good persuasions ye can, for the continuance there of the said Bishop of *Verone*, so as he may countervail the Arch-Bishop of *Cosuan*; who, as it seemeth, is continually about the Pope's Person, and were necessary to be met with in the labours and persuasions, which by likelihood he maketh to the hindrance of the King's Purpose: For the better continuing of the which Bishop of *Verone*, not only the King's Highness and I write unto him at this time, as by the Copy of the same several Letters being herewith ye shall perceive, but also the *French* King will do the semblable. And furthermore, to the intent that the Pope's Holiness may well perceive that not only the said *French* King mindeth the King's said Cause, and taketh it to heart as much as it were his own, and will effectually join and concur with the King's Highness therein, but that also he is and will be conformable to the said Indication; He will send thither, with all speed, the Bishop of *Bayon* to further, sollicite, and set forth the same; who, before his departure from hence, which was a good season passed, was and is sufficiently and amply instructed in all things requisite to this purpose; and not only in these Matters, but also in such other as were written unto you by *Vincent de Cassalis*, and *Hercules*, upon advertisement given hither that the Popes Holiness was deceased; so as ye may be sure to have of him effectual concurrence and advice in the furtherance and sollicitation of your Charges, whether the Pope's Holiness amend, remain long sick, or (as God forbid) should fortune to die; trusting, that being so well furnished by all ways that can be devised, ye will not fail to use such diligence as may be to the consecuting and attaining of the King's Purpose: wherein, tho' ye be so amply and largely instructed, that more cannot be, yet nevertheless having lately received from the Bishop of *Worcester* a Memorial of divers great things to be well noted and considered, for trial of the falsity of the said Breve, I send you herewith a Copy of the same Memorial, to the intent ye substantially visiting and perusing the same, may follow and put in execution such part thereof for better trial of the falsity, as is to be done there, like as the rest meet to be done here, shall not fail to be executed with diligence accordingly.

Thus be ye with these, and other former Writings, sufficiently instructed what is to be done by you there, whether the Pope's Holiness continue long in his sickness, or whether the same fortune to decease sooner or soon, God willing, to amend. There resteth no more, but that ye always take for a perfect ground, That tho' to every new chance not before known, sufficient Provision and Instruction could not be given to you at your departure, ye always note, remember, and regard, That this the King's Cause admitteth nor suffereth any manner negation

tract, or delay; wherefore knowing that ſo well as ye do, and alſo how much the Indiction of the Truce ſhall be commodious and neceſſary, both to the King's Highneſs in particular, and to all Chriſtendom in general, by means whereof his Grace ſhall avoid Contribution, and other Charges of the War, ye muſt now, if ever you will have thanks, laud, or praiſe for your Service, imploy your ſelves *opportune & importune*, to put an end to the Points to the King's ſatisfaction and deſire; and in every difficulty to ſtudy, by your Wiſdoms, the beſt and next Remedy, and not always to tract your doings, till upon your Advertiſement hither, ye ſhall have new knowledg from hence: For thereby the matter it ſelf, and alſo your demurr there, be of over long a continuance, and infinite inconveniences by the ſame may enſue. I therefore require you according to the ſpecial truſt and confidence that the King's Highneſs and I have in you, now for ever to acquit your ſelves herein with all effect poſſible, accordingly ſo as the King's Highneſs be not longer kept in this perplexity and ſuſpence, to his Grace's intolerable inquietneſs, and the great heavineſs of all thoſe that obſerve and love the ſame.

Furthermore, tho' it ſo be that the King's Truſt, and alſo mine is, Ye will by your Wiſdom find ſuch good means and ways as ye ſhall not fail, God willing, to open and declare unto the Pope's Holineſs, the whole of the King's Mind, and all and ſingular the Premiſſes, with the reaſons above mentioned in your former Inſtructions and Letters ſent unto you: Yet nevertheleſs conſidering what ye wrote of the doubt of continuance of the Pope's ſickneſs, and to make ſure for all Events and Chances, in caſe his Holineſs (as God forbid) ſhould long remain in ſuch ſtate, as he might either take upon him the naming of the Peace, journeying and repairing to the ſacred Diet, nor alſo hear the whole of the things by you to be opened and propounded touching the King's Divorſe: It hath been thought to the King's Highneſs convenient rather than theſe great and weighty Matters ſhould hang in longer ſuſpenſe, to excogitate ſome other good means and way how theſe Matters ſo neceſſary, may by ſome ways be conduced and brought to an end: And it is this; That the Pope's Holineſs not being able to travel to the place deviſed, where the Princes may be near him for Treaty, and managing of the peace, he do depute me and my Lord Cardinal *Campegius, conjunctim & diviſim*, as his Legates for that purpoſe, to do and execute all ſuch things in his Holineſs's Name, as the ſame ſhould do in that behalf if he were there preſent; whereunto, for the well of Chriſtendom, we ſhall be contented to condeſcend. ſo always, that as hath been written heretofore unto you, before I paſs or ſet forth to any Convention or Place, to the intent before ſpecified, the Kings Highneſs be fully ſatisfied and pleaſed in his ſaid matter of Matrimony, without which, neither with nor without the Pope's preſence, I will ever begin to take that Voyage: for performance whereof, this Article following is of new deviſed, to be by you propounded unto his Holineſs, if the Breves cannot be obtained, or ſome other thing, that ye ſhall well know and perceive, by advice of expert Counſel there, to be better to the Kings purpoſe than this thing now deviſed, and that may without doubt be paſſed or granted; that is to ſay, That his Holineſs do enlarge, extend, and amplify his Commiſſion given to me and my Lord Legate

Campegius,

Campegius, whereby we jointly and ſeverally may be ſufficiently furniſhed and authorized, to do as much in this cauſe of Matrimony, with all the emergents and dependencies upon the ſame, as his Holineſs may do of his ordinary and abſolute Power, with ſufficient and ample Clauſes, *ad Decernend. & Interpretand. jura, leges, & Reſcripta quæcunq; hac Matrimonium concernentia, una cum omnibus & ſingulis dubiis in eadem cauſa emergentibus.* And further, to make out Compulſories to any Princes, or Perſons of what preheminence, dignity, ſtate, or condition ſoever they be, *Etiamſi Imperiali, Regali, vel alia quacunque dignitate perfulgeant, ſub quibuſcunq; pœnis*, and in what Countries and places ſoever they be, to exhibit and produce any manner Witneſs, Records, Originals, Reſcripts or other thing, in what place, or time we, or the one of us ſhall require them, or any of them in this behalf, with all and ſingular the Circumſtances requiſite and neceſſary to ſuch a Commiſſion, after ſuch ample and aſſured manner, as the ſame once had, we ſhall not need for any Objections, doubt, or other thing that might infringe or lack, to ſend of new to the Pope's Holineſs for other proviſion, whereby the King's ſaid Cauſe might hang in any longer tract or delay. In which caſe of coming to this Commiſſion, ye Mr. *Stevins* muſt have ſpecial regard to ſee the ſame ſufficiently and ſubſtantially penned, by advice of the moſt expert Men that ye can find to that purpoſe: For the better doing whereof, I ſend unto you herewith a Copy of the ſaid Commiſſion to me and my Lord *Campegius*, with certain Additions thereunto noted in the Margin, ſuch as have been here deviſed; and alſo a Copy of certain Clauſes in a Bull, to the intent ye may ſee how amply the ſame be couched, to avoid appellations and other delays in Cauſes of far leſs moment and importance than the Kings is. Nevertheleſs ye muſt, if it ſhall come to the obtaining of this new Commiſſion, ſee to the penning and more fully perfecting thereof, ſo as the ſame may be in due perfection, without needing to ſend eftſoons for remedying of any thing therein, as is aforeſaid; looking alſo ſubſtantially whether the Chirograph of Pollicitation, being already in your hands, be ſo couched, as the Date, and every thing conſidered, it may ſufficiently oblige and aſtringe the Pope's Holineſs to confirm all that we, or one of us, ſhall do, by virtue of this New or the Old Commiſſion: And if it be not of ſuch efficacy ſo to do, then muſt ye in this caſe ſee, that either by ſufficient and ample words to be put in this new Commiſſion, if it may be ſo had, or by a new Chirograph the Pope's Holineſs may be ſo aſtringed; which Chirograph, with the Commiſſions before ſpecified, if ye obtain the ſame, the King's pleaſure is, That ye Sir *Francis Bryan* ſhall bring hither, in all poſſible diligence, after the having and obtaining thereof, ſolliciting nevertheleſs, whether the Pope be to be facilly ſpoken with, or not, the immediate Indication of the Truce, as is aforeſaid, without which in vain it were for me, either with or without the Pope, to travel for labouring and conducing of the Peace. And ſo by this way ſhould the Pope's Holineſs, with his merit and ſufficient juſtification, proceed for the Truce, as a fundament of Univerſal Peace, ſatisfy the King's deſires, and avoid any doubt of the Emperor; foraſmuch as his Holineſs might alledg, That being ſo extreamly ſick, that he was not able to know of the Cauſe himſelf, he could no leſs do of juſtice, than to commit it unto other, ſeeing that the ſame is of ſuch

importance

mportance as ſuffereth no tract or delay. And finally, the King's Highneſs, God willing, by this means, ſhould have an end of this Matter. One thing ye ſhall well note, which is this; Albeit this new Device was now for doubt of the Pope's long continuance in ſickneſs, firſt excogitate; yet is it not meant, nor ye be limited to this Device, in caſe ye can obtain any other, nor ye be alſo commanded, to prefer this before all the other Devices: but now that ye ſhall ſee and underſtand what this Device is, and knowing what thing is like or poſſible to be obtained there, without long putting over of your purſuits, expend, conſider, and regard well with your ſelf, what thing of this, or any other that may beſt ſerve to the brief and good expedition of the King's Cauſe. So alwayes that it be a thing ſure, ſufficient, and available to his Grace's Purpoſe, that may without any further tract be there had; and then by your Wiſdom taking unto you the beſt Learned Counſel that ye can have there, leave you to the expedition of that which ſo may be moſt meet, as the times require and ſuffer, to the brief furniſhing of the King's ſaid Cauſe to this purpoſe, without tract or delay, and that ye may ſee is the thing, which as the matter ſtands, can ſpeedily be obtained and ſped, as is aforeſaid. For whether the Decretal be better than this, or this better than that, or which ſoever be beſt, far it ſhall be from Wiſdom to ſtick, and ſtill to reſt upon a thing that cannot be obtained; but ſince ye know the King's meaning, which is to have a way ſufficient and good for the ſpeedy finiſhing of this cauſe to his Grace's purpoſe, note ye now, and conſider with your ſelf, by advice of Learned Counſel, as is aforeſaid, how ye may bring that to paſs, and ſhall ye deſerve as high thanks as can be poſſible. So alwayes that it be ſo well provided and looked upon, that in it be no ſuch limitations or defaults, as ſhall compel us any more to write or ſend for reformation thereof: And coming to this Commiſſion, tho' percaſe ye can by no means or ſticking have it in every point as the Copy, which I ſend you with the Annotations do purport; yet ſhall ye not therefore refuſe it, but take it, or any other thing as can be had, after ſuch form as may ſubſtantially ſerve, and as ye can by your wiſdom and good ſolicitations obtain, for the ſpeedy finiſhing of the King's Cauſe to his purpoſe, as is aforeſaid, which is the ſcope whereunto we muſt tend at this time; and therefore ye be not limited or coacted within any ſuch bounds as ye ſhould thereby be compelled or driven, for lack of obtaining any thing or point mentioned in theſe or other your Inſtructions, or former Writings, to ſend hither again for further knowledg of the King's pleaſure; but ye be put at liberty ſo to qualify, ſo to add, detray, immix, change, chuſe or mend as ye ſhall think good; ſo alwayes that ye take the thing that beſt can be had, being ſuch as may as effectually as ye can bring about, ſerve to the King's purpoſe, and to put indelayed end to it, according to his Grace's deſire, without further tract, or ſending thither, which is as much as here can be ſaid or deviſed. And therefore at the reverence of Almighty God, bring us out of this perplexity, that this Vertuous Prince may have this thing ſped to the purpoſe deſired, which ſhall be the moſt joyous thing that this day in Earth may chance and ſucceed to my heart; and therefore I eſtſoons beſeech you to regard it accordingly: Howbeit if the Pope's Holineſs refuſing all your deſires, ſhall make difficulty and delay there, it is an evident ſign and token,

that his Holineſs is neither favourable to the King's reaſonable Petitions, nor indifferent, but ſhould thereby ſhow himſelf both partial and expreſly averſe unto his Grace; wherefore in that caſe finding his Holineſs ſuch unreaſonableneſs, as it can in no wiſe be thought ſhall do, The King's pleaſure is, that ye proceed to the Proteſtation mentioned in the firſt Inſtructions given to you Mr. *Stevins*, for you and the reſidue of your Collegues; and that ye not only be plain and round with the Popes Holineſs therein, if ye come to his Speech, but alſo ye ſhow and extend unto the Cardinals, and other that be your Friends, which may do any good with him, the great peril and danger imminent unto the Church and See Apoſtolick; thereby exhorting them That they like vertuous Fathers have regard thereunto, and not to ſuffer the Pope's Holineſs, if he would thus wilfully, without reaſon or diſcretion to precipitate himſelf and the ſaid See, which by this refuſal is like to ſuffer ten times more detriment, than it could do for any mal contentment that the Emperor could take with the contrary: for ye ſhall ſay, ſure they may be, and ſo I for my diſcharge declare, both to the Pope's Holineſs and to them, If this Noble and Vertuous prince, in this ſo great and ſo reaſonable a Cauſe, be thus extreamly denied of the grace and lawful favour of the Church, the Pope's Holineſs ſhall not fail for the ſame to loſe Him and his Realm, the *French* King and his Realm, with many other their Confederates; beſides thoſe that have particular Quarrels to the Pope, and ſo aforeſaid will not fail, with adverſe other, as they daily ſeek occaſions, and provoke the King's Highneſs thereunto, which will do the ſemblable, being a thing of another ſort to be regarded, than the reſpect to the Emperor, for two Cauſes which nevertheleſs ſhall be had well enough, and the Emperor, neither ſo evil contented, nor ſo much to be doubted herein, as is there ſuppoſed. This, with other words mentioned in your Inſtructions concerning like matter, ye ſhall declare unto his Holineſs, and to the ſaid Cardinals, and others being your Friends, if it come to that point; whereby it is not to be doubted, but they perceiving the danger aforeſaid, ſhall be glad to exhort and induce his Holineſs, for the weal of himſelf and the Church, to condeſcend to the King's deſire; which is as much as can be here thought or deviſed, to be by you done in all Events and Chances: And therefore I pray you, eſt-ſoons, and moſt inſtantly require you, as afore, to handle this Matter with all effect poſſible. Coming to this new Commiſſion, when you ſhall have once attained ſuch things as ſhall be ſufficient for the Kings purpoſe as is aforeſaid; and that you have it in your hands and cuſtody, and not afore, leſt thereby ye might hinder the expedition thereof, ye ſhall by all wayes and means poſſible, labour and inſiſt, that the King's Highneſs, as need ſhall be, may uſe and enjoy the benefit of the Decretal, being already in my Lord Cardinal *Campegius*'s hands, whereunto his Highneſs and I deſire you to put all your effectual labour for the attaining of the Pope's conſent thereunto accordingly.

Ye ſhall furthermore underſtand, That it is thought here, in caſe, as God forbid, the Pope ſhould die before ye ſhould have impetrate any thing that may ſerve to the abſolution of the King's Matter, That the Colledge of Cardinals have Authority, Power, and Juriſdiction, *ſede vacante*,

to inhibit, avoke, & *ex consequenti*, to pass and decide the King's Matter, seeing that the same is of so high moment and importance concerning the surety of a Prince and his Realm, as more amply ye shall perceive in the Chapters, *ubi Periculum de Electione, ne Romani, de Jurisdictione, & capite primo de Schismaticis*; Wherefore the King's pleasure is, That ye Mr. *Stevins* shall diligently weigh and ponder the effect of the said Chapters, not only with your self, but also with such the King's learned Counsel as ye and your Collegues have conducted there; and what Jurisdiction, *sede vacante*, the Colledge of Cardinals have either by the Common Law, usage or prescription, which may far better be known there than here: And if ye find that the Cardinals have in this the King's Cause, and such other like Authority and Jurisdictions to inhibit, avoke and decern, then, *in casu mortis Pontificis, quod Deus avertat*, ye shall specially foresee and regard that for none Intercession or pursuit made by the Emperor and his Adherents, they shall either inhibit or avoke: And also if before such Death, ye shall not have obtained such thing to the Kings desire and purpose, as these present Letters before do purport, his Grace's pleasure is, That ye shall pursue the effectual expedition of the same, at the hands of the said Colledge, *Sede vacante, rerisque nullam dilationem expostit, tantopere usque ad Electionem novi Pontificis quoquam modo differatur*; using for this purpose all such Reasons, Allegations, and Perswasions mentioned in those Letters, and your former Instructions, as ye shall see and perceive to serve to that effect; and so to endeavour and acquit your self, that such things may be attained there, as may absolve this the King's Matter, without any further tract or delay; whereby ye shall as afore highly deserve the King and my special thanks, which shall be so acquitted, as ye shall have cause to think your pains and diligences therein in the best wise employed, trusting in God that howsoever the World shall come, ye shall by one means or other bring the Kings Matter, which so highly toucheth his Honour and quiet of Mind, unto the desired end and perfection.

Finally; Ye shall understand that the *French* King, among other things, doth commit at this time to the Bishop of *Bayon*, and Mr. *Tobie* power to treat and conclude the Confederation heretofore spoken of, between his Holiness, and the King's Highness, the *French* King, the *Venetians*, and other Potentates of *Italy*, for a continual Army to be entertained to invade *Spain* in case it stand by the Emperor, that the Peace shall not take effect: Wherefore the King's pleasure is, That ye having conference with them at good length in that Matter, do also for your parts, sollicite, procure, and set forth the same; entring also on the King's behalf unto the Treaty, and conclusion thereof, after such manner as your former Instructions and Writings do purport. So as like as the *French* King is determined, that his Agents shall join and concur with you in the Kings Pursuits and Causes; So ye must also concur with them in advancement of their Affairs, the successes whereof, and of all other your doings there, it shall be expedient ye more often certify hitherto than ye do, for many times in one whole month no knowledg is had from you, which is not meet in those so weighty Matters, specially considering that sometime by such as pass to *Lyons*, ye

might find the means to ſend your Letters, which ſhould be greatly to the King's and my conſolation, in hearing thereby from time to time how the things ſucceed there; I pray you therefore to uſe more diligence therein, as the King's and my ſpecial truſt is in you. And heartily fare you well. From my Palace beſides *Weſtminſter*, the ſixth day of *April*.

The *French* King hath ſent hither an Ambaſſiate, *Monſieur de Langey* Brother to the ſaid Biſhop of *Bayon*, with certain clauſes in his Inſtructions, concerning the ſaid Treaty of Confederation, the Copy whereof ye ſhall receive herewith, for your better carrying on that Matter. Praying God to ſpeed you well, and to give you grace to make a good and ſhort end in your Matters. And eſt-ſoons fare ye well.

Your Loving Friend,

T. Cardin. Eborac.

XXIII. *Another Diſpatch to the Ambaſſadours to the ſame purpoſe. A Duplicate.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 11. RIght well beloved Friends, I commend me unto you in my hearty manner, letting you wit, that by the hands of *Thadeus* bearer hereof, the Kings Highneſs hath received your ſeveral Letters of the ſame, directed with the Pope's Pollicitation mentioned in the ſame, and ſemblably I have received your Conjunct and ſeveral Letters of the date of the 18. and 29. days of *March*; the 8, 19, 20, and 22. of the ſame to me directed, wherein ye at right good length have made mention of ſuch Diſcourſes, Conferences, Audiences, and Communications as ye have had concerning your Charge, ſince the time of your former Advertiſements made in that behalf, with all ſuch Anſwers and Replications as have been made unto you by the Pope's Holineſs, and other on his behalf concerning the ſame. In the Circumſtances whereof ye have diligently, diſcreetly, and ſubſtantially, acquitted your ſelves, as not only your firm and fervent deſire, to do unto the King's Highneſs ſpecial and ſingular ſervice in this his great and weighty Cauſe, but alſo your Wiſdom, Learning, and perfect dexterities, heretofore well known, hath every one for his part thereby been largely of new ſhewed, approbate and declared to the Kings good contentment, my repoſe and gladneſs, and to your great laud and praiſe. For the which his Grace giveth unto you right hearty thanks, and I alſo for my part do the like lable; aſſuring you, in few words, though the time and ſtate of things hath not ſuffered that your deſires might at this time be brought unto effect, yet the King's Grace well knoweth, perceiveth, and taketh that more could not have been done, excogitated, or deviſed, that ye have largely endeavoured your ſelf unto for conducing the Kings purpoſe, which his Grace accepteth, as touching your merits and acquit-

in no leſs good and thankful part, than if ye finding the diſpoſition of things in more direct ſtate, had conſecute all your purſuits and deſires: Nor ye ſhall doubt or think, that either the Kings Highneſs or I have conceived, or thought any manner negligence in you for ſuch things as were mentioned, in the laſt Letters ſent unto you by *Alexander*, Meſſenger, but that albeit his Highneſs had cauſe, as the ſame wrote, to marvel of your long demor, and lack of expedition of one or other of the things committed to your charge; yet did his Highneſs right well perſuade unto himſelf the default not to be in you, but in ſome other cauſe, whereof his Grace not knowing the ſame, might juſtly and meritoriouſly be brought unto admiration, and marvel: And therefore be ye all of good comfort, and think your perfect endeavours uſed, and ſervices done, to be employed there, as it can right well, in every part regarded and conſidered.

In effect coming to the Specialities of the things now to be anſwered, The King's Highneſs having groundly noted and conſidered the whole continue and circumſtances of all your ſaid Letters and Advertiſements, findeth and perceiveth evidently, that whatſoever Purſuits, and Inſtances, and Requeſts have been, or ſhall be for this preſent time, made there by you on his Grace's behalf to the Pope's Holineſs, for the furtherance of the ſaid great and weighty Cauſe; and how much ſoever the neceſſity of Chriſtendom for the good of Peace, the importance of the Matter, the juſtneſs of the thing it ſelf, reaſon, duty, reſpect to good Merits, detecting of Falſities uſed, evident Arguments and Preſumptions to the ſame, or other thing whatſoever it be, making for the King's purpoſe, do weigh; the Times be now ſuch, as all that ſhall be done in any of the Premiſſes there, is apparent by ſuch privy Intelligence and promiſe as is between the Pope and the Emperor, to hang and depend upon the Emperor's Will, pleaſure, and Arbitre, as whom the Pope's Holineſs neither dare nor will in any part diſpleaſe, offend, or miſcontent, nor do by himſelf any thing notable therein, which he ſhall know or ſuppoſe to be of moment, the ſaid Emperor firſt inconſulted, or not conſenting thereunto. And for that cauſe, ſince the Emperor not only is the Adverſary of Univerſal Peace, Letter, and Impeacher thereof but alſo, as hath appeared by ſundry Letters heretofore, and now of late ſent out of *Spain*, doth ſhew himſelf adverſe, and enterponing himſelf as a Party againſt the Kings ſaid great Matter; It were in manner all one to proſecute the ſame at the Emperor's hands, as at the Popes, which totally dependeth upon the Emperor; and as much Fruit might be hoped of the one as of the other, ſo as far diſcrepant it were from any wiſdom in a thing ſo neceſſary, and which as ye know muſt needs be brought unto an end without any further delay, to conſume and ſpend the time where ſuch expreſs contrariety and in manner deſpair appeareth of no good therein, and where ſhould be none other but continual craft, colour, abuſes, refuſes and delays, but rather to proceed unto the ſame in place, and after ſuch form as may be appearance of ſome good and real effect to inſue. Wherefore to ſhew you in Counſel, and to be obſerved unto your ſelves, The King's Highneſs finding this ingratitude in the Pope's Holineſs, is minded for the time to diſſemble the Matter, and taking as much as may be had and attained there to the benefit of the Cauſe, to proceed in the Deciſion of the ſame here, by vertue

of

of the Commiſſion already granted unto me and my Lord Legate *Campegius*.

And for becauſe that ye Mr. *Stevins* be largely ripened and acquainted in this Matter, and that both the King's Highneſs and I have right large experience of your entire zeal and mind to the ſtudying and ſeeking forth of ſuch things concerning the Law, as may be to the furtherance hereof; conſidering alſo that for any great thing like to be done there herein, ſuch Perſonages as be of good Authority, Wiſdom, and Experience, tho' they be not learned in the Law, may with ſuch Counſel as ye have retained there, right well ſerve to the accompliſhment of ſuch other things as ſhall occur, or be committed unto them on the King's behalf, tho' ſo many Ambaſſadors do not there remain and continue. His Grace therefore willing and minding to revoke you all by little and little, except you Sir *Gregory* being his Ambaſſadour there continually reſiding, willeth, That after ſuch things perfected and done, as hereafter ſhall be mentioned, ye Mr. *Stevins*, and you Sir *Francis Bryan* ſhall take your leave of the Pope's Holineſs, and with diligence return home. For if ne had been the abſence of you Mr. *Stevins*, ſeeing that there is ſmall appearance of any Fruit to be obtained there, the King's Highneſs would have entred into Proceſs here before this *Whitſuntide*. But becauſe his Grace would have you here preſent, as well for the forming of the ſaid Proceſs, and for ſuch things as he truſted that ye ſhall obtain and bring with you, as alſo for the better knowledge to be had in ſundry Matters, wherein you may be the better ripened and informed by means of your being in that Court, and otherwiſe, his Highneſs will ſomewhat the longer defer the commencement of the ſaid Proceſs, and reſpite the ſame, only for your coming; which his Grace therefore deſireth you ſo much the more to accelerate, as ye know how neceſſary it is, that all diligence and expedition be uſed in that Matter. And ſo ye all to handle and indeavour your ſelves there, for the time of your demor, as ye may do the moſt benefit and advantage that may be to the ſpeedy furtherance of the ſaid Cauſe.

And foraſmuch as at the diſpatch of your ſaid laſt Letters, ye had not opened unto the Popes Holineſs, the laſt and uttermoſt Device here conceived, and to you written in my Letters ſent by the ſaid *Alexander*, but that ye intended, as ſoon as ye might have time and acceſs, to ſet forth the ſame; wherein it is to be truſted, ſince that thing could by no colour or reſpect to the Emperor be reaſonably denied, ye have before this time done ſome good, and brought unto perfection; I therefore remitting you to ſuch Inſtructions as ye received at that time, adverteſe you that the King's mind and pleaſure is, ye do your beſt to attain the Ampliation of the ſaid Commiſſion, after ſuch form as is to you, in the ſaid laſt Letters and Inſtructions, preſcribed; which if ye cannot in every thing bring to paſs, at the leaſt to obtain as much to the King's purpoſe and the benefit of the Cauſe as ye can; wherein all good policy and dexterity is to be uſed, and the Pope's Holineſs by all perſwaſions to be induced thereunto; ſhewing unto the ſame how ye have received Letters from the King's Highneſs and me, reſponſives to ſuch as ye wrote of the Debates before rehearſed; whereby ye be advertiſed that the Kings Highneſs, perceiving the Popes ſtrange demeanour in this his great and weighty Cauſe, with the little reſpect that his Holineſs hath, either to

to the importance thereof, or to do unto his Holineſs at this his great neceſſity, gratuity and pleaſure; not only cannot be a little ſorry and heavy to ſee himſelf fruſtrate of the future hope and expectation that his Grace had, to have found the Pope's Holineſs a moſt loving, faſt, near and kind Father, and aſſured Friend, ready and glad to have done for his Grace, that which of his Power Ordinary or abſolute, he might have done in this thing, which ſo near toucheth the King's Conſcience, Health, Succeſſion, Realm, and Subjects; But alſo marvelleth highly, That his Holineſs, both in matters of Peace, Truce, in this the King's Cauſe, and in all other, hath more reſpect to pleaſe and content him of whom he hath received moſt diſpleaſures, and who ſtudieth nothing more than the detriment of the See, than his Holineſs hath either to do that which a good common Father, for the well of the Church, Himſelf, and all Chriſtendom, is bounden, and oweth to do, or alſo that which every thing well pondered, it were both of Congruence, Right Truth, Equity Wiſdom, and conveniency for to do. Thinking verily that his Highneſs deſerved to be far otherwiſe entreated, and that not at his moſt need in things neareſt touching his Grace, and where the ſame had his chief and principal confidence, thus to have his juſt and reaſonable Petitions rejected, and totally to be converted, to the arbitre of his Enemy, which is not the way to win, acquire and conſerve Friends to the Pope's Holineſs and See Apoſtolick, nor that which a good and indifferent Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, and common Father unto all Princes oweth and is bound to obſerve. Nevertheleſs ye ſhall ſay the King's Highneſs, who always hath ſhewed, and largely comprobate himſelf a moſt devout Son unto the See Apoſtolick, muſt and will take patience; and ſhall pray to God to put in the Pope's mind, a more direct and vertuous intent ſo to proceed in his acts and doings, as he may be found a very Father, upright, indifferent, loving and kind; and not thus for a partial reſpect, fear, or other inordinate Affection, or cauſe, to degenera e from his beſt Children, ſhowing himſelf unto them, as a Step-Father, nor the King's Highneſs ye ſhall ſay can perſuade unto himſelf, that the Pope's Holineſs is of that nature and diſpoſition, that he will ſo totally fail his Grace in this Matter of ſo high importance, but that by one good mean or other, his Holineſs will perfectly comprobate the intire love that always the ſame hath ſhewed to bear towards his Highneſs, wherein ye ſhall deſire him now to declare by his Acts the uttermoſt of his intent and diſpoſition; ſo as ye Mr. *Stevins* and Mr. *Brian*, who be revoked home, do not return with void hands, or bring with you things of ſuch meagerneſs, or little ſubſtance, as ſhall be to no purpoſe: And thus by theſe, or like words, ſeconding to the ſame effect, which as the time ſhall require, and as he ſhall have cauſe, ye by your Wiſdoms can qualifie and deviſe. It is not to be doubted, but that the Pope's Holineſs perceiving how the King's Highneſs taketh this Matter, and that two of you ſhall now return, will in expedition of the ſaid Ampliation of the Commiſſion, and other things requiſite, ſtrain himſelf to do unto the King's Highneſs as much gratuity and pleaſure as may be; for the better attaining whereof, ye ſhall alſo ſhew, how heavy and ſorry I with my Lord Legate *Campegius* be, to ſee this manner of proceeding, and the large promiſes which he and I ſo often have made unto the King's Highneſs, of the Popes faſt and aſſured mind, to do all that

his

his Holineſs, *etiam ex plenitudine poteſtatis*, might do, thus to be diſappointed: moſt humbly beſeeching his Holineſs on my behalf, by his high Wiſdom to conſider, what a Prince this is; the infinite and excellent gratitudes which the ſame hath exhibited to the Pope's Perſon in particular, and to the See Apoſtolick in the general: the magnitude and importance of this Cauſe, with the Conſequences that may follow, by the good or ill entreating of the King's Highneſs in the ſame; wherein ye ſhall ſay, I have ſo largely written, ſo plainly for my diſcharge declared the truth unto his Holineſs, and ſo humbly, reverently, and devoutly, made interceſſion, that more can I not add or accumulate thereunto, but only pray unto God that the ſame may be perceived, underſtood, and taken, as the exigence of the Caſe, and the merits of this Noble Prince doth require; truſting always, and with fervent deſire, from day to day, abiding to hear from his ſaid Holineſs ſome ſuch thing as I ſhall now be able conſtantly to juſtifie and defend, the great things which I and my ſaid Lord Legate have ſaid and atteſted on his Holineſs behalf.

This, with all other ſuch matter as may ſerve to the purpoſe, ye ſhall extend as well as ye can, and by that means get and attain as much to your purpoſe for the corroboration and ſurety of all things to be done here as is poſſible, leaving to ſpeak any more, or alſo to take or admit any reſcripts for exhibition of the Brief, advocation of the Cauſe, or other of the former degrees, ſeeing that all which ſhall or can be done or attained there, ſhall hang meerly upon the Emperor's Will, Conſent, and Arbitre: and therefore nothing is now or hereafter to be procured, that may tend to any Act to be done, in deciſion of the Cauſe or otherwiſe there, or which may bring the adverſe Party to any advantage to be taken by the favour or partiality, that the ſame may have in that Court; but to convert and employ all your ſuit, to that thing which may be to the moſt convalidation and ſurety of the Proceſs, and things to be done here, as well by attaining, as ample, large, and ſufficient words, clauſes and ſentences as ye can get, for ampliation of the new Commiſſion.

As for the defeating of any thing that may be procured to the impeachment of the Proceſs thereof, and the corroboration of the things to be paſſed, and done, by virtue of the ſame. And amongſt other things, whereas ye with theſe laſt Legates, ſent the Pope's Pollicitation, for the non-inhibition or avoking of the Cauſe, the ratifying and confirming of the Sentence by us his Legates herein to be given, and other things mentioned in the ſame, ye ſhall underſtand, that the ſaid Pollicitation is ſo couched and qualified, as the Pope's Holineſs whenſoever he will may refile; like-as by certain Lines and Annotations, which in the Margin of a Copy of the ſaid Pollicitation I ſend you herewith, ye ſhall perceive more at large: And therefore after your other ſuits, for the ampliation of the new Commiſſion, if any ſuch may be attained, brought unto as good a purpoſe as ye can, ye ſhall by ſome good way find the mean to attain a new Pollicitation, with ſuch, or as many of the words and additions newly deviſed as ye can get; which ye may do under this form and colour, that is to ſay, to ſhew unto the Pope's Holineſs, by way of ſorrow and doleance, how your Courier, to whom ye committed the conveyance of the ſaid Pollicitation, ſo chanced,

wet and water in the carriage thereof, as the Pacquet wherein it was, with such Letters as were with the same, and amongst others the Rescripts of Pollicitation, were totally wet, defaced, and not legible; so as the Pacquet and Rescript was and is deteined by him to whom ye direct your Letters, and not delivered amongst the other unto the King's hands; and unless his Holiness, of his goodness unto you, will grant your Double of the said Pollicitation, ye see not but there shall be some notable blame imputed unto you for not better ordering thereof, to the conservation of it from such chance. And thus coming to a new Pollication, and saying, ye will devise it as near as ye can remember, according to the former, ye by your Wisdoms, and namely ye Mr. *Stevins*, may find the means to get as many of the new and other pregnant, fat, and available words as is possible, the same signed and sealed as the other is, to be written in Parchment; the Politick handling whereof, the King's Highness and I commit unto your good discretions; for therein, as ye Mr. *Stevins* know, resteth a great strength and corroboration of all that shall be done there, in decision of the Kings said Cause; and as ye write, may be in manner as beneficial to the King's purpose, as the Commission Decretal.

And to the intent ye may the better know how to proceed in this Business, I advertise you that the King's Highness hath now received fresh Letters out of *Spain*, answering to those sent by *Curson* jointly with a Servant of the Queens, for exhibition of the Original Brief here, of whose expedition you Mr. *Stevins* were privy before your departure. The Letters were of sundry dates, the last whereof is the 21. of *April*, at which time the Emperor was at *Cesar Augusta*, upon his departure toward *Barselona*. In effect, the Emperor minding by his departure thither, and other his Acts, to make a great demonstration of his coming into *Italy*, who is to nothing, as the King's Ambassadours write, more unready and unfurnished than to that Voyage, not having any Gallies there but three, which lay on dry Land unrigged, as they have done a long time past, none assembly of the States of that Land, none order, provision of Victual, towardness in conscription of Men of War, or appearance of such thing, but that his going to *Barselona*, is chiefly under pretext to attain certain old Treasure there remaining, and to give the better reputation to his Affairs in *Italy*. As to the matter of Peace and Truce, he seemeth not so alien from it, but that he would, under colour thereof, be glad to separate and dis-join other from the sincerity of concord that is between them, working somewhat with the *French* King, which he himself confesseth to be but abuses. On the other side, he maketh overture of Peace, or Truce to be had with the King's Highness also; and in the mean time entertaineth the Pope's Holiness, as one whom won from the residue of the Confederates, he thinketh himself well assured of; Howbeit in all this his Business, ye may constantly affirm, that his Compasses cannot prevail in any thing that may be extorted to the separation of the King's Highness and the *French* King, who entirely proceed together, that the Emperour coming or not coming into *Italy*, the said *French* King intendeth to prosecute him in the place where his Person shall be. To whom the King's Highness now sendeth the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the Treasurer of his honourable Household;

who, if the Pope will not really and actually intend to the maintaining of the Peace, coming to the convention of his Holiness, moved as the case shall require, shall be furnished of a substantial number of Men of War out of his Realm to the assistance of the said *French* King, if the Emperor happen to descend in *Italy*. So as his things there, be not like to be in such surety as might bring the Pope's Holiness to this extremity of fear and respect. And all the Premisses touching this knowledge had out of *Spain*, and the *French* King's Interest with the King's Concurrence as afore; It shall be well done ye declare to the Pope's Holiness, whereby peradventure the same shall be removed from some part of his said over much respect to that part.

As to sending of the Breve, the Emperor refusing to send it into *England*, sheweth some towardness of sending it to *Rome*, minding and intending to have the Kings Matter decided there and not here; howbeit all be but vain Collusions: For as ye shall perceive by such things as be extracted out of the Letters of the King's Orators Resident in *Spain*, a Copy whereof I send you herewith; the more the said Breve cometh into light and knowledge, the more falsities be deprehended therein; and amongst other, one there is specially to be noted; making if it be true, a clearer and manifest proof of the same falsity; which because if it were perceived by the adverse Party, or any of their Friends, Counsellers, or Adherents, it might soon by a semblable falsity be reformed, is above all other things to be kept secret, both from the Pope, and all other there, except to your selves: for in computation of the Year of our Lord is a diverse order observed in the Court of Rome in Bulls and Breves; That is to say, in the Bull beginning at the Incarnation of our Lord, in the Breve at the Nativity; so as the thing well searched, it is thought it shall be found, that the date presupposed to be of the Breve, which is *26. Decemb. Anno Dom.* 1508. *Pontificatus Julii anno primo*, well conferred with the manner and usages of the Court: He that counterfeited the Breve, not knowing such diversity between the Date of the Bull and Breves, and thinking to make both Dates of one day, dated the Breve at a day before Pope *Julius* was Pope; which ye shall more plainly perceive by the said Copy, and specially if under some good colour ye inquire your selves there, whether the year in the date of Breves change upon *Christmas* day, or upon *New-years* day, wherein the King's pleasure is, that ye enforce and certifie here what ye shall know and perceive. And if ye shall by such inquiry find matter making to the purpose, as it is not doubted but ye shall do, then for the more sure justification and proof thereof before the Judges, It shall be expedient ye in writing make memorial of such doubts, finding the means that it may be answered and declared in the same Writing, by certain expert persons of the Secretaries, and other Officers of that Court, with subscription of their Answer and Names, whereby it may appear here before us as Judges, as a thing true and approved: Howbeit, great dexterity is to be used for the secrecy thereof; for if such Exceptions might come to the Knowledge of the Adverse Party, they might, as the said Orators write, soon reform that defect by detaching one Letter, or Title, or forging a new Breve, alleging error in the Transumpts, which might be the total disappointment

deprehenſion of the falſity in that chief and principal point. I pray you therefore to regard that matter ſubſtantially, and to order it by your good Wiſdoms accordingly.

XXIV. *The two Legates Letter to the Pope, adviſing a Decretal Bull. A Duplicate.*

PRioribus noſtris ad Sanctitatem Veſtram literis quid hic ageremus, quove in ſtatu cauſa hæc eſſet expoſuimus; poſtea quum, & res ipſa, & deſiderium Regis admodum urgeret, ut ad Cauſæ ipſius merita agnoſcenda accingeremur, quando in ſuſpenſo, non modo horum Regum vota, ſed nec hujus Regni firmandi ratio, diutius haberi poteſt, omni ſuaſionis genere horum animis prius adhibito, ut alterius voluntati alter crederet, eique morem gererent, cum nihil profecerimus, ad Judicii inſtaurionem accedentes, de modo cauſam ipſam pertractandi, multa longioribus colloquiis inter nos commentati ſumus; qua in re, dum quæ neceſſaria ſunt adornantur, exhibitum eſt per Reginam exemplum Brevis Julii 2 eodem tempore quo & Bulla ſuper hac materia, dati & ſcripti, ſed attentiore cura & longe conſideratiore mente confecti, quod, quia in ſubſtantialibus etiam ab ipſa Bulla diverſum eſt, non modo Regium, ſed noſtrum quoque animum, mire ſuſpenſum habuit, uſque adeo ut de ejus veritate plurimum ſuſpicari libeat; nam præter inſperatam in tanta opportunitate ejus apparitionem, incredibile videtur, ut eodem tempore idem author, eiſdem partibus, in eadem Cauſa, diverſa admodum ratione caverit, & permanſuro Diplomati ejuſque Decreto, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, proferendo, & plumbeo charactere excudendo dormitaverit, brevioribus vero literis molli cera communiendis exactiſſimi ſtudii & fabricæ cogitationis ſpeciem impreſſerit: ne tamen Majeſtas hæc rem hanc damnatam priuſquam exploratam habeat, quippe quæ magis in veritate quam in voto ſuo, Cauſæ hujus eventum ſuſceptura videtur, ad ipſius Brevis exhibitionem inſtat, quod, quia honeſtum & rationi conſonum videtur, à nobis etiam probatur, propterea omni ſtudio curamus, ut Breve ipſum, quod in Hiſpaniis eſſe dicitur, & à quo exemplum hoc effigiatum aiunt proferatur; atque ut hoc expeditiore cura, & majore compendio aſſequamur, præter primam & ſummam illam de Cauſa cognoſcendi poteſtatem, quam à Sanctitate veſtra habemus, aliam quoque ad hunc ſpecialiter articulum habendam putamus, per quam poſſimus etiam per cenſuras, omnes etiam Regia & Imperiali Authoritate fulgentes, monere & adigere ut dictum Breve nobis exhibeant, ſine quo cauſa hæc nedum abſolvi, ſed nec commode tractari queat. Atque hoc primum eſt, quod Majeſtas hæc, in tanta animi fluctuatione qua nunc eſtuat, à nobis curandum putat, quo impetrato, Judicii via inſiſtentes ad Cauſæ cognitionem procedemus; quod ſi non proferatur, vel inutile & variatum, & fide ſua facile rejiciendum, prolatum fuerit, nihil prohibebit, hoc ſublato obice, quin ex officio noſtro reliqua proſequamur: ſin vero exhibeatur, & veritate ſua, vel adeo ſcite conficta fallacia, ita ſe meatur ut acriori examine id inquiri debeat, pateſacto jam patronorum cavillis & calumniis foro, quibus undis & judicii fluctibus non ſolum articulum hunc Brevis, ſed univerſam Cauſam implicaturi ſimus, nullus

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non viderit; neque enim decrunt quæ ſuſpectam ipſius Brevis fidem faciant, vel ex hoc maxime, quod cum maxime Regis & Regni hujus interſit, nihil prorſus de eo antehac auditum fuerit, nec ejus memoria ulla ratio ulla extet in Scriniis Regiis, in quibus etiam minima quæque ad Regnum ſpectantia aſſervari ſolent: nam veriſimile non eſt in Hiſpanis majorem Anglicæ rei curam fuiſſe quam in ipſa Anglia, neq; quempiam ſolerti & acri adeo ingenio fuiſſe, qui hujuſcemodi diſſidium vigeſimo quinto abhinc anno ſuboriturum, & hac ſola ratione ſublatum iri poſſe divinaverit, nulla ut diximus apud hunc Regem, & in hoc Regno talis rei memoria extante. Porro ſi ex Brevi ad Bullam, & ex Bulla ad Breve tranſitus fiat, atque illius jejunitatem & ariditatem inſectemur, hujus prægnantia verba, & ad omnes fere exceptiones tollendas, ſuperſtitioſam quodammodo vigilantiam conferamus, & quæ utrinque deduci poſſunt in Reſcriptis Apoſtolicis æquo animo audiamus, periclitaturi certe ſumus, ne, quod minime cupimus, Sedis Apoſtolicæ Authoritatem patientia noſtra in diſcrimen rapiamus, atque dum Regno, & Regi hanc ſuppetias ferre volumus, rem dignitatemque noſtram multo minorem faciamus, cui tum poſita etiam anima, favere & adeſſe ſemper cupimus & debemus. Propterea, Beatiſſime Pater, non ſolum pro Regis & Cauſæ hujus commodo, ſed pro dignitate quoq; Eccleſiaſtica & Sanctitatis Veſtræ Autoritate hic tuenda & conſervanda, nullo pacto committendum ducimus, ut nobis ſpectantibus & audientibus, de Poteſtate Romani Pontificis, de literarum Apoſtolicarum ſub plumbo & ſub annulo ſcriptarum fide, & repugnantia, deque juris divini abrogatione diſceptetur, maxime in Regum cauſa oppugnanda & defendenda, qui, ut ſublimiori ſunt faſtigio collocati, ita iniquiori animo patiuntur Cauſæ ſuæ cohonestationem qua & dignitatem & exiſtimationem ſuam diminutam iri intelligunt, quæ ſi ignobilium etiam animos quoſque exulcerare, ipſa rerum experientia docti cernimus, qualiter quæſo putamus Regios & generoſos affectura? Itaque quoniam hanc charybdim & hos ſcopulos evitaſſe ſemper tutum erit, propterea hujuſmodi incommoda quodammodo prævecti, ubi ad litis moleſtias & incertas fori fluctuationes cauſam deducendam perſpicimus, ſuadere, rogare & ſummis precibus pariq; reverentia contendere non deſinemus, ut ſi exhibito Brevi pura veritas ita latuerit, quod rectumne an falſum, vitiatum ſeu adulterinum fuerit judicare ac decernere minime valeamus, Sanctitas Veſtra Cauſam hanc ad ſe avocet, non ſolum ut tanto diſcrimine, & perplexitate nos eximat, ſed ut paterno affectu Cauſæ & Regi huic optimo ſubveniat & opem ferat, atque ex poteſtatis ſuæ plenitudine & ſumma prudentia finem huic rei optatum imponat, quæ non ſine magno hujus Regni & Eccleſiaſticæ dignitatis periculo diutius trahi poteſt: Speramus autem Sereniſſimum hunc Regem in hujuſmodi avocandæ Cauſæ conſilio facile quieturum, & lebroſa hæc litium itinera & labyrinthos evitaturum, modo in fide Sanctitatis Veſtræ chirographo manus ſuæ teſtata, cognoverit, ſe diutius ſuſpenſo in hac re animo detinendum non fore, atque ab hujuſmodi matrimonio ſe tandem liberandum, in quo nec humano nec divino jure permanere ſe poſſe putat, ex cauſis Sanctitati Veſtræ forſan notis, & per hos ſuos nuntios longioribus verbis explicandis. Quod ſi Sanctitas Veſtra commodius exiſtimaverit, Avocatione hujuſmodi poſthabita, per Decretalis unius conceſſionem huic cauſæ occurri & ſuccurri poſſe, in hanc quoque rationem regis animum paratum dabimus; & propterea concepta

quodam

quedam Decretalis modulo, cum per hos ipsos Majestatis suæ nuntios mittamus, ex quibus abunde intelliget, quodque non absque exemplo ejusmodi auxilia proponantur, & quam non temere nec absque ratione Majestas hæc desiderio huic suo inhæreat: interea vero, dum hac vel illa ratione huic rei occurritur & Breve ipsum perquireretur, posset utiq; Sanctitas Vestra iterum Reginæ animum tentare, & ad Religionem emollire, curando (ut quod maxime apud eam gratia & Autoritate esse debeant) & literis, & precibus, & nuntiis, omnique alia ratione, hac ipsa via, sibi, suisq; rebus omnibus atq; aliis optime consulat. Cujusmodi nostra, pro salute Regni & publica cum dignitate, tam tranquillitate animo agitamus, ut tandem optimo Regi præsidio simus, qui incredibili patientia & humanitate, nostram & Sanctitatis Vestræ opem expectat, sed tanta obsessus cura, sollicitudine & anxietate, ut nullus facile explicare possit, vix enim in hoc ipso, oculis & auribus nostris credimus; cujus usque adeo nos miseret, ut nihil ingrato magis animo audiamus quam ejus de hac re verba, querelas & cruciatum: jure, an injuria fecerimus nobis hoc, Beatissime Pater, cum Sanctitate Vestra tacere, ne præjudicium nobis aut aliis faciamus, sed quem non excitet tot annorum Conscientiæ Carnificina, quam ut transversum & modo in has & modo illas partes agant Theologorum disputationes, & Patrum decreta, nullus non videt; qua in re enucleanda ita ambiguo laboratur sensu, ut jam non doctioris sed melioris hominis lumine & pietate egeamus, & nequarea factum est ut cum ab utraq; parte stant assertores maximi, in illam magis Majestas sua inclinat, quæ ab offensionibus & periculis magis remota videtur. Quem præterea non moveat dulcis illa insitaque sobolis successio, in qua morientes & animam exhalaturi conquiescere, anima ipsa, videmur omnes? quem insuper non accendat, Regni atque imperii propagatio, & per solos liberos continuata quædam fruitio? quem denique; populorum fidei ac ejus curæ commissorum tranquillitas & securitas, quæ in designatis jam regibus & principibus nutritur & vivit, non sollicitet? ita ut tanti adeoq; communis boni fundamenta nulla à se ipsa, non doleat & suspiret, cum in extremis ejus diebus, extrema quoque tempora eis adventare sentiat, atq; secum omnia quodammodo in ruinam trahi? Majores habet, Beatissime Pater, Causa hæc anfractus & difficultates, quam superficie tenus inspectantibus offerantur, in qua vel hæ potissimæ sunt quod nec moram patitur, & in alteram partem non inclinat quidem, sed omnino cogit, ni velimus ab ea præcipites & maxima cum privatæ tum publicæ rei jactura cadere; nam qui vel Reginæ odio, vel speratæ, nec dum forsan notæ, futuræ conjugis illecebra & titillatione Regem agi putant, ii excordes plane & toto, quod aiunt, cœlo errare videntur: ut enim credere dignum est, nullis ullius quamlibet duris moribus aut injocunda consuetudine, vel ulterioris sobolis spe desperata, Regium animum tanto periculo ad odium impelli posse; ita nec in hominis bene sani menti cadere debet, Regem hunc imbecillo adeo esse animo, ut sensuum suadela eam abrumpere cupiat consuetudinem, in qua adolescentiæ suæ florentes annos exegerit persancte adeo, ut in hac quoq; fluctuatione, non sine reverentia & honore versetur. Noverit, credite omnes, voluntate ejus non modo divinæ legis timor, sed humani quoq; juris ratio eximia, hæcq; non privata sed publica, ad quam cum ejus animum trahant, utriusq; juris peritissimi, & Regni hujus sui proceres, & primates omnes, nihil tamen suo, aut suorum tantum

arbitrio

arbitrio constitutum habere cupit, sed Apostolicæ Sedis judicio; qua in re quanta sit pietate, maxime ostendit, quum non ex magorum carminibus, & circulatorum impostoris, aliisve malis artibus, sed Sanctissimi Pontificis manu, tanto huic vulneri suo opem petat, de quo vel plura forte quam licuisset Sanctitati Vestræ subjecimus, quoniam hæc ipsa ulcera manibus nostris contrectavimus, & quantum vitales spiritus exhalent cognovimus: proinde Sanctitas Vestra, pii patris & peritissimi medici more, dum virtus adhuc stat, dum salus non desperatur, dum æger ipse sese sustinet & legitima petit auxilia, Regem de se & Apostolica sede optime meritum in pietatis suæ sinu foveat, illudq; ei indulgeat quod nec disputationum immortalia dissidia, nec litium immensum chaos unquam dabit, nec sine maximo discrimine unquam tractabitur; atque illud etiam secum reputet, quam injurium, & cum privatis tum publicis rebus incommodum sit, extremos juris apices consectari, quamquam non expediat ex scripto jure semper judicari, cui, quia Pontifices & Principes miro omnium consensu, à Deo ipso præfecti, censentur Spiritus & animæ vice, merito in ambiguis, & ubi multa periclitatur hominum salus, arbitrio suo ejus duritiem moderari possunt & debent, in quo Sanctitas Vestra & Regem & Regnum hoc plane servaverit. Quod si alia ratione vel aliunde paranda sibi fuerint auxilia, reremur ne de Regno & Rege hoc actum sit, quicquid enim alia manu huic vulneri impositum fuerit, nihil minus faciet quam sanitatem, seditionibus enim & tumultibus omnia exponentur, atq; imprimis Ecclesiastica Dignitas & Apostolicæ Sedis Authoritas hinc deturbabitur; quod non erit difficile, aut ingratum quibusdam, qui Rege cum Sanctitate Vestra nunc conjunctissimo, impietatis suæ venenum perbelle dissimulant. Cujusmodi jacturam si dura hæc tempora nostra fecerunt, quod deinde sperandum sit, non videmus. Conservandus itaq; Rex est, ejusq; animia in Apostolicam Sedem voluntas & fides, ne eo à nobis abalienemus, non modo Angliæ Regem, sed Fidei quoq; Defensorem amittamus, cujus virtutes & Religionem tanto plausu orbi commendavimus. Brevitati studentes multa præterimus, & præsertim quid Regni proceres, Nobiles æque atque ignobiles dicant, qui fremunt & acerbissime indignantur, se tamdiu suspensos haberi, atque ab aliorum nutu & voluntate despectare, quid de fortunis eorum omnibus & capitibus statuant, aut decernent: atque hac potissimum via insistunt, qui nullam aut certe diminutam hic Romani Pontificis Authoritatem vellent, quorum plerique in his disceptationibus, quibus alter alteri, ut usu venire solet, re in ambiguo posita, adversatur, ea dicunt quæ non absque horrore referri queant; nam inter cætera illud maxime in ore obvium habent, & prædicant, se nunquam satis demirari, aut ridere posse quorundam ignaviam, qui patienter audiunt, Pontificibus in Jure Divino figendo & refigendo licere, Pontifici Pontificis ceram aut plumbum conflare non permittimus, ut hos scopulos & has syrtes evitemus, nihil non agimus, & præceps, huc vel illuc, Rex hic ruat, curamus, quem in officio vix continere posse confidimus, dum à Sanctitate Vestra his literis rescribatur, quibus si ut speramus & cupimus aliquid rescriptum fuerit, per quod Regem & horum omnium animos quietiores reddere valeamus, accedet nobis quoque vis aliqua cætera fœlicius perficiendi: sin minus, omnia deterius itura non ambigimus. Quæ ut celerius Majestas sua cognoscat, præsentes hos nuntios suos per dispositos equos ad Sanctitatem Vestram mittit.

mittit, ex quorum sermone plura quoque intelliget quam literæ ipsæ commode capere potuerunt. Ignoscet vero Sanctitas Vestra literarum nostrarum prolixitati, quæ tametsi modum excedunt, rei tamen hujus difficultatem & periculum majori ex parte minime attingunt.

May 21. 1529. Richmont.

XXV. *Another Dispatch to* Rome. *An Original.*

RIght well beloved Friends, I commend me unto you in my most hearty manner, by the hands of *Alexander*, Messenger; I have in good diligence received your Letters of the 4th of this Month; and semblably the King's Highness hath received your other Letters, sent by the same Messenger unto his Grace: By tenour whereof it well appeareth that the King's Highness is now frustrate of the good hope and expectation that his Grace and semblably I were in of the Pope's determination, to have done for his Highness in this great and weighty Cause of Matrimony, as his Holiness by his Chamberlain promised; not only that which might be done of power ordinary, but also of absolute; and that ye be utterly in despair to consecute or attain any thing to the purpose there, to the benefit of the said Cause, with the strange demeanour that hath been used in calling you to make answer, why the supplications presented by the Emperor's Ambassador for advocation of the Cause should not proceed; and how discreetly and substantially ye have answered and ordered your selves therein: Affirming finally, that as to that Matter, ye think it shall not serve to any purpose, but only to stop your suit in the obtaining of a new Commission; and desiring to be ascertained of the King's pleasure touching the Protestation mentioned in your Instructions, and how the same is meant and understood, with many other things comprised in your said Letters, right well and substantially couched and handled; for the which the King's Highness giveth you hearty thanks, and I also thank you in most hearty manner for my part.

Ascertaining you, that by *Thadeus*, Courier, upon receipt of your former Letters sent by him, who I trust be arrived with you long before this time; I wrote unto you the King's mind and pleasure, as well to forbear any further pursuits of the Degrees committed unto your Charge, except only the expedition of a new Commission and Pollicitation mentioned in the same, as also that you Mr. *Stevins*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, should return home, like as my said Letters purported. And forasmuch as now it appeareth, that there is no hope for you to attain the said Commission and Pollicitation, the King's Highness supposing that ye the said Mr. *Stevins* and Sir *Francis* be on your way homeward; and perceiving that it should be necessary for his Grace to have there a substantial Counsellor of his, well learned in the Laws, as well to defend all such things as shall be procured or set forth by the *Cæsareans*, to the hindrance of the King's Cause, as to let and impeach any Advocations, Inhibitions, or other thing that may be damnageable thereunto, hath dispatched thither this Bearer and Mr. *Bennet*, who hath commandment

to

to ſhew unto you, and every of you, whereſoever he ſhall meet with or find you, his whole Inſtructions, by tenour whereof ye ſhall be advertiſed of the King's further mind and pleaſure in that Behalf; wherefore this ſhall be only to ſignifie unto you, how his Highneſs will that ye now forbear any further purſuit, either for Commiſſion, Pollicitation or Reſcript to be ſent to the Emperor for exhibition of the Brief, either here or at *Rome*, but that following in every part the tenor of the ſaid Inſtructions, ye Mr. *Stevins* and Sir *Francis Bryan* uſe all the diligence poſſible in your Voyage homeward, and the reſidue of you to intend to ſuch things as be mentioned in the ſaid Inſtructions; aſcertaining you, that whereas ye were in doubt what is meant by the Proteſtation ſpoken of in my former Letters and your Inſtructions, it was none other thing than in the ſame Inſtructions was plainly ſpecified and declared; That is to ſay, Failing of all your Requeſts and Purſuits touching the King's great Matter, to have ſhewed unto his Holineſs the danger that might enſue, by loſing the intire favour of this Prince, by mean of his ſo ſtrange and unkind dealing with his Grace; howbeit, conſidering in what ſtate the things now be, and how much the Pope's Holineſs leaneth to be enclined to the Emperors part; and yet as appeareth both by your Letters, and by ſuch other knowledge as the King hath, his Holineſs would gladly conſerve the King's Love and Favour, and is loth to do any thing to the prejudice of his Cauſe: It is no time to come to any rigorous or extream words with his Holineſs, but in gentle and modeſt manner to ſhew himſelf in ſuch words as be mentioned in my ſaid laſt Letters ſent by *Thadeus*; and ſo without irritation of him, but with conſervation of his favour to entertain his Holineſs in the beſt manner that may be, without medling in any other Proteſtation, but only to look what may be done touching ſuch Proteſtations apart, as is mentioned in the ſaid Inſtructions given to Mr. *Bennet*, which with theſe Letters ſhall be a ſufficient information of you all what to do in the Cauſes to you committed, not doubting but in all other particular ſuits of Bulls, and other things committed unto you, ye Mr. *Stevins* and Sir *Francis Bryan* have or will do your beſt to bring the ſame with you; the expedition whereof, if they be not ſped already, the King's Highneſs committeth to the Wiſdoms of ſuch of you as ſhall fortune to be in the Court of *Rome* at the receipt hereof; wherein, and in all other things, his Highneſs truſteth, and I do the ſemblable, that ye will order your ſelves with all effectual diligence, as the ſpecial confidence that is put in you doth appertain.

And foraſmuch as the greateſt thing that is to be looked unto is the importune Suit of the *Ceſareans*, not only to ſtop any further things to be granted to the King's Highneſs, but alſo to revoke the Commiſſion given to the Lord Legate *Campegius* and to me, which ſhould be a clear diſappointment and fruſtration of the King's Cauſe; ye ſhall therefore look ſubſtantially by all politick means to withſtand, that no ſuch thing be granted: aſſuring the Pope and all the Cardinals, and ſuch other as have reſpect to the well of the See Apoſtolick, that if he ſhould do ſuch an high injury to the King and his Realm, and an Act ſo contumelious to us his Legates, and ſo contrarious to his Faith and Promiſe, he ſhould thereby not fail ſo highly to irritate the King and all the Nobles of the Realm, that undoubtedly they ſhould decline from the obedience of the

the See Apoſtolick, and conſequently all other Realms ſhould do the ſemblable, foraſmuch as they ſhould find in the *Head* of the ſame, neither juſtneſs, uprightneſs, nor truth; and this ſhall be neceſſary, as the caſe ſhall require, well to be inculked and put in his head, to the intent his Holineſs by the ſame may be preſerved from granting, paſſing, or condeſcending to any ſuch thing.

After theſe Letters perfected hither, and read unto the King's Highneſs, albeit that mention is made in ſundry places heretofore, that as well ye Mr. *Stevins*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, if ye be not returned from the Court of *Rome*, as alſo the reſt of the King's Ambaſſadours, which at the arrival of Mr. Doctor *Bennet* ſhall fortune to be there, ſhall forbear to make any further means or purſuit for the New Commiſſion and Pollication, but clearly to uſe ſilence therein; yet nevertheleſs regarding, and more profoundly conſidering the effect of your Letters laſt ſent, it doth plainly appear, that tho' after the overture made to the Pope's Holineſs of the ſaid New Commiſſion, the Buſineſs chanced to be made by the Emperor's Ambaſſador, upon preferring a ſupplication for advocation of the Cauſe; which thing by your writing Mr. *Stevins*, to *Capiſucchi* was well avoided; yet was there none expreſs refuſal made by the Pope's Holineſs to condeſcend unto the ſaid New Commiſſion, but order given that you ſhould conſult and confer with the Cardinal *Ancomitane* and *Simonetta* upon the ſame; which Conference, by means of the ſaid Anſidia, was deferred and diſappointed, without any final concluſion or reſolution taken thereupon. Wherefore inaſmuch as yet there appeareth no utter deſpair of obtaining the ſaid New Commiſſion and Pollicitation, with ſome more fat, pregnant, and effectual Clauſes than the other hath; The King's pleaſure is, That notwithſtanding any words before mentioned, both ye the ſaid Mr. *Stevins*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, if ye be not departed from the Court of *Rome*, do for the time of your remur there, which the King's pleaſure is ſhall not be long, but only for taking of your leave; and alſo the reſt of the King's ſaid Orators, after your departure, ſhall, as ye ſhall ſee the caſe require, endeavour your ſelves as much as may be, to obtain the ſaid New Commiſſion and Pollicitation, foreſeeing always that you handle the matter after ſuch manner, as thereby the Pope be not the rather induced to hearken and incline to any purſuits of the Imperials for advocation of the Cauſe, which were a total fruſtration of all the King's intent, but ſo to uſe your ſelves, as ye ſhall ſee to be to the benefit, and not to the hindrance thereof: Which done, the King's Grace doth refer the good handling of this thing to your wiſdoms and diſcretions, neither to leave the purſuit of the ſaid Commiſſion and Pollicitation, if it may without dammage be followed; nor to follow it, if thereby you ſhall ſee apparent danger of any ſuch Advocation, or advantage to enſue to the purpoſe of the *Imperialiſts*, like as his Highneſs doubteth not, knowing now the King's mind and pleaſure, you will with wiſdom and dexterity, order your ſelves therein accordingly.

And furthermore, you ſhall in any wiſe diſſuade the Pope for ſending hither by his Nuntio, to be ſent unto *Spain*, or otherwiſe, for the Original Bull: And if the Nuntio be already paſſed, having charge to ſpeak for ſending the ſame to the Court of *Rome*, then to find the means that a Commandment be by the Pope's Holineſs ſent after him, not to make any mention

thereof: Which done to you, the King's said Ambassador shall have a good colour to induce the Pope's Holiness, saying, as of your self, That you have well considered your own pursuits for procuring the Brief at *Rome*; and because the Emperor might per-case think that the Pope were about to affect unto him the falsity of the said Brief, therefore you can be contented that that matter be put off, and no mention to be made thereof by his Nuntio, or otherwise; whereunto it is not to be doubted but the Pope's Holiness will have special regard, and facilly condescend to your desires in that behalf.

Finally, It appeareth also by certain your Letters sent, as well to the King's Highness as to me, that the Pope's Holiness is much desirous to study and find a mean and way to satisfie the King's Highness in this behalf: Amongst which one clause in his Letters to me is this; *Tamen enim jurisperitorum consilium quæsiverimus, sed nihil reperimus, quod hoc oratoribus simul & supplicibus ad honori nostro satisfaceret; sed tamen omnia & veniamus unico modo Regiæ suæ Serenitati, ac circumspectioni satisfaciendi.* (And he added in the Margin, with *Wolsey*'s hand; *Mr. Petre, referas mihi literis pervelim quid tibi & mihi Pontifex dixerit de modis excogitandis, & quomodo subridens dicebat, In somnis &c.*)

Wherefore since his Holiness so plainly declared, that he seeketh the ways and means to satisfie the King's Highness, it shall be in any wise expedient, that you the said Orators perceiving any towardness of Advocation, lay this to the Pope's Holiness, saying, That that is not the way to satisfie his Grace; and yet besides that, by your Wisdoms to find the means to understand and know of his Holiness what be the ways and means, which his Holiness hath studied or can study to satisfie the King according to his writing in this behalf, whereof they shall say his Grace is glad, and is very desirous to know and understand the same; and as you shall perceive any towardness or unreadiness in the Pope in that behalf, so to set forth your pursuits to the said purpose accordingly. And thus heartily fare you well. From *Richmond* the 21 day of *May*.

Your loving Friend,

T. Cardin. Ebor.

May 31. Romæ 1529.

XXVI. A Letter of the Pope's to the Cardinal. An Original.

Dilecto Filio noſtro Thomæ *tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracenſi, noſtro & ſedis Apoſtolicæ Legato de latere.*

Clemens *manu propria.*

DIlecte Fili noſter, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Cum Angliæ Rex ac Circumſpectio veſtra, vetera veſtra erga nos & Sedem Apoſtolicam merita novis officiis augeretis, optabamus occaſionem, in qua & vos noſtrum amorem cognoſcere poſſetis; ſed moleſtiſſime tulimus eam primum eſſe oblatam, in qua circumſepti anguſtis terminis juſtitiæ, non poſſemus progredi quantum vellemus, ſtudio vobis gratificandi, multis ac rationabilibus Cauſis deſiderium veſtrum impedientibus, quod quidem Regiis Oratoribus iſtuc redeuntibus demonſtrare conati ſumus. Sed ſuper his & publicis negotiis copioſius vobiſcum loquetur Dilectus Filius noſter Cardinalis Campegius. Datum Romæ die ultima Maii, 1529. *Cotton* Libr. *Vitel.* B. 11.

J.

April 6. 1529.

XXVII. *The King's Letter to his Ambaſſadours, to hinder an Avocation of the Suit: An Original.*

By the King.

Henry Rex.

TRuſty and right well-beloved we greet you well. Since your departure from hence, we have received ſundry your Letters to us directed, whereof the laſt beareth date at *Rome*, the 4*th* day of the laſt month; and have alſo ſeen ſuch other as from time to time ye have ſent to the moſt Reverend Father in God, our moſt entirely well-beloved Counſeller the Lord Legate, Cardinal, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, Primate of *England*, and our Chancellour: By continue whereof, we have been advertiſed of the Succeſſes, as well of your Journey thitherwards, as of ſuch things as ye to that time had done in our Cauſes to you committed; for the which your diligent advertiſement, and good acquittal, we give unto you condign thanks: aſcertaining you, We do not a little marvel, that in your ſaid laſt Letters you ſhew ſo much deſperation of any great favour to be had at the Pope's hand in our ſaid Cauſes; conſidering that neither ye then had ſpoken with his Holineſs in the ſame, nor by *Cotton* Libr. *Vitel.* B. 11.

ſuch Conferences as ye had had with Mr. *Jacobo Salviati*, or other on his behalf, we can perceive but all good favour and towardneſs; tho' per-caſe the ſuperiority of the Imperials, and the common fame, led you to think the contrary: Howbeit as you know no credence is to be given unto ſuch common report, nor we truſt the ſame ſhall prove more true, than hath done the Opinion that was of the Lord Legate *Campegius* now here Reſident, whom we find and certainly know to be of a far other ſort in his love and inclination towards us, than was ſpoken, not having ſuch affection towards the Emperor, as in him was ſuſpected. And to be plain with you, if ever he had been of other mind, we have ſaid ſomewhat to him after ſuch manner as might ſoon change that intention. So that little faith is to be given to the outward Sayings and Opinions of ſuch People as meaſure every thing at their pleaſure; which we doubt not but ye right wiſely do conſider, and that ye have before this time, by your diligent ſollicitation made to ſpeak with the Pope's Holineſs for declaration of your Charge, proved the contrary. Whereof we ſhall be glad and joyous to hear; willing and deſiring you therefore, according to the great and ſpecial confidence that we have in you, to pretermit no time in the diligent handling and execution of your ſaid Charge, but by one good way or other to find the mean, if you have not already done it, to declare the ſame unto the Pope, wherein the good advice and addreſs of the Biſhop of *Verone* ſhall, we truſt, do you great furtherance; and by whoſe means, if ye for the Pope's extreme debility or ſickneſs might in no wiſe be often admitted unto his preſence, ye may ſignify unto him at great length, our whole Mind, Deſire, and Intent, after ſuch form as your Inſtructions and Letters given and ſent unto you in that behalf do purport: For ſure ye may be, it ſhall highly confer unto the benefit of our Cauſes, that ye have there preſent one ſo faſt and aſſured Friend unto us, as we truſt the Biſhop of *Verone* is, who ſhall be able right largely to countervail, and meet with the malicious practices of the Arch-Biſhop of *Capua*, who is thought to be one of the chief Authors and contrivers of the Falſities, Crafts, and Abuſes, ſet forth to the hindrance of our ſaid Cauſes; which no Man ſhall more politickly and facilely deprehend, than the ſaid Biſhop of *Verone* may do: And therefore he is by you, with all good means and ways poſſible, to be entertained; as we doubt not but you will have ſpecial eye and regard to the making, winning, and conſervation of as many Friends to our purpoſe as ye can poſſibly obtain; ſo handling your ſelf, as now may appear your dexterity and perfect endeavour to conduce, with your diligent labour and pains, our Matters to the ſpeedy, indelayed, and deſired end and effect, which ye may be ſure we ſhall not put in oblivion, but will have the ſame in remembrance accordingly. Marvelling nevertheleſs, that though Mr. *Stevins* could not bring hitherto our great Cauſes to perfection, ye had not in the mean ſeaſon advertiſed us what is done touching ſuch Bulls as were to be ſped for our other particular Matters, whereof no mention is made in your ſaid Letters; willing and deſiring you therefore, by your next Letters, to advertiſe us in what ſtate and train the ſame be; knowing right well that ye being not only by the former Letters and Writings, but alſo by ſuch as be ſent unto you at this time, ſufficiently and amply inſtructed of our Mind and Pleaſure, will now ſo

ſo acquit your ſelf, as ſhall correſpond to the perfect expectation, and firm opinion that we have of you, which we ſhall not fail to have in our tender conſideration to your well, as is aforeſaid. You ſhall alſo, in your Conferences with the ſaid Biſhop of *Verone*, underſtand and know of him, by what ways and means ye may beſt further his advancement to the Cardinality; exhorting him, for the manifold good effects that thereof may enſue, to conform himſelf to the acceptation thereof, if it may be obtained; for doubtleſs his Vertue, Wiſdom, Experience, Fidelity, and other great and commendable merits well conſidered, we think no Man more meet at this time to be preferred thereunto than him; And therefore our expreſs Mind and Pleaſure is, that ye do it by all the ways and means to you poſſible. And finally we will that ye ſhow unto him how effectually we have written unto you in that behalf, to the intent, being advanced thereunto, he may give us the better thanks, and in every way bear to us the more perfect affection. And by your next Letters, we will that ye advertiſe us what Advocates ye have on our part, with their Names and Qualities; finding the means alſo, if it is poſſible, to retain ſome notable and excellent Divine, a Frier, or other that may, can, or will firmly ſtick to our Cauſes, in leaning to that; *Quod Pontifex ex Jure Divino non poteſt diſpenſare, &c.* and of all the Succeſſes to advertiſe us, as our ſpecial truſt is in you. Given under our Signet, at our Manner of *Greenwich*, the 6th of this *April*.

XXVIII. The King's Letter to his Ambaſſadours, about his appearance before the Legates. An Original.

June 23. 1529.

To our truſty and right well-beloved Counſellers, Mr. William Bennet, *Doctor of both Laws; Sir* Gregory de Caſſalis, *Knight; and Mr.* Peter Vannes *our Secretary for the Latine Tongue, our Ambaſſadours, reſident in the Court of* Rome, *and to every of them.*

By the KING.

Henry R.

TRuſty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. By former Letters and Writings ſent to you Sir *Gregory* and Mr. *Peter*, with other of your Collegues then being at *Rome*, and by ſuch conference as was had with you Mr. *Bennet* before your departure, you were advertiſed in what ſtate then ſtood our Cauſe and Matter of Matrimony, and how it was intended that the Proceſs of the ſame ſhould with diligence be commenced before the Pope's Legates here, being authorized for that purpoſe. Since that time, enſuing the deliberation taken in that behalf, the ſaid Legates, all due Ceremonies firſt obſerved, have directed Citations

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 11.

Citations both to us and to the Queen, for our and for her appearing before them the 18*th.* of this Month; which appearance was duly on either Party kept, performed, and all requisite Solemnities accomplished: At which time the Queen trusting more in the Power of the Imperialists, than in the justness of her Cause, and thinking of likelyhood, by frustratory allegations and delays, to tract and put over the matter to her advantage, did protest at the said day, putting in Libels Recusatories of the Judges; and also made a provocation, alledging the Cause to be avoked by the Pope's Holiness, *& litis pendentiam coram eodem*; desiring to be admitted for probation thereof, and to have a term competent for the same: Whereupon day was given by the Judges till the 21. of the same month, for declaration of their minds and intentions thereunto; The Queen in Person, and we by our Proctor enjoined to appear the same day, to hear what the said Judges should determine in and upon the same. At which time both we and the Queen appeared in Person; and notwithstanding that the said Judges amply and sufficiently declared, as well the sincerity of their minds directly, justly to proceed without favour, dread, affection, or partiality; as also that in such Recusation, Appellation, or term for proving of *Litis pendentia*, could or might be by them admitted: yet she nevertheless persisting in her former wilfulness, and in her Appeal, which also by the said Judges was likewise recused: And they minding to proceed further in the Cause, the Queen would no longer make her abode to hear what the said Judges would fully discern, but incontinently departed out of the Court; wherefore she was thrice preconnisate, and called eft-soons to return and appear; which she refusing to do, was denounced by the Judges *Contumax*, and a Citation decerned for her appearance on *Friday* next, to make answer to such Articles and Positions as should be objected unto her: So as now it is not to be doubted, but that she will use all the ways and means to her possible, to impetrate and attain such things as well by her own pursute, as by her Friends, as may be to the impeachment of the rightful Process of this Cause, either by Advocation, Inhibition or otherwise: Wherefore seeing now in what state this our Matter standeth and dependeth, necessary and requisite for the great Consequences hanging upon the same, not only for the exoneration of our Conscience, but also for the surety of our Succession, and the weal of this our Realm and People, to be with all celerity perfected and observed; It was thought convenient to advertise you of the Premisses, to the intent ye being well and sufficiently instructed in all things concerning the same, shall by your wisdoms and diligences have special regard that nothing pass or be granted there by the Pope's Holiness, which may either give delay or disappointment to the direct and speedy Process to be used in this Cause, neither by advocation of the Cause, Inhibition or otherwise; but that if any such thing shall, by the Cardinal or by her Agents, or other, be attempted, or desired, the like Men of Wisdom, good Zeal, Learning, and Experience, diligently procure the stopping thereof, as well upon such Reasons and Considerations as before have been signified unto you, as by inferring the high and extreme dishonour, and intolerable prejudice that the Pope's Holiness therein should do to his said Legates; and also the contrariety both of his Bull and Commission, and also of his Promise and Pollicitation passed upon the same

same, beside the notable and excellent displeasure thereby to be done by his Holiness to us, and our Realm, clear contrary to our merits and deserts; extending also the other dangers mentioned in the said former Writings, apparent to ensue thereby to his Holiness, and the See Apostolick, with the manifold, and in manner, infinite inconveniencies like to follow of the same to all Christendom, and all other such reasons, inductions and perswasions ye can make and devise for that purpose: putting him also in remembrance of the great Commodity coming unto his Holiness herein, by reason that this Cause being here decided, the Pope not only is delivered from the pains that he should in this time of Disease and Sickness, to the extream peril of his Life sustain with the same, seeing that it is of such moment and importance, as suffereth no trace or delay; but also his Holiness shall by such decision here eschew and avoid all displeasure that he should not fail to have, if it were or should be passed elsewhere: which matter is no little wisdom well to foresee and consider, and not only to forbear to do or pass any thing derogatory or prejudicial to his said Commission, but also by all means possible to corroborate and fortifie the same, and all such Acts judicial as shall pass by his said Legates by virtue thereof. Like as we doubt not but that the Pope's Holiness, of his Uprightness, Vertue, and perfect Wisdom will do; and rather like a most loving Father and Friend, tender and favour our good, just and reasonable Causes and Desires, putting thereunto all the furtherance he may do, than to do or consent to be done any thing hurtful, prejudicial, dammageable, or displeasant unto us, or this our said Cause. And finally, if need shall be, we wish ye also infer, as the case shall require, how inconvenient it were this our matter should be decided in the Court of *Rome*, which now dependeth totally in the Emperor's Arbitre, having such puissance near thereunto, that, as hath been written by the Pope's own Letters, their State and Life there is all in the Emperor's hands, who's Armies may famish or relieve them at their pleasure. And semblably ye shall not forget the prerogative of our Crown and Jurisdiction Royal, by the ancient Laws of our Realm, which admitteth nothing to be done by the Pope to the prejudice thereof, and also what danger they should incur that would presume to bring or present any such thing unto the same, as in our last Letters sent by *Alexander* was touched at good length. Wherein since ye be already so well and amply instructed, knowing also how much the Matter imports and toucheth us, and what profit and agreeable service ye may do unto us herein, with the high thanks that ye may deserve for the same; We shall not be more prolix, but refer the substantial, perfect, and assured handling hereof to your circumspections, fidelities, and diligences, not doubting but that ye will now above all other things, look vigilantly hereunto, and so acquit your selves in the same, as it may well appear that your Acts shall be correspondent to our firm trust and expectation, and no less tender this thing than ye know it to be imprinted in the bottom of our Heart, more than as ye know both the importance and high moment, and also the very necessity of the Matter doth require. In which doing, beside the fruit and praise that ye shall consecute thereby of all good Men, we shall have your acquittals in our remembrance, as ye shall have cause to

to think your travels, pains, and ſtudies herein, in the beſt wiſe collocate and employed. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of *Hatfield*, the 23*d* day of *June*.

Rome 9. *July* 1529.

XXIX. *Doctor* Bennet's *Letter to the Cardinal, ſhewing how little they might expect from the Pope. An Original.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 11. PLeaſe it your Grace to underſtand, that the 6*th* day of this month the Pope's Holineſs ſent for us: Albeit we had made great ſuit for Audience before to his Holineſs, ſoon after that we had underſtanding that his Holineſs was recovered of this his laſt Sickneſs, into the which he fell the ſecond day, after I had my firſt audience of his Holineſs, which was the 21. day of the laſt month: And after our long communication and reaſoning in the King's Highneſs Cauſe, which at length we have written to your Grace in our common Letter, for a confirmation of many inconveniences and dangers which we perſwaded to his Holineſs, to follow both to himſelf and to the See Apoſtolick, in caſe his Holineſs ſhould avoke the cauſe; I thought much convenient at that ſame time to deliver the King's familiar, and likewiſe your Grace's Letter, and ſo to ſhew your Grace's Credence to his Holineſs. After the foreſaid Letters delivered, and by his Holineſs read, his Holineſs ſhewed me, that he perceived by your Grace's Letters, that I had certain Credence to ſhew unto him of great moment and importance, concerning him and the See Apoſtolick. I ſhewed to his Holineſs your Grace's faith and obſervance, his Holineſs doth beſt know; moſt humbly beſeeching his Holineſs to believe theſe undoubtedly to follow, That if his Holineſs ſhould, at the labours of the *Ceſareans*, avoke the Cauſe, he ſhould not alonly offend the King's Highneſs, which hitherto hath been a ſtay, a help, and a defence of the See Apoſtolick; but alſo by reaſon of the injury, without remedy, ſhall alienate his Majeſty and Realms, with others, from the devotion and obedience of the See Apoſtolick. This I ſhewed his Holineſs, that your Grace doth evidently perceive to follow, in caſe his Holineſs ſhould incline to the *Ceſareans* deſire on this behalf: Yea further, I ſaid, that your Grace moſt clearly perceiveth alſo by that Act, the Church of *England* utterly to be deſtroyed, and likewiſe your Perſon; and that theſe your Grace, with weeping tears, moſt lamentably committed unto me to ſhew to his Holineſs. Furthermore I ſhewed to his Holineſs, that your Grace, howſoever you ſhould proceed in this Cauſe, did intend to proceed ſo ſincerely, indifferently, and juſtly, that you would rather ſuffer to be jointed, Joint by Joint, than either for affection or fear, do any act either againſt your Conſcience or Juſtice. Furthermore I ſaid, that ſeeing his Holineſs may be ſo well aſſured, that your Grace will do nothing but according to Juſtice in this Cauſe, he may the more boldly deny Avocations to the *Ceſareans*, ſeeing that the Queen and the Emperor can deſire but Juſtice, which they may have at your Grace's hand, and my Lord *Campegius*, as well there

as here; and by this means his Holiness should deliver himself from great pains and unquietness of mind, which he should sustain in case the cause should be known here, where he should have the King's Highness on one part, and the Emperor on the other side, daily calling upon his Holiness. To this his Holiness most heavily, and with tears, answered and said, That now he saw the destruction of Christendom, and lamented that his fortune was such to live to this day, and not to be able to remedy it, (saying these words,) For God is my Judge, I would do as gladly for the King, as I would for my self; and to that I knowledge my self most bounden, but in this case I cannot satisfie his desire, but that I should do manifestly against Justice to the charge of my Conscience, to my rebuke, and to the dishonour of the See Apostolick; affirming, that his Counsel shews him, that seeing the Cause is in the Audience or Proxie of the Queen, to ask the Avocation in her Name, he cannot of Justice deny it, and the whole Signature be in that sense, opinion; so that though he would most gladly do that thing that might be to the King's pleasure, yet he cannot do it, seeing that Signature would be against him whensoever the Supplication should be up this And so being late, we took our leave of his Holiness, and departed, seeing that we could obtain nothing of the Pope for stopping the Avocation, we consulted and devised for the deferring of it, till such time as your Grace might make an end in the Cause there. And so concluded upon a new Device, which at length we have written in our common Letter, wherein I promise your Grace, Mr. *Gregory* has used great diligence, and taken great labours at this time, we can do no more for our lives: And if your Grace saw the importune labour of the Ambassadors of the Emperor's and *Ferdinandoes*, you would marvel, I promise your Grace they never cease, wherefore in staying hitherto, as we have done, it is marvel, as God knoweth, whom I pray to preserve your Grace in health and prosperity *ad multos annos*. I beseech your Grace most humbly to commend me to the King's Highness; and likewise I beseech your Grace to pardon my ill writing. At *Rome* the 9th day of *July*.

Your daily Beadman
and Servant,
W. Benet.

XXX. *A Letter of the Pope's to the Cardinal concerning the Avocation. An Original.*

19. *Julii*, 1529.

Dilecte Fili noster, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Difficile est nobis explicare literis, qua nostra molestia seu potius dolore *Coton* Libr. *Vitell.* B. 11 simus coacti, ad Avocationem Causæ istic commissæ concedendam; etsi res ita fuit justa ut tanto tempore differri non debuerit, tamen

nos qui isti Serenissimo Regi pro ejus singularibus erga nos & Apostolicam sedem meritis placere in omnibus cupimus, sicut consuevimus, ægre nunc adducti sumus, ut quamquam justitia cogente, quicquid contra ejus voluntatem concederemus. Nec vero minus, Fili, doluimus tua causa, cui rem hanc tantæ curæ esse perspeximus quantum tua erga dictum Regem fides & amor postulat; sed tamen quod datur justitiæ minus esse moleſtum debet, cum præsertim id fuerit tam dilatum à nobis, omnia antea pertentata ne ad hoc descenderemus. Itaq; optamus in hoc adhiberi à te illam tuam singularem prudentiam & æquitatem, persuadeas te tibi id quod est, nos qui semper vobis placere quantum nobis licuit studuimus, id quod vestro maximo merito fecimus, & semper facturi sumus, nunc non nisi invitos & justitia coactos quod fecimus fecisse. Teque omni studio & amore hortamur, ut dictum Regem in solita erga nos benevolentia retinere velis, eique persuadere, nihil ex hoc apud nos de benevolentia erga se veteri imminutum unquam fore, quod recipiemus à Circumspectione tua longe gratissimum. Quemadmodum plenius dilectus Filius noster Cardinalis *Campegius* hæc circumspectioni tuæ explicabit. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 19 Julii 1529. Pont. nostri anno sexto.

Blosius.

Act 26. Anno Regni 21. Henr. 8.

XXXI. *An Act for the releasing unto the King his Highness of such Sums of Money as was to be required of him, by any his Subjects, for any Manner of Loan, by his Letters Missives, or other Way or manner whatsoever.*

Item quædam alia billa formam cujusdam actus in se continens, exhibita præfato Domino Regi in Parliamento prædicto, cujus quidem billæ tenor sequitur in hæc verba. The King's humble, faithful, and loving subjects the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, considering and calling to their remembrances, the inestimable Costs, Charges, and Expences, which the King's Highness necessarily hath been compelled to support and sustain, since his assumption to his Crown, Estate, and Dignity Royal; as well first for the extinction of a right dangerous and damnable Schism sprung and risen in the Church; which by the providence of the Almighty God, and the high prudence, and provision, and assistance of the King's Highness, was, to the great honour, laud, and glory of his Majesty, repressed; the Enemies then being of the Church reformed, returned, and restored to the unity of the same, and peace over all componed and concluded, as also for the modifying of the insatiable and inordinate ambition of those which do aspire unto the Monarchy of Christendom, did put universal trouble, divisions in the same, intending, if they might, not only to have subdued this Realm, but also all the rest unto their Power and Subjection

Subjection: For the resistance whereof, the Kings highness was compelled, after the Universal Peace, by the great study, labour, and travel of his Grace conduced, and the same by some of the Contrahents newly violate and infringed; in shewing the form of the Treatise thereupon made again, to take Armour. And over and besides the notable and excessive treasure and substance which his Highness in his first Wars had employed for the defence of the Church, the Faith Catholick, and this his Realm, and of the People and Subjects of the same, was eft-soons brought of necessity to new, excellent, and marvellous Charges, both for the supportation of sundry Armies by Sea and by Land; and also for divers and manifold Contributions outward, to serve, keep, and contain his own Subjects at home in rest and repose; which hath been so politickly handled and conduced, that when the most part of all religious Christians have been infested with cruel Wars, Discords, Divisions, and Dissentions, the great Heads and Princes of the World brought unto Captivity; Cities, Towns, and Places, by force and sedition, taken, spoiled, burnt, and sacked; Men, Women, and Children found in the same slain and destroyed; Virgins, Wives, Widows, and Religious Women, ravished and defloured; Holy Churches and Temples polluted, and turned unto prophane use; the Reliques of the Holy Saints irreverently treated; Hunger, Dearth, and Famine, by mean thereof in the said outward Regions, insuing and generally over all; was depopulation, destruction and confusion; the King's said Subjects in all this time, were by the high providence and politick means of his Grace nevertheless preserved, defended, and maintained, from all these inconveniences and dangers; and such provisions taken, by one way or other, so as reasonable commodity was alwayes given unto them to exercise their Traffiques of Merchandise, and other their Crafts, Mysteries, and Occupations for their living; which could not possibly have been brought about, unless then the King's Highness, with continual studies, travels, and pains, and with his infinite Charges and Expences, had converted the peril and danger of the Enterprises and Exploits, set forth for the reduction of the Enemies unto Peace, from his own Subjects unto Strangers: Whereof finally such Fruit and Effect is ensued, as by the King's policy, puissance, and means, general and universal Peace is established amongst all Christian Princes; and this Realm now, thanked be God, constituted in free, better, and more assured and profitable Amity with all outward Parties, than hath been at any time whereof is memory or remembrance. Considering furthermore, That his Highness, in and about the Premisses, hath been fain to imploy, not only such summs of Mony as hath risen and grown by any manner of contribution made unto his Grace by his said loving Subjects, but also over and above the same, sundry other notable and excellent Summs of his own Treasure and yearly Revenues, which else his Grace might have kept and reserved to his own use; amongst which manifold great Summs so employed, his Highness also, as is notoriously known, and as doth, evidently appear by the accompts of the same, hath to that use and none other, converted all such Money, as by any his Subiects and People, Spiritual and Temporal, hath been advanced unto his Grace by way of Grest and Loan, either particularly, or by any Taxation made of the same, being a thing so well collocate and bestowed, seeing the said high

and great Fruits and effects thereof enſued, to the honour, ſurety, well, perfect commodity, and perpetual tranquillity of this ſaid Realm, as nothing could better nor more to the comfort of his ſaid Subjects be deſired, ſtudied, or imagined; Of one mind, conſent and aſſent, and by Authority of this preſent Parliament, do for themſelves, and all the whole body of the Realm whom they do repreſent, freely, liberally, and abſolutely, give and grant unto the King's Highneſs, by Authority of this preſent Parliament, all and every Sum and Sums of Money, which to them, and every of them, is, ought, or might be due, by reaſon of any Money, or any other thing, to his Grace at any time heretofore advanced, or payed, by way of Preſt or Loan, either upon any Letter, or Letters under the King's Privy Seal, general or particular, Letter, Miſive, Promiſe, Bond, or Obligation of payment, or by any Taxation, or other aſſeſſing, by vertue of any Commiſſion or Commiſſions, or by any other mean or means whatſoever it be heretofore paſſed for that purpoſe, and utterly, frankly, liberally, and moſt willingly and benevolently, for them, their Heirs, Executors, and Succeſſors, do remit, releaſe, and quit claim, unto his Highneſs, his Heirs, and Succeſſors for ever, all and every the ſame Sums of Mony, and every parcel thereof, and all and ſingular Suits, Petitions, and demands, which they, or any of them, their Heirs, Succeſſors, or Executors, or the Heirs, Executors or ſucceſſors of any of them, have, had, or may have for the ſame, or any parcel thereof; moſt humbly and lovingly, beſeeching his Highneſs, for the more clear diſcharge for the ſame, that it may be ordained and enacted by the King, our ſaid Sovereign Lord, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, that all Promiſes, Bonds, Wrings, Obligatory Letters, under the King's Privy Seal, Signet, Sign Manual, or Great Seal paſſed, and other Bonds or Promiſes, whatſoever they be, had, made, to any Perſon or Perſons, Spiritual or Temporal, Shire, City, Burrough, Waxentale, Tranſhip, Hamlet, Village, Monaſtery, Church, Cathedral, or Collegiat, or to any Guild, Fraternity, or Body Corporate, Fellowſhip, or Company, or other whatſoever, having capacity to take any Bond eſpecially and generally, jointly or ſeverally, touching or concerning the ſame Preſt or Loan, or every of them, or the repayment of any Sum or Sums of Mony for the ſame, be from henceforth void and of none effect. *Cui quidem billæ probe & ad plenum intellectæ per dictum Dominum Regem ex aſſenſu & Authoritate Parliamenti prædicti taliter eſt reſponſum. Le Roy remercie les Seigneurs & ſes communes de leur bonne coeurs en faiſant ceſt graunt, & icelle ſe Majeſte accepte & tout le contenu, & ceſt eſcriture a graunt & aprove avecques tous les articles en ceſte eſcripture ſpecifies.*

XXXII.

XXXII. *A Letter from* Gardiner *and* Fox, *about their Proceedings at* Cambridg. *An Original.*

Feb. 1530. *from* Cambridg *by* Stephen Gardiner.

To the King's Highneſs.

PLeaſeth it your Highneſs to be advertiſed, That arriving here at *Cambridg* upon *Saturday* laſt paſt at noon, that ſame night, and *Sunday* in the Morning, we deviſed with the Vice Chancellour, and ſuch other as favoureth your Grace's Cauſe, how and in what ſort to compaſs and attain your Grace's Purpoſe and Intent; wherein we aſſure your Grace, we found much towardneſs, good will, and diligence, in the Vice-Chancellour and Dr. *Edmunds*, being as ſtudious to ſerve your Grace as we could wiſh or deſire: Nevertheleſs there was not ſo much care, labour, ſtudy, and diligence imployed on our Party, by them, our ſelf, and other, for attaining your Grace's Purpoſe, but there was as much done by others for the lett and empeachment of the ſame; and as we aſſembled, they aſſembled, as we made Friends they made Friends, to lett that nothing ſhould paſs as in the Univerſities Name; wherein the firſt day they were Superiors, for they had put in the ears of them, by whoſe Voices ſuch things do paſs, *multas fabulas*, too tedious to write unto your Grace. Upon *Sunday* at afternoon were aſſembled, after the manner of the Univerſity, all the Doctors, Batchellors of Divinity, and Maſters of Art, being in number almoſt two hundred: In that Congregation we delivered your Grace's Letters, which were read openly by the Vice-Chancellor. And for anſwer to be made unto them, firſt the Vice-Chancellor calling apart the Doctors, asked their Advice and Opinion; whereunto they anſwered ſeverally, as their Affections led them, *& reſerat in multa confuſione. Tandem* they were content Anſwer ſhould be made to the Queſtions by indifferent Men: But then they came to Exceptions againſt the Abbot of St. *Benets*, who ſeemed to come for that purpoſe; and likewiſe againſt Dr. *Reppes*, and Dr. *Grome*; and alſo generally againſt all ſuch as had allowed Dr. *Cranmer's* Book, inaſmuch as they had already declared their Opinion. We ſaid thereunto That by that reaſon they might except againſt all; for it was lightly, that in a Queſtion ſo notable as this is, every Man Learned hath ſaid to his Friend as he thinketh in it for the time; but we ought not to judge of any Man, that he ſetteth more to defend that which he hath once ſaid, than Truth afterward known. Finally, The Vice-Chancellor, becauſe the day was much ſpent in thoſe altercations, commanding every Man to reſort to his Seat apart, as the manner is in thoſe Aſſemblies, willed every Man's mind to be known ſecretly, whether they would be content with ſuch an Order as he had conceived for anſwer to be made by the Univerſity to your Grace's Letters; whereunto that night they would in no wiſe agree. And forasmuch as it was then dark night, the Vice Chancellor continued the Congregation till the next day at one of the Clock; at which time the Vice-Chancellor proponed a Grace after the form herein incloſed; and,

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it

it was first denied: When it was asked again, it was even on both Parties, to be denied or granted; and at the last, by labour of Friends to cause some to depart the House which were against it, it was obtained in such form as the Schedule herein enclosed purporteth; wherein be two Points which we would have left out; but considering by putting in of them, we allured many, and that indeed they shall not hurt the Determination for your Grace's part, we were finally content therewith. The one Point is that where it was first, that *quicquid major pars* of them that be named *decreverit*, should be taken for the Determination of the University. Now it referred *ad duas partes*, wherein we suppose shall be no difficulty. The other Point is, That your Grace's Question shall be openly disputed, which we think to be very honorable; and it is agreed amongst us, That in that Disputation, shall answer, the Abbot of St. *Benets*, Dr. *Reppes*, and I Mr. *Fox*, to all such as will object any thing or reason against the conclusion to be sustained for your Grace's part. And because Mr. Doctor *Clyff* hath said, That he hath somewhat to say concerning the Canon-Law; I your Secretary shall be adjoined unto them for answer to be made therein. In the Schedule which we send unto your Grace herewith, containing the names of those who shall determine your Grace's Question, all marked with the Letter A. be already of your Grace's Opinion; by which we trust, and with other good means, to induce and obtain a great part of the rest. Thus We beseech Almighty God to preserve your most Noble and Royal Estate. From *Cambridge* the day of *February*.

Your Highness's most humble

Subjects and Servants,

Stephen Gardiner,

Edward Foxe.

The

The Grace purpoſed and obtained, *Feb.* 1530.

Placet vobis ut

A. Vicecancellarius.

Doctores.

A. Salcot. *The Abbot of St.* Benets.
Watſon.
A. Repps.
Tomſon.
Venetus, *de iſto bene ſperatur.*
A. Edmunds.
Downs.
A. Crome.
A. Wygan.
A. Boſton.

Magiſtri in Theologia.

Middleton.
A. Heynes.
Mylſent. *de iſto bene ſperatur.*
A. Shaxton.
A. Latimer.
A. Simon.
Longford. *De iſto bene ſperatur.*
Thyxtel.
Nicols.
Hutton.
A. Skip.
A. Goodrich.
A. Heth.
Hadway, *de iſto bene ſperatur.*
Dey.
Bayne.
A.A. Duo Procuratores.

HAbeant plenam facultatem & Authoritatem, nomine totius Univerſitatis, reſpondendi Literis Regiæ Majeſtatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Univerſitatis definiendi & determinandi quæſtionem in dictis literis propoſitam: ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum præſentium inter ſe decreverint, reſpondendi dictis literis, & definierint ac determinaverint ſuper quæſtione propoſita, in iiſdem habeatur, & reputetur pro Reſponſione, Definitione & determinatione totius Univerſitatis, & quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus & Scrutatoribus, literis ſuper dictarum duarum partium definitione & determinatione concipienda ſigillum commune Univerſitatis apponere; ſic quod diſputetur Quæſtio publice & antea legatur coram Univerſitate absq; ulteriori gratia deſuper petenda aut obtinenda.

Your Highneſs may perceive by the Notes, that we be already ſure of as many as be requiſite, wanting only three; and we have good hope of four; of which four if we get two, and obtain of another to be abſent, it is ſufficient for our purpoſe.

July

July 1, 1530.

XXXIII. *A Letter from* Crook *out of* Venice, *concerning the Opinions of Divines about the Divorce. An Original.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B 13.

PLeaſe it your Highneſs to be advertiſed, That as this day I obtained the Common Seal of the Univerſity of *Padua*, in ſubſtantial and good form; for all the Doctors were aſſembled upon *Sunday*, and the Caſe was amongſt them ſolemnly and earneſtly diſputed all *Monday*, *Tueſday*, *Wedneſday*, and *Thurſday*, and this preſent *Friday* in the morning again: and thereupon they concluded with your Highneſs, and deſired a Notary to ſet his Sign and Hand unto an Inſtrument, by *Leonicus* and *Simetus* deviſed, in corroboration of your Cauſe, and thereby to teſtify that this Inſtrument was their Deed, Device, Act, and Concluſion; and for the more credence to be given to the ſaid Inſtrument, they cauſed the Chancellor of the *Poteſtate* here to ſet his Hand and Seal for the approbation of the Authority of the Notary: A Copy of all the which things I ſend unto your Highneſs by this Bearer, in moſt humble wiſe beſeeching the ſame to be advertiſed, that the General of the Black-Friers hath given a Commandment, That no Black-Fryer diſpute the Pope's Power; Notwithſtanding Prior *Thomas Omnibonus* procureth daily new Subſcriptions, and will do till the Brief of contrary Commandment ſhall come unto his hands.

My fidelity bindeth me to advertiſe your Highneſs, that all *Lutherans* be utterly againſt your Highneſs in this Cauſe, and have letted as much with their wretched Power, Malice, without reaſon or Authority, as they could and might, as well here, as in *Padua* and *Ferrara*, where be no ſmall Companies of them. I doubt not but all Chriſtian Univerſities, if they be well handled, will earneſtly conclude with your Highneſs. And to obtain their aſſent, as well through *Italy*, *France*, *Almagn*, *Auſtrich*, *Hungary* and *Scotland*, I think it marveſous expedient, for the preferment of this your moſt honourable and high Cauſe; As from the Seigniory and Dominion of *Venice* towards *Rome*, and beyond *Rome*, I think there can be no more done than is done already. Albeit, gracious Lord, if that I had in time been ſufficiently furniſhed with Mony, albeit I have beſide this Seal procured unto your Highneſs an hundred and ten Subſcriptions, yet it had been nothing in compariſon of that that I might eaſily and would have done; and at this hour I aſſure your Highneſs, that I have neither Proviſion nor Mony, and have borrowed an hundred Crowns, the which alſo are ſpent about the getting of this Seal; of the which my need, and divers impediments in your Highneſs's Cauſe here, I have advertiſed your Highneſs by many and ſundry Letters, and with the ſame ſent divers Books and Writings, part to *Hierom Molins* a *Venetian*, and Factor to *Mappheus Bernardus* by the hands of your Subject *Edmund Harwel*, part directed to Mr. *York*, whereof I am nothing aſcertained whether they be exhibited unto your Highneſs or not, to no little diſcomfort unto me; notwithſtanding I have reſerved a Copy of all things, Letters, and other, and herein incloſed a Bill, ſpecifying by whom and to whom I directed my ſaid Letters,

Letters, in moſt humble wiſe, beſeeching your moſt Royal Clemency, to ponder my true, ſure, and good endeavours, and not to ſuffer me to be deſtitute of Mony, to my undoing, and utter loſs of your moſt high Cauſes here: for of my ſelf I have nothing whereby to help my ſelf. And thus the moſt Bleſſed Trinity keep and preſerve your Highneſs in his moſt Royal Eſtate. At *Venice*, the firſt day of *July* at night, *Anno* ——— 30. *R. Crook.*

XXXIV. The Judgment of the Univerſities concerning the King's Marriage; taken from the Printed Edition of them. *London*, 1532.

Cenſura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ almæ Univerſitatis Pariſienſis.

DEcanus & Facultas Sacræ Theologiæ almæ Univerſitatis Pariſienſis, omnibus, ad quos præſens ſcriptum pervenerit, ſalutem in eo, qui eſt vera Salus. Cum nuper ſuborta magnæ difficultatis controverſia ſuper invaliditate Matrimonii, inter Sereniſſimum Henricum Octavum Angliæ Regem, Fidei Defenſorem, & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Illuſtriſſimam Dominam Catharinam Angliæ Reginam, claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Regis Catholici Filiam contracti, & carnali copula conſummati, illa etiam nobis Quæſtio in juſtitia, & veritate diſcutienda & examinanda propoſita fuerat, videlicet, An ducere relictam fratris mortui ſine liberis hic eſſet jure divino & naturali prohibitum, ut interveniente ſummi Pontificis Diſpenſatione, non poſſet fieri licitum, ut quis Chriſtianus relictam fratris ducat, & habeat in Uxorem; Nos Decanus & Facultas antedicta, cogitantes, quam eſſet pium & ſanctum, nec non debito charitatis, & noſtræ Profeſſioni conſentaneum, ut his, qui in lege Domini ſecura, tranquillaq; conſcientia vitam hanc ducere, & tranſigere cupiant, viam juſtitiæ oſtenderemus, noluimus tam juſtis & piis votis deeſſe. Hinc more ſolito, apud ædem S. Mathurini per juramentum convenientes, & ſolemni Miſſa cum Invocatione Spiritus Sancti ob hoc celebrata, nec non præſtito juramento de deliberando ſuper præfata quæſtione, ſecundum Deum & Conſcientiam; Poſt varias & multiplices Seſſiones, tam apud ædem S. Mathurini, quam apud Collegium Sorbonæ, ab octava Junii uſq; ad ſecundum Julii habitas, & continuatas, perſcrutatis prius excuſſiſq; quam diligentiſſime, ac ea qua decuit, reverentia & Religione, Sacræ Scripturæ Libris eorumq; probatiſſimis interpretibus, nec-non Sacroſanctæ Eccleſiæ generalibus ac Synodalibus Concilii Decretis & conſtitutionibus longo uſu receptis & approbatis: Nos prædicti Decanus & Facultas de prædicta Quæſtione diſſerentes, & ad eam reſpondentes, ſequentes unanime judicium & conſenſum Majoris partis totius Facultatis, Aſſeruimus & determinavimus, prout & in his Scriptis per præſentes Aſſerimus & Determinamus, quod prædictæ nuptiæ cum relictis fratrum decedentium ſine liberis, ſic naturali jure pariter & divino ſunt prohibitæ, ut ſuper talibus Matrimoniis contractis, ſive contrahendis, Summus Pontifex diſpenſare non poſſit. In cujus noſtræ Aſſertionis & Determinationis fidem & teſtimonium, ſigillum noſtræ Facultatis cum ſigno noſtri Notarii, ſeu Bedelli præſentibus apponi curavimus. Datum in

generali noſtra Congregatione per juramentum celebrata apud S. Mathurinum. Anno Dom. Milleſimo quingenteſimo trigeſimo, Menſis vero Julii die ſecundo.

Cenſura Facultatis Decretorum almæ Univerſitatis Pariſienſis.

IN Nomine Domini Amen. Cum propoſita fuiſſet coram nobis Decano & Collegio Conſultiſſimæ Facultatis Decretorum Pariſienſis Univerſitatis Quæſtio; An Papa poſſit Diſpenſare, quod Frater poſſit in Uxorem ducere, ſive accipere relictam Fratris ſui, Matrimonio conſummato per Fratrem præmortuum? Nos Decanus & Collegium præfatæ Facultatis, poſt multas Diſputationes & Argumenta hinc inde ſuper hac materia facta ac habita, cum magna & longa librorum, tam divini, quam Pontificii & Civilis, jurium revolutione conſulimus, & dicimus, Papam non poſſe in facto propoſito diſpenſare. In cujus rei teſtimonium, has præſentes Sigillo noſtræ Facultatis, & ſigno noſtri ſcribæ primi Bedelli muniri fecimus. Datum in Congregatione noſtra apud Sanctum Joannem Lateranenſem, Pariſiis die viceſima tertia menſis Maii, Anno Dom. mille ſimo quingenteſimo trigeſimo.

Cenſura almæ Univerſitatis Aurelianenſis.

CUm ab hinc aliquod tempus nobis Collegio Doctorum Regentium almæ Univerſitatis Aurelianenſis propoſitæ fuerint, quæ ſequuntur Quæſtiones, videlicet; Si jure divino liceat fratri Relictam fratris (quam Fratriam vocant) accipere Uxorem? Item & ſi hoc ſit eo jure vetitum, utrum divinæ Legis prohibitio Pontificali Diſpenſatione remitti poſſit? Nos prædictum Collegium, poſt multas ad prædictorum dubiorum Diſputationem, (de more noſtro) factas Seſſiones & Congregationes, pluſque Juris tum Divini tum Canonici locos (quod facere potuimus) examinatos, & omnibus mature atque exacte penſatis & conſideratis: Deciniimus, prædictas nuptias citra divinæ legis injuriam attentari non poſſe, etiamſi ſummi Pontificis accedat indulgentia, vel permiſſus. In cujus rei teſtimonium præſens publicum Inſtrumentum à Scriba præfatæ almæ Univerſitatis ſubſignari fecimus, ejuſdemq; Sigillo communiri. Actum in Sacello Beatæ Mariæ Boninuntii Aurelianenſis. Anno Dom. Milleſimo quingenteſimo vigeſimo nono, die quinto Menſis Aprilis.

Cenſura Facultatum Juris Pontificii & legum Almæ Univerſitatis Andegavenſis.

CUm certo ab hinc tempore nobis Rectori & Doctoribus Regentibus in Pontificia & legum diſciplina almæ Univerſitatis Andegavenſis ſequentes Quæſtiones propoſitæ fuerint, ſcilicet, Utrum Jure Divino pariter & naturali illicitum ſit homini Chriſtiano Relictam fratris ſui, etiam abſq; liberis, ſed Matrimonio jam conſummato defuncti, ducere Uxorem? Et an Summo Pontifici liceat ſuper hujuſmodi nuptiis diſpenſare? Nos præfati Rector & Doctores, poſt plures ad Diſputationem hujuſmodi quæſtionum, & veritatem comperiendam factas, examine, Congregationes & Seſſiones, poſtq; varios Juris tam Divini, quam humani

humani locos, qui ad eam rem pertinere videbantur, diſcuſſos, multas quoq; rationes in utramq; partem adductas & examinatas, omnibus fideliter conſideratis, & matura deliberatione præhabita, Definimus neque Divino neque Naturali Jure permitti homini Chriſtiano, etiam cum Sedis Apoſtolicæ Authoritate ſeu Diſpenſatione ſuper hoc adhibita, Relictam fratris, qui etiam ſine liberis poſt conſummatum Matrimonium deceſſerit, Uxorem accipere vel habere. In quorum omnium ſupradictorum fidem, præſens publicum Inſtrumentum à Scriba ſeu Notario præfatæ Almæ Univerſitatis ſubſignari juſſimus, ejuſdemque Univerſitatis Magno Sigillo muniri. Actum in æde ſacra Divi Petri Andegavenſi, in Collegio noſtro, Anno Domini Milleſimo quingenteſimo triceſimo, die ſeptimo Maii.

Cenſura almæ Univerſitatis Bituricenſis.

NOs cum Decano Theologiæ, Facultas in Univerſitate Bituricenſi (ut Doctoris Gentium Pauli exemplo pleriſque locis auſpicemur ſcriptum noſtrum à precatione) omnibus dilectis Dei in quibus vocati eſtis, Lectores Chariſſimi, quiq; ad quos ſcribimus, Gratia vobis & pax à Deo Patre & Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto. Dum complerentur dies inter Octavas Pentecoſtes, & eſſemus omnes pariter in eodem loco, corpore & animo congregati, ſedenteſq; in domo dicti Decani; facta eſt nobis rurſus Quæſtio eadem, quæ ſæpius antea, non quidem parva hunc in modum: An rem faciat illicitam necne, frater accipiens Uxorem à præmortuo fratre relictam, conſummato etiam Matrimonio? Tandem rei ipſius veritate diſquiſita & perſpecta, multo ſingulorum labore, & Sacrorum iterata atq; iterata revolutione codicum, unuſquiſq; noſtrum non faſcinatus, quo minus veritati obediret, cœpit, prout Spiritus Sanctus dedit, ſuum hoc unum arbitrium eloqui, abſq; perſonarum acceptione in veritate comperi, perſonas memoratas in Capite Levitici octavo ſupra decimum prohibitas eſſe jure ipſo naturali, authoritate humana minime relaxabili, & vetitas, ne invicem Matrimonium contrahant, quo ſit fraternæ turpitudinis abominabilis Revelatio. Et hoc nobis ſignum noſtri Bedelli Notarii publici, cum Sigillo dictæ ſupra noſtræ facultatis præſentibus appenſo, Die decimo Junii, Anno vero à Chriſti Nativitate, Milleſimo quingenteſimo triceſimo. Ut autem noſtræ ſcriptionis pes & caput uni reddantur formæ, quemadmodum ſumus auſpicati à precatione, ita claudamus illius quo utimur exemplo. Gratia Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, charitas Dei, & communicatio Sancti Spiritus ſit cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

Cenſura Almæ Univerſitatis Tholoſanæ.

TRactabatur in noſtra Tholoſana Academia perquam difficilis Quæſtio, Liceatne fratri eam, quæ jam olim defuncto fratri Uxor fuerat (nullis tamen relictis liberis) in Matrimonio ſibi conjungere? Accedebat & alius ſcrupulus, qui nos potiſſimum torquebat, Si Romanus Pontifex, cui eſt commiſſa gregis Chriſtiani cura, id ſua, quam vocamus, Diſpenſatione permittat, tunc ſaltem liceat? Ad utramq; Quæſtionem agitandam Doctores omnes Regentes, qui tunc Tholoſæ aderant, cœgit Rector in Concilium, neque id ſemel tantum ſed etiam iterum:

Quippe existimavit præcipitari non oportere Consilia, indigereq; no tempore, ut aliquid maturius agamus. Demum, cum in unum locum conveniissent omnes, tum Sacrarum Literarum disertissimi Interpretes, tum utriusq; Censuræ Consultissimi, deniq; qui quavis in re & judicio & oratione viri fœlicibus ingeniis non mediocriter exercitati essent, & sese Sacrosanctis Conciliis parere velle, Sanctorumq; Patrum haudquaquam piis animis violanda Decreta imitari jurassent, & unusquisq; suam sententiam protulisset, atq; in utramq; partem diffuse decertatum esset; tandem in eam Sententiam sic frequentius itum est, ut uno omnium ore Alma nostra Universitas animis sinceriissimis ut nulloq; fermento vitiato censuerit, Jure Divino pariter & Naturali Uxorem relictam fratris sine nemini licere accipere. At postquam id lege eadem non licet, respondit est, non posse Pontificem aliquem ea lege solvere. Nec huic sententiæ refragari potest, quod cogeretur olim frater Uxorem demortui fratris accipere. Nam hoc figura erat, atque umbra futurorum, quæ omnia adveniente luce & veritate Evangelii evanuerunt. Hæc quoniam ita se habent, in hanc formam redegimus, & per Notarium, qui nobis est in Secretis, signari, sigilliq; autentici ejusdem nostræ Almæ Universitatis jussimus Appensione communiri. Tholosæ Kal. Octob. Ann. à Christo nato M D.XXX.

Censura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Universitatis Bononiensis.

CUm Deus Optimus Maximus veterem Legem ad morum vitæque informationem ac institutionem ore suo tradiderit, idemq; humanitate sumpta, mortalium Redemptor Deus novum condiderit Testamentum, sed ad dubia, quæ in multis emergebant, tollenda declarandaque contulerit, quæ ad hominum perfectionem elucidata nonnihil conferunt; nostras partes semper fore duximus hujusmodi sanctissima Patris æterni documenta sectari, & in rebus arduis ac dubitabilibus, supernæ illustratos lumine, nostram ferre sententiam ubi causa mature consulta, multisq; hinc inde rationibus, scriptisq; Patrum dilucidata fuerit, nihil quod possumus, in aliquo temere ferentes. Cum itaq; nos, præstantes quidam & clarissimi viri obnixe rogarint, ut subsequentem casum maxima diligentia perscrutaremur, nostrumq; subinde in eum judicium ferremus æquissime, soli veritati innitentes in unum omnes Almæ Universitatis hujus Doctores Theologi convenimus, casu prius per unumquemq; nostrum sigillatim domibus propriis examinato, summaq; solertia per dies plurimos contracto: Illud una mox vidimus, examinavimus, contulimus, ad amussimq; singula quæq; pertractantes ponderavimus, rationes quascunq; contrarias, quas fieri posse censuimus, in medium afferentes atq; solventes, etiam ipsius Reverendissimi D. D. Card. Cajetani, necnon Deuteronomicam Dispensationem de fratris suscitando semine, & reliquas tandem omnes sententias oppositas, quæ ad id negotii facere viderentur. Quæsitum est igitur à nobis, An ex sola Ecclesiæ institutione vel etiam Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam à fratre sine liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod si utraque lege ne fieri possit, cautum est; An quenquam possit Beatissimus Pontifex super ejusmodi contrahendo Matrimonio dispensare? Qua diligentissime (ut diximus) ac exactissime seorsim palamq; examinata, ac pro viribus nostris, optime discussa Quæstione, Censemus, Judicamus, dicimus, constantissimis

ſtantiſsime Teſtamur & indubie affirmamus, hujuſmodi Matrimonium, tales nuptias, tale conjugium horrendum fore, execrabile, deteſtandum, viroq; Chriſtiano, immo etiam cuilibet infideli prorſus abominabile, ſeque à Jure naturæ divino & humano diris pœnis prohibitum. Nec poſſe Sanctiſſimum Papam (qui tamen fere omnia poteſt) cui collatæ ſunt à Chriſto claves Regni Cœlorum; Non inquam poſſe aliqua ex cauſa ſuper hujuſmodi, contrahendo Matrimonio, quenquam diſpenſare. Ad hujus Concluſionis veritatem tutandam, omnes in omnia loca & tempora parati ſumus. In quorum fidem has ſcripſimus, almæq; noſtræ Univerſitatis ac Sacri Venerabilium Theologorum Collegii Sigillo munivimus, ſolita noſtra generali ſubſcriptione Signantes. Bononiæ in Eccleſia Cathedrali, decima Junii, Anno Dom. M.D.XXX. ſub Divi Clementis 7. Pontificatu.

Cenſura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Almæ Univerſitatis Patavienſis.

TEſtantur, qui Catholicam fidem aſtruunt, Deum Optimum Maximum legis veteris præcepta filiis Iſrael ad exemplar vitæ ac morum noſtrorum inſtitutionem ore proprio tradidiſſe, eundemq; trabea humanitatis indutum, Redemptorem omnium factum, Novum Teſtamentum condidiſſe, & nedum propter hoc, ſed ad dubia quæcunque emergentia renovenda, dilucidandaq; nobis miſericorditer condonaſſe, quæ ad noſtri perfectionem enucleata fructus uberes conferunt & ſalutares. Noſtrum ſemper fuit eritq; per ſecula (uti Chriſticolas decet) hujuſmodi celebratiſſima Summi Pontificis inſtituta ſectari, & in quibuſq; dubitationibus, ac arduis Quæſtionibus ſupernaturali lumine freti, noſtrum proferre Judicium, ubi res ipſa optime conſiderata, multiſq; hinc inde demonſtrationibus, atq; Patrum Authoritatibus mature declarata fuerit, tenere quoad poſſumus nihil omino judicantes. Cum igitur nos, quidam oratores clariſſimi ſuppliciter exorarint, ut ſubſequentem caſum diligentiſſime perſcrutari dignaremur, atq; noſtram ferremus exinde ſententiam, ſoli veritati ſimpliciter attendentes; Qua ex re omnes hujus Almæ Univerſitatis Doctores Theologi in ſimul convenimus, re ipſa prius per noſtrum quemlibet particulariter propriis domibus examinata, ſummaq; cum ſolertia enucleata, mox in unum redacti cuncta conſideravimus, examinavimus, omniaq; ſigillatim ponderavimus, Argumenta quæcunq; contraria, quæ fieri quoquo modo poſſe putavimus, adducentes, atq; integerrime diſſolventes, necnon Deuteronomicam Diſpenſationem de Fratris ſuſcitando ſemine, & reliquas omnes rationes atque ſententias oppoſitas, quæ ad id facere videbantur: Quæſtio igitur talis fuit expoſita, An ex ſola Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ inſtitutione, vel etiam de Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam fratris abſque liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod ſi utrobiq; fieri nequeat cautum eſt, An Beatiſſimus Pontifex ſuper hujuſmodi contrahendo Matrimonio quenquam diſpenſare legitime poſſit? Quo exactiſſime (ut dictum eſt) ſeorſim publiceq; diſcuſſo, ac pro viribus dilucidato quæſito, Dicimus, Judicamus, Decernimus, Atteſtamur, atque veridice Affirmamus, Matrimonium hujuſmodi, tale conjugium & tales nuptias nullas eſſe, immo deteſtabiles, atque execrandas Chriſtiano cuilibet eſſe, prophanas, & ut

ſcelus

ſcelus abominandas, crudeliſſimis pœnis, jure naturæ, divino & humano clariſſime eſſe prohibitas. Nec Beatiſſimum Pontificem, cui claves Regni cœleſtis à Chriſto Dei Filio ſunt collatæ, ulla ex cauſa poſſe ſuper tali Matrimonio contrahendo quenquam juridice diſpenſare. Cum illa quæ ſunt à Jure Divino prohibita, non ſubſint ejus poteſtati, nec in illa gerit vicem Dei, ſed ſolum ſuper ea, quæ ſunt commiſſa juriſdictioni hominum. Ad cujus Sententiæ ac concluſionis veritatem tutandam & ejuſdem certiſſimam defenſionem, Nos omnes unanimes ſemper & ubique parati ſumus. In quorum fidem has noſtras fecimus, Almæ Univerſitatis noſtræ, ac Sacri Reverendorum Theologorum Collegii Sigillo ſolito communivimus. Datum Paduæ in Eccleſia Hermitarum S. Auguſtini, die primo Julii, M.D.XXX.

XXXV. *The Judgment of the* Lutheran *Divines about the King's Marriage*, ex MSS. R. Smith, *London.*

EX hac Collatione in qua audivimus Argumenta de Controverſia Divortii Sereniſſimi & Illuſtriſſimi Regis Angliæ, Franciæ, &c. propoſita & diligenter agitata à Reverendo D. D. Edwardo Herefordenſi Epiſcopo, D. Nicolao Archidiacono & D. D. Barnes, intelleximus Sereniſſimum Regem maximis & graviſſimis Cauſis adductum, ſuperatum & concluſum eſſe, ut in hoc negotio Matrimonii ſui faceret quod ſequitur. Nam hoc manifeſtum eſt & negare nemo poteſt, quod Lex Levit. tradita Lev. 18. v. 20. prohibet ducere fratris Uxorem, &c. ſed divina, naturalis, & moralis Lex eſt intelligenda tam de vivi quam de mortui fratris Uxore, & quod contra hanc legem nulla contraria lex fieri aut conſtitui poſſit, ſicut & tota Eccleſia ſemper hanc Legem retinuit, & judicavit hujuſmodi nuptias inceſtas eſſe, ſicut teſtantur Synodorum Decreta & Sanctiſſimorum Patrum Clariſſimæ Sententiæ, & has nuptias prohibent & vocant inceſtas etiam jura Civilia. Proinde & nos ſentimus, & hanc Legem de non ducenda Uxore fratris in omnibus Eccleſiis ſervandam eſſe veluti divinam, naturalem, & moralem Legem; Nec in noſtris Eccleſiis vellemus diſpenſare aut permittere, præſertim ante factum, ut ejuſmodi nuptiæ contraherentur, & hanc Doctrinam poſſumus & volumus Deo volente facile defendere. Cæterum quantum ad Divortium pertinet, nondum ſumus plene perſuaſi ut ſententiam noſtram ferre poſſimus, An poſt Contractum Matrimonium in hoc caſu Sereniſſimi Regis deberet fieri Divortium. Rogamus igitur Seren. Regem ut æquo animo ferat, differri noſtram Sententiam in hac re donec erimus certiores.

XXXVI

XXXVI. An Abſtract of the Grounds of the Divorce.

Written in the beginning, Thomas Cantuarien. *with his own hand*

Articuli ex quibus plane admodum demonſtratur Divortium inter Hen. 8. Angliæ Regem Invictiſſ. & Sereniſſimam Catharinam neceſſario eſſe faciendum.

1. AFfinitas quæ Divino & Naturali Jure impedit ne Matrimonium contrahatur, & contractum dirimit, ſolo nuptiali fœdere inducitur. *Cotton* Libr. *Veſp. B.* 5.

2. Subſtantia Matrimonii, verum perfectumq; conjugium, ſola conjugali pactione, & non carnali copula efficitur.

3. Vir & Uxor ſolo fœdere conjugali, Deo inprimis operante, una mens & una caro fiunt.

4. Carnalis Copula affinitatem ſolo Jure Eccleſiaſtico repertam inducit.

5. Affinitas ſola Carnis concubitu orta Sanctione humana ſolum impedit, ne Matrimonium contrahatur, & contractum diſſolvit.

6. Carnalis Copula Matrimonium neceſſario reddit conſummatum.

7. Poteſt Matrimonium Carnali Copula conſummari, etiam Uxoris Virginitate irrecuperabili non amiſſa.

8. Sereniſſimam Catharinam ab Illuſtriſſimo Principe Arthuro relictam Virginem non fuiſſe affirmamus.

9. Sereniſſ. Catharinam ex Judiciis quam plurimis atteſtantibus, & violentam præſumptionem inducentibus, ab eodem Illuſtriſſimo Principe Arthuro corruptam, atque Matrimonium inter eos conſummatum fuiſſe non dubitamus.

10. Sereniſſima Catharina, Præſumptione violenta hujuſmodi conſtante, Virginitatem ſuam Juramento præſertim publico probare nequit.

11. Judex eandem Sereniſſimam Catharinam, ſuper ea cauſa jurare volentem, ad juramentum jure quidem admittere non poteſt.

12. Henrici octavi Angliæ Regis Invictiſſimi & Sereniſſimæ Catharinæ præſenſum Matrimonium, lege Divina & naturali prohibente, nullum omnino fuiſſe neq; eſſe poſſe Cenſemus.

XXXVII. *A Bull ſent to the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *againſt the Statutes of Proviſors.*

MArtinus Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabili Fratri Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Ex MS. D. Petyt.

Quamdiſtricto Dei Judicio de commiſſis tibi ovibus rationem redditurus es, aliquando cogitares, ſi meminiſſes & tu quæ paſtoralis officii cura eſſe debet, quantumq; Eccleſiæ Romanæ, à qua dignitatem & auctoritatem vendicas, jus atque honorem tueri obligatus es, in conſideratione

tionem duceres; profecto non usque a deo dormitares neque negligeres: Surrexisses jamdudum, & post oves jam longe aberrantes inclamares, ac pro viribus resisteres iis, qui jura ac privilegia à summo Ecclesiarum capite omnium Christo, Ecclesiæ Romanæ tradita, sacrilego vel ausu violant atque contemnunt. Numquid ideo Pontificalis Dignitas tibi commissa est ut hominibus præsis, opes cumules, & quæ tua sunt non quæ Jesu Christi quærere debeas? Si id existimas vehementer erras, & a Christi intentione longe abes, qui cum Beato Petro oves suas communiret, nil ei aliud nisi ut illas pasceret indixit, priusque non semel, sed bis ac tertio, an ab eo diligeretur expostulans, Estne hæc in Christum dilectio quam habes? Estne hoc amare ac pascere oves? Itane debitum quo Ecclesiæ Romanæ astringeris, recte exsolvis? En ante oculos tuos ab ovili errantes in præcipitium labuntur oves, nec illas revocas neque reducis. In conspectu tuo herbas pergunt pestiferas pascere, nec illas prohibes, immo (quod abominabile est) tuis quasi manibus hujusmodi præbes mortiferum cibum. Te vidente, lupus illas dispergit, & tacet tanquam canis mutus non valens latrare. Aspicis simul & Christi & Ecclesiæ & sedis Apostolicæ mandata, auctoritatem, reverentiamque contemptui haberi, nec semel unum murmuras verbum, clanculum saltem, si nolles palam. An ignoras ante æterni tribunal judicis hujusmodi reatus & culpæ usque ad minimum quadrantem redditurum te rationem? non credis, si qua tuo neglectu perierit ovium (pereunt autem multæ) de tuis manibus sanguis earum exigetur? Quid per os Ezechielis Dominus comminatur, memorare & extimesce. Ipse, inquit, Speculatorem Domini posuit te Deus, si videris gladium venientem, & non insonueris buccina, & aliquis perierit, sanguinem ejus de manibus tuis requiram; hæc dicit Dominus. Qualis autem & qualis iniquitatis & abominationis gladius in Angliæ Regnum atque oves tuas descenderit, tuo judicio (si ratione uteris) relinquimus. Perlege illud Statutum Regium finnes Statutum, si tamen Regium dici fast est. Nam quomodo Statutum, quod Statuta Dei & Ecclesiæ destruit? Quomodo Regium? quod Justum peremit? contra illud quod scriptum est, Honor Regis Judicium diligit. Et judica, venerabilis Frater & Christiane Episcope, ac Catholice Præsul, si justum, si æquum, si à Populo Christiano servari est. Imprimis per illud execrabile Statutum ita Rex Angliæ de Ecclesia cum Provisionibus & Administrationibus disponit, quasi Vicarium suum Christus eum instituisset. Legem condit super Ecclesias, beneficia, Clericos & Ecclesiasticum statum, ad se suamq; laicalem Curiam nonnullas causas Spirituales & Ecclesiasticas jubet introduci; & ut uno verbo concludamus, ita de Clericis statuit, de Ecclesiis & Ecclesiastico Statu, quasi Ecclesiæ claves in manibus haberet, & non Petro, sed sibi hujusmodi cura commissa foret. Præter hanc nefandam Dispositionem, vipereas quasdam contra Clericos adjecit pœnas, quæ ne quidem contra Judæos vel Sarracenos, per ullum de statutis suis, promulgatæ inveniuntur. Possunt ad Angliæ Regnum cujuslibet generis homines libere proficisci; soli acceptantes beneficia Auctoritate Summi Pontificis, Vicarii Jesu Christi jubentur exulari, capi, incarcerari, omnibusq; bonis exui, executores literarum Apostolicarum, Procuratores, Notarii, ac quicunq; alii Curiam seu Processum ab Apostolica sede in Regnum mittentes aut deferentes, ultimo supplicio deputantur, projectiq; extra protectionem Regis exponuntur ab omnibus captivandi. Vide si audita est unquam simil

Stat

Statuti iniquitas: Consideret prudentia tua, si Regem aut Regnum hujusmodi Statuta decent: Cogita si te talia inspicientem silere oporteat, & non magis clamare, contradicere, & pro viribus resistere. Estne ista filialis Reverentia? Estne ista Christiana devotio quam Regnum Angliæ suæ Matri Ecclesiæ ac Sedi Apostolicæ exhibet? Potestne Catholicum Regnum dici, ubi hujusmodi statuuntur profanæ leges & observantur, ubi prohibetur adiri Vicarius Christi, ubi oves suas Successor Apostoli Petri pascere juxta mandatum Domini non permittitur? Christus dixit Petro suisque Successoribus, Pasce oves meas: Statutum autem Regni pascere ipsas non sinit, sed vult ut Rex ipse pascat, devolvendo ad eum in certis casibus Apostolicam Auctoritatem. Christus ædificavit supra Petrum Ecclesiam; sed Regni Statutum id prohibet: Nam non patitur Petri Cathedram de Ecclesia prout judicaverit, expedire, ordinare vel disponere. Christus voluit quod quicquid summus Pontifex in terris solverit aut ligaverit, solutum ligatumve esset in cœlis; Statutum huic divinæ voluntati non assentit: Nam si quos Sacerdotes ad ligandum solvendumque animas Christi Vicarius in Regnum contra Statuti tenorem destinaret, non modo ipsos non admittit Statutum sed exulare jubet, bonis privari, aliisque pœnis affligi, & censuram seu Processum Apostolicum in Regnum deferens, tanquam Sacrilegus capite punitur. Quid ad hoc tua Discretio respondebit? Estne hoc Catholicum Statutum? Potestne sine Christi injuria, sine Evangelii transgressione, sine animæ interitu tolerari aut observari? Cur igitur non clamas, & quasi tuba exaltas vocem tuam, annuncians populo tuo peccata sua, Domui Israel scelera eorum, ne sanguis eorum de manibus tuis requiratur? Quod & si omnes quibus populorum cura commissa est, facere teneantur, quanto magis id tibi erit necessarium exequi, cui populos & populorum ministros, oves & ovium pastores, tuæ solicitudini Romana deputavit Ecclesia, à qua & primatum & Sedis Apostolicæ legationem super Anglicanas Ecclesias suscepisti, & ipsius glorioſissimi Martyris Beati Thomæ olim Cantuariæ Archiepiscopi Successor effectus es, qui adversus similia decernens Statuta, holocaustum se Deo offerens pro libertate Ecclesiastica occubuit. Tu certe ob hæc, omnium primus qui vexillo assumpto in aciem prodire deberes, & fratres Co-episcopos tuos tuo exemplo in certamine sistere, primus omnium terga vertis, & aliquos qui forte resistendi impetum caperent, tua sive pusillanimitate, sive dissimulatione, sive (ut omnes attestantur) evidenti prævaricatione à bono proposito dejicis. Itaque si de te queritur Ecclesia, si in te omnis culpa transfertur, non mirari sed dolere, immo potius teipsum corrigere debes, & debitum quo ovium jure astrictus es audacter exolvere: pro qua re efficienda, si velis quam potes operam adhibere, non magnum certamen subeundum est. Persuade tuo pro officio & Auctoritate tua, secularibus, & eos veritatem instrue. Ostende eis peccatum quo observantes prædictum Statutum illaqueantur: Et erunt, (ut omnes asserunt) prava in directa, & aspera in vias planas. Ne ergo, si tacueramus & nos, tuam aliorumq; desidiam dissimulantes similis apud omnipotentem Deum culpæ reos efficiat, neve ovium nostrarum sanguis (si neglexerimus) de manibus nostris exigatur, tuam fraternitatem qua possumus instantia, toto corde, totoq; affectu hortamur, monemus, requirimus, & in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ, & sub Excommunicationis pœna cui (si neglexeris) ipso facto te subjicimus, directe præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus quamprimum ad

locum ubi Consiliarii Charissimi in Christo Filii nostri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illustris conveniunt, personaliter accedas, eosq; tam Ecclesiasticos quam Seculares pro sapientia tua, quam tibi Dominus inspiraverit, rationibus ac monitionibus reddas instructos, ut prædictum Statutum in proximo Parliamento tollant penitus & aboleant: Cum enim Divinæ & Humanæ rationi, Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, Conciliorum, Sanctorum Patrum, Summorum Pontificum Decretis, ipsius denique Universalis Ecclesiæ observantiæ evidentissime contradicat, nec sine interitu salutis æternæ quovis modo servari possit. Illudque inter alia dicere non omittas, qualiter Ecclesiasticæ libertatis violatores, facientesque Statuta aut consuetudines contra libertatem servari, Officiales, Rectores & Consiliarii locorum ubi hujusmodi Statuta vel consuetudines editæ fuerunt vel servatæ, Ac etiam qui secundum prædicta judicaverint, ipso jure Excommunicationem incurrunt, quæ quantum sit Christi fidelibus metuenda, ipsis plene poteris declarare. Idem sub pœna eadem te facere volumus cum Parliamentum inchoabitur, tam erga prædictos Consiliarios quam Communitates, & alios qui vocem in ipso habuerint Parliamento. Insuper ut pluribus viis honori Dei & Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ & animarum saluti provideatur, sub simili pœna mandes ac præcipias omnibus tam Rectoribus Ecclesiarum, quam aliis officium prædicationis obtinentibus, Secularibus & Religiosis, ut frequenter in sermonibus suis populos de prædicta materia instruere non omittant. Volumus autem ut quicquid super prædictis feceris per tuas literas (quibus saltem duæ graves personæ, quæ ipsis requisitionibus per te faciendis interfuerint, se subscribant) nos certiores efficias. Dat. Rom. apud Sanctos Apostolos quinto die Decembris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XXXVIII. *A Letter to King* Henry *the Sixth for Repealing that Statute.*

MArtinus Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo Filio Henrico Regi Angliæ Illustri, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quum post multos nuncios ad tuam Serenitatem pro abolitione illius detestabilis Statuti contra libertatem Ecclesiasticam edit olim transmissos,. postremo dilectum filium Magistrum Julianum causarum curiæ Cameræ Apostolicæ Auditorem, pro eadem causa destinassemus, per ipsum tua Celsitudo tunc nobis respondit, quod quamprimum commode possit, Parliamentum, sine quo idem nequit aboleri Statutum, convocaret, & in eo quod sibi possibile foret pro nostræ requisitionis implemento faceret, protestans quod Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ sediq; Apostolicæ Juribus ac Privilegiis nullo modo detrahere aut derogare intendebat: Nos ob hoc, sicut deinde aliis literis tibi significavimus, usq; ad id tempus cum patientia expectare decrevimus, sperantes quod in verbo Regio nobis pollicitus fueris, id tempore suo exequi non differres; itaque quicquid ex parte nostra hactenus faciendum fuit, omnem mansuetudinis & patientiæ modum experientes jam fecimus. Et licet gravibus interim per aliquos de Regno tuo lacessiti simus injuriis, volumus tamen (ne quid contra promissum fieri videretur) usque ad id tempus (non sine rubore

Sedis

Sedis Apoſtolicæ) expectare, ut merito illud verbum Evangelicum jam dici poſſit, Quid debui huic vineæ facere & non feci? Tu vero, Fili Chariſſime, cum ipſius Parliamenti jam tempus inſtet, quod ex tua parte agendum reſtat, juxta promiſſionem tuam ac verbum Regium implere non omittas, ad quod & Jure Divino & Humano tanquam Chriſtianiſſimus Princeps obligatus, ſine cujuſvis requiſitione pro tua & tuorum ſubditorum ſalute & honore facere teneris: præſertim quum ralia obtuleramus, ob quæ nec tibi nec dicto Regno ex prædicti Statuti abolitione præjudicium ullum redundare poſſit; providere enim iis omnibus quæ cauſam Statuto dediſſe dicuntur, jam ſæpe noſtro nomine oblatum eſt, & nunc de novo offerimus. Jam igitur cum nulla quævis contradicendi occaſio prætendi poſſit, ſperamus in dicto Parliamento tuam Serenitatem ita facturam, ut prædictum tam execrabile Statutum penitus de eodem Regno tollatur. Quod ſi feceris, ſalvabis primum tuam, tum vero multorum animas, quæ ob dictum Statutum gravi crimine illaqueatæ tenentur: Providebis deinde tuo & ipſius Regni honori, quod utique propterea non modicum eſt notatum: Demum nos ac ſedem ipſam ſemper tuis juſtis deſideriis obligabis. Super iis autem omnibus & de noſtra intentione plene per literas noſtras inſtructo, dilecto Filio magiſtro Johanni de Obizis in dicto Regno Nuncio & Collectori noſtro, dabis credentiæ fidem plenam. Dat. Rom. die decimo tertio Octobris, Pontificatus noſtri Anno decimo.

XXXIX. *A Letter to the Parliament upon the ſame occaſion.*

MArtinus Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabilibus Fratribus & dilectis Filiis, Nobilibus viris Parliamenti Regni Angliæ, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Multis nunciis ac frequentibus exhortationibus, pro debito paſtoralis officii, vos ac Regnum veſtrum hactenus admonuimus, ut pro ſalute animarum veſtrarum, & ipſius Regni honore quoddam deteſtabile Statutum contra Divinum & Humanum Jus editum, quod ſine interitu ſalutis æternæ nullatenus ſervari poteſt, aboleretur. Et quoniam id ſine Parliamento tolli non poſſe, ex parte Chariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri Henrici Regis Angliæ illuſtris, Dilecto Filio Magiſtro Juliano Cauſarum curiæ Cameræ Apoſtolicæ Auditori, tunc Nuncio noſtro, reſponſum extitit, in quo (quam primum poſſet) convocato, quod ſibi poſſibile foret pro noſtræ Requiſitionis executione ſe facturum, idem Rex pollicitus eſt, proteſtans Juribus ac Privilegiis Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ & Sedis Apoſtolicæ in nullo velle detrahere aut derogare. Nos volentes ſolita erga vos manſuetudine uti, decrevimus uſq; ad ipſius Parliamenti tempus expectare, ſperantes quod tam Rex juxta ſuam Regiam Promiſſionem, quam vos pro ſalute animarum veſtrarum, Sancte ac Catholice ſecundum noſtram Requiſitionem concludetis. Itaq; cum Parliamentum (ut fertur) jam inſtet, vos omnes quorum animas noſtræ curæ Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus commiſit, hortamur, monemus, obſecramus, ut unanimes veſtrarum animarum ſalutem, ac conſcientiarum puritatem præ cæteris rebus amantes, prædictum abominabile Statutum (quod qui obſervat vel obſervari faciat ſalvari non poteſt) penitus tollatur, & de Regno in perpetuum aboleatis. Quod ſi quis forſitan vobis contrarium perſuadere audeat, quicunq;

ille sit, Sæcularis vel Ecclesiastici Status, tanquam hostem animarum vestrarum & honorum, nullatenus audite; nec eum virum Catholicum reputetis, qui adversus Romanæ Ecclesiæ Auctoritatem, Juraque & Privilegia Sedi Apostolicæ Divinitus concessa, aliquid machinari præsumpserit, quibus ipse Rex vester Illustris nolle ullatenus derogare publice protestatus est. Nos quidem ipsi sumus ab omnipotenti Deo Jesu Christo super vos & Universalem Ecclesiam constituti, cujus Doctrinæ ac persuasioni sine ulla contradictione omnimodam fidem vos & quilibet Christianus habere debetis: Nos tamen, etsi indignos, oves suas pascere Christus voluit, claves; aperiendi ac solvendi Cœlos tradidit. Et si quis nos audit, servi Christi testimonium Christianum audit; & si quis nos spernit, Christum spernere convincitur. Et quoniam de vobis ac singulis Christianis in districto Dei Judicio rationem reddituri sumus, ideo vos pro salute vestra tam sæpe tamq; efficaciter admonemus; & ne quisquam sub alicujus damni temporalis prætextu vos ab hac nostra Catholica Doctrina submoveat, ecce nos promptos paratosq; offerimus, omnibus causis, propter quas dictum Statutum conditum esse prætenditur, salubriter providere, ita ut nec Regno nec cuiquam privatæ personæ præjudicium aliquod ex ipsius Statuti abolitione possit accidere. Super his omnibus & nostra intentione plene instructo dilecto Filio Magistro Joanni de Obizis, in dicto Regno Nuntio & Collectori nostro, dabitis Credentiæ plenam fidem. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctos Apostolos tertio die Octobris, Pontificatus nostri Anno decimo.

XL. *An Instrument of the Speech the Archbishop of* Canterbury *made to the House of Commons about it.*

Die veneris penultimo mensis Januarii, Anno Domini secundum cursum & computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quadringentesimo decimo septimo, indictione sexta, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Domini Martini Divina Providentia Papæ quinti Anno undecimo, Reverendissimi in Christo Patres & Domini Domini, Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuariensis & Johannes Eboracensis Archiepiscopi, necnon Reverendiss. Patres W. Londinensis, Benedictus Menevensis, Philippus Eliensis, Jochen & W. Norvicensis, Episcopi, & cum eis venerabiles Patres & viri religiosi Westmonasterii & Radingæ Abbates de palatio regio Westmonasteriensi de Camera, viz. Ubi tam Domini Spirituales quam temporales in Parliamento adtunc tento negotia Regni tractaverint & tractare solebant, recedentes, & dimissis ibi Dominis Temporalibus, in simul transierunt ad viros illos qui pro communitate Regni ad Parliamentum hujusmodi venerant in loco solito, viz. in Refectorio Abbatiæ Westmonasterienſis prædictæ personaliter existentes, & incontinenter eisdem Dominis Spiritualibus cum reverentia debita, prout decuit à viris hujusmodi communitatem Regni facientibus & representantibus, receptis: Præfatus Reverendissimus Pater Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis causam adventus sui & confratrum suorum adtunc exponere cœpit in vulgari; Protestando primitus, & protestabatur idem Dominus Cantuariensis vice sua & Confratrum suorum prædictorum,

dictorum, quod pro dicendo tunc ibidem non intendebat Ipſe Reverendiſſimus Pater, aut aliquis confratrum ſuorum, Domino Regi Angliæ aut Coronæ ſuæ vel communitati Regni in aliquo derogare, & ſic adhærendo Proteſtationi ſuæ hujuſmodi, idem Reverendiſſimus Pater proſequebatur & expoſuit ſolemniter cauſam adventus ſui & confratrum ſuorum, ſumpto quaſi pro themate, Reddite quæ ſunt Cæſaris, Cæſari, & quæ ſunt Dei Deo. Super quo procedendo, ea quæ ad Juriſdictionem Eccleſiaſticam, & ea quæ ad Cæſaream pertinebant, notabiliter & ad longum declaravit, materiam Proviſionis & pro Statuti illius contra Proviſores editi abolitione, cum bona & matura deliberatione proſequendo, & in proceſſu declarationis hujuſmodi jura nonnulla & Sacræ Scripturæ Auctoritates convenientes allegavit, pro jure Domini noſtri Papæ in Proviſionibus habendis, ſicut Sancti Prædeceſſores ſui ſummi Pontifices in Regno Angliæ & alibi per Univerſalem Chriſtianitatem habuerunt, ipſeq; Dominus Papa modernus in cæteris Regnis habet & poſſidet in præſenti: Unde præmiſſis, Bulliſq; & literis Apoſtolicis, quas pro hac re idem Dominus Papa jam tarde ad Regnum tranſmiſerat, diligenter conſideratis, & quod dictus Dominus noſter Papa tot Ambaſſiatas & nuncios ſolemnes ad proſequendum jus ſuum & Eccleſiæ libertatem in præmiſſis, non abſq; laboribus magnis, periculis & expenſis, de Curia Romana ad Regnum Angliæ deſtinavit, idem Reverendiſſimus Pater Cantuar. Archiepiſcopus, nomine ſuo & confratrum ſuorum adtunc ibidem præſentium, & abſentium in dicto Parliamento per procuratores comparentium, ad quos ut aſſeruit diviſim ſaltem principalis cura animarum totius Communitatis Regni pertinere dignoſcitur, dictos viros omnes & ſingulos tunc præſentes, Communitatem (ut præmittitur) repræſentantes, requiſivit & in Domino exhortabatur, quatenus ob ſalutem animarum ſuarum totiuſq; Regni proſperitatem & pacem, materiam prædictam ſic ponderarent, & taliter in eodem Parliamento ſuper eadem deliberarent, ut Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter Papa placari, ac Regis zelum ad Sedem Apoſtolicam totiuſq; Regni devotionem in hac parte habere poſſet materiam commendandi. Et addidit ultra hujuſmodi Requiſitionem & Exhortationem præfatus Reverendiſſimus Pater Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis: & ex corde, ut apparuit, expoſuit lacrymando, pericula per cenſurarum, viz. Eccleſiaſticarum & etiam Interdicti fulminationem, & alias tam Regi quam Regno (quod abſit) veriſimiliter eventura alia, in caſu quo reſponſio Parliamenti illius, in materia tunc declarata, grata non foret Domino Papæ & accepta, ſic dicendo; Forte videtur quibuſdam veſtrum, quod hæc quæ Regni Prælatos potiſſime concernunt ex corde non profero, Sciatis pro certo, & in fide, qua Deo teneor & Eccleſiæ; affirmo coram vobis, quod magis mihi foret acceptum nunquam conferre aut etiam habere aliquod beneficium Eccleſiaſticum, quam aliqua talia pericula ſeu proceſſus meo tempore in Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Scandalum venirent. Ulterius idem Reverendiſſimus Pater expreſſe declaravit, qualiter dictus Dominus noſter Papa in diverſis Bullis ſuis obtulit & promiſit, ſe & Sedem Apoſtolicam, ad quaſcunq; cauſas & occaſiones editionis Statuti prædicti rationabile, remedium apponere, & materias cauſarum & occaſionum hujuſmodi Statuti in toto tollere & abolere; & ſic Requiſitione, Exhortatione & periculorum hujuſmodi expoſitione finitis, Reverendiſſimi Patres Cantuar, & Eborac. Archiepiſcopi, cum confratribus ſuis Epiſcopis & Prælatis prædictis, receſſerunt,

Regni

Regni Communitate, ſeu ſaltem dictis viris Communitatem Regni repræſentantibus remanentibus, & circa materiam eis expoſitam tractantibus, præſentibus, & Declarationem, Requiſitionem, & Exhortationem, hujuſmodique periculorum expoſitionem per dictum Dominum Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem (ut præmittitur) factas audientibus, venerabilibus viris Richardo Coudray Archidiacono Norwici in Eccleſia Norwicenſi, Magiſtro Joanne Förſter Canonico Lincolnienſi, &c. & Joanne Boold Notario Publico & multis aliis.

Act. 33. Anno Regni viceſimo tertio.

XLI. *An Act concerning Reſtraint of payment of* Annates *to the See of* Rome

FOraſmuch as it is well perceived, by long approved experience, that great and ineſtimable Sums of Money have been daily conveyed out of this Realm, to the impoveriſhment of the ſame; and ſpecially ſuch ſums of Money as the Popes Holineſs, his Predeceſſors, and the Court of *Rome*, by long time have heretofore taken of all and ſingular thoſe Spiritual Perſons which have been named, elected, preſented, or poſtulated to be Archbiſhops or Biſhops within this Realm of *England*, under the Title of *Annates*, otherwiſe called Firſt-Fruits. Which *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, have been taken of every Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, within this Realm, by reſtraint of the Pope's Bulls, for Confirmations, Elections, Admiſſions, Poſtulations, Proviſions, Collations, Diſpoſitions, Inſtitutions, Inſtallations, Inveſtitures, Orders, Holy Benedictions, Palls, or other things requiſite and neceſſary to the attaining of thoſe their Promotions; and have been compelled to pay, before they could attain the ſame, great ſums of Money, before they might receive any part of the Fruits of the ſaid Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, whereunto they were named, elected, preſented, or poſtulated; by occaſion whereof not only the Treaſure of this Realm hath been greatly conveighed out of the ſame, but alſo it hath hapned many times, by occaſion of death, unto ſuch Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, ſo newly promoted, within two or three years after his or their Conſecration, that his or their Friends, by whom he or they have been holpen to advance and make paiment of the ſaid *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, have been thereby utterly undone and impoveriſhed. And for becauſe the ſaid *Annates* have riſen, grown, and increaſed, by an uncharitable Cuſtom, grounded upon no juſt or good title, and the paiments thereof obtained by reſtraint of Bulls, until the ſame *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, have been paid, or Surety made for the ſame; which declareth the ſaid Paiments to be exacted, and taken by conſtraint, againſt all equity and juſtice. The Noble Men therefore of the Realm, and the Wiſe, Sage, Politick Commons of the ſame, aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, conſidering that the Court of *Rome* ceaſeth not to tax, take, and exact the ſaid great Sums of Money, under the Title of *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, as aforeſaid, to the great damage of the ſaid Prelates, and this Realm;

Which

Which *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, were firſt ſuffered to be taken within the ſame Realm, for the only defence of Chriſtian People againſt the Infidels, and now they be claimed and demanded as mere duty, only for lucre, againſt all right and conſcience. Inſomuch that it is evidently known, that there hath paſſed out of this Realm unto the Court of *Rome*, ſithen the ſecond year of the Reign of the moſt Noble Prince, of famous memory, King *Henry* the Seventh, unto this preſent time, under the name of *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, payed for the expedition of Bulls of Arch-Biſhopricks and Biſhopricks, the ſum of eight hundred thouſand Ducats, amounting in *Sterling* Money, at the leaſt, to eightſcore thouſand pounds, beſides other great and intolerable Sums which have yearly been conveyed to the ſaid Court of *Rome*, by many other ways and means, to the great impoveriſhment of this Realm. And albeit, that our ſaid Sovereign the King, and all his natural Subjects, as well Spiritual as Temporal, been as obedient, devout, Catholick and humble Children of God, and Holy Church, as any People be within any Realm Chriſtned; yet the ſaid exactions of *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, be ſo intolerable and importable to this Realm, that it is conſidered and declared, by the whole Body of this Realm now repreſented, by all the Eſtates of the ſame aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, that the King's Highneſs before Almighty God, is bound, as by the duty of a good Chriſtian Prince, for the conſervation and preſervation of the good Eſtate and Common-Wealth of this his Realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repreſs, and redreſs the ſaid abuſions and exactions of *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits. And becauſe that divers Prelates of this Realm being now in extream Age, and in other debilities of their Bodies, ſo that of likelyhood, bodily death in ſhort time ſhall or may ſucceed unto them; by reaſon whereof great ſums of Money ſhall ſhortly after their deaths, be conveighed unto the Court of *Rome*, for the unreaſonable and uncharitable Cauſes aboveſaid, to the univerſal damage, prejudice, and impoveriſhment of this Realm, if ſpeedy remedy be not in due time provided: It is therefore ordained, eſtabliſhed, and enacted, by Authority of this preſent Parliament, That the unlawful paiment of *Annates* or Firſt-Fruits, and all manner Contributions for the ſame, for any Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, or for any Bulls hereafter to be obtained from the Court of *Rome*, to or for the foreſaid purpoſe and intent, ſhall from henceforth utterly ceaſe, and no ſuch hereafter to be payed for any Arch-Biſhoprick or Biſhoprick, within this Realm, other or otherwiſe than hereafter in this preſent Act is declared; And that no manner Perſon, nor Perſons hereafter to be named, elected, preſented, or poſtulated to any Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, within this Realm, ſhall pay the ſaid *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, for the ſaid Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, nor any other manner of Sum or Sums of Money, Penſions or *Annates* for the ſame, or for any other like exaction, or cauſe, upon pain to forfeit to our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King his Heirs and Succeſſors, all manner his Goods and Chattels for ever, and all the Temporal Lands and Poſſeſſions of the ſame Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, during the time that he or they which ſhall offend, contrary to this preſent Act, ſhall have, poſſeſs, or enjoy, the Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, wherefore he ſhall ſo offend contrary to the form aforeſaid. And furthermore it is enacted, by Authority of this preſent Parliament, That any

if any Perſon hereafter named and preſented to the Court of *Rome* by the King, or any of his Heirs or Succeſſors, to be Biſhop of any See or Dioceſs within this Realm hereafter, ſhall be letted, deferred, or delayed at the Court of *Rome* from any ſuch Biſhoprick, whereunto he ſhall be ſo repreſented, by means of reſtraint of Bulls Apoſtolick, and other things requiſite to the ſame; or ſhall be denied, at the Court of *Rome*, upon convenient ſuit made, any manner Bulls requiſite for any of the Cauſes aforeſaid, any ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſo preſented, may be, and ſhall be conſecrated here in *England* by the Arch-Biſhop, in whoſe Province the ſaid Biſhoprick ſhall be, ſo alway that the ſame Perſon ſhall be named and preſented by the King for the time being to the ſame Arch-Biſhoprick: And if any Perſons being named and preſented, as aforeſaid, to any Arch-Biſhoprick of this Realm, making convenient ſuit, as is aforeſaid, ſhall happen to be letted, deferred, delayed, or otherwiſe diſturbed from the ſame Arch-Biſhoprick, for lack of Pall, Bulls, or other to him requiſite, to be obtained in the Court of *Rome* in that behalf, that then every ſuch Perſon named and preſented to the Arch-Biſhop, may be, and ſhall be, conſecrated and inveſted, after the preſentation made, as is aforeſaid, by any other two Biſhops within this Realm, whom the King's Highneſs, or any of his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of *England* for the time being, will aſſign and appoint for the ſame, according and in like manner as divers other Arch-Biſhops or Biſhops have been heretofore, in ancient time by ſundry the King's moſt noble Progenitors, made, conſecrated, and inveſted within this Realm: And that every Arch-Biſhop and Biſhop hereafter, being named and preſented by the King's Highneſs, his Heirs or Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, and being conſecrated and inveſted, as is aforeſaid, ſhall be inſtalled accordingly, and ſhall be accepted, taken, reputed, uſed, and obeyed, as an Arch-Biſhop or Biſhop of the Dignity, See, or Place whereunto he ſo ſhall be named, preſented, and conſecrated requireth; and as other like Prelates of that Province, See, or Dioceſs, have been uſed, accepted, taken, and obeyed, which have had, and obtained compleatly, their Bulls, and other things requiſite in that behalf from the Court of *Rome*. And alſo ſhall fully and entirely have and enjoy all the Spiritualities and Temporalities of the ſaid Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, in as large, ample, and beneficial manner, as any of his or their Predeceſſors had, or enjoyed in the ſaid Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, ſatisfying and yielding unto the King our Sovereign Lord, and to his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, all ſuch Duties, Rights and Intereſts, as before this time had been accuſtomed to be paid for any ſuch Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, according to the ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, and the King's Prerogative Royal. And to the intent our ſaid Holy Father the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*, ſhall not think that the pains and labours taken, and hereafter to be taken, about the writing, ſealing, obtaining, and other buſineſſes ſuſtained, and hereafter to be ſuſtained, by the Officers of the ſaid Court of *Rome*, for and about the Expedition of any Bulls hereafter to be obtained or had for any ſuch Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, ſhall be irremunerated, or ſhall not be ſufficiently and condignly recompenſed in that behalf. And for their more ready expedition to be had therein, it is therefore enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That every Spiritual Perſon of this Realm

hereafter

hereafter to be named, preſented, or poſtulated, to any Arch-Biſhoprick or Biſhoprick of this Realm, ſhall and may lawfully pay for the writing and obtaining of his or their ſaid Bulls, at the Court of *Rome*, and enſealing the ſame with Lead to be had without payment of any *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, or other charge or exaction by him or them to be made, yielden, or paied for the ſame, five pounds *Sterling*, for and after the rate of the clear and whole yearly value of every hundreth pounds *Sterling*, above all charges of any ſuch Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, or other Money, to the value of the ſaid five pounds, for the clear yearly value of every hundreth pounds of every ſuch Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoptick, and not above, nor in any other wiſe, any thing in this preſent Act before written notwithſtanding. And foraſmuch as the King's Highneſs, and this his High Court of Parliament, neither have, nor do intend to uſe in this, or any other like cauſe, any manner of extremity or violence, before gentle courteſie or friendſhip, ways and means firſt approved and attempted, and without a very great urgent cauſe and occaſion given to the contrary, but principally coveting to disburden his Realm of the ſaid great exactions, and intolerable charges of *Annates*, and Firſt Fruits, have therefore thought convenient to commit the final order and determination of the Premiſſes, in all things, unto the King's Highneſs. So that if it may ſeem to his high wiſdom, and moſt prudent diſcretion, meet to move the Pope's Holineſs and the Court of *Rome*, amicably, charitably, and reaſonably, to compound, other to extinct and make fruſtrate the payments of the ſaid *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits; or elſe by ſome friendly, loving, and tolerable compoſition to moderate the ſame in ſuch wiſe as may be by this Realm eaſily born and ſuſtained; That then thoſe ways and compoſitions once taken, concluded, and agreed, between the Pope's Holineſs and the King's Highneſs, ſhall ſtand in ſtrength, force, and effect of Law, inviolably to be obſerved. And it is alſo further ordained, and enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, That the King's Highneſs at any time, or times, on this ſide the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, which ſhall be in the Year of our Lord God, a thouſand five hundred and three and thirty, or at any time on this ſide the beginning of the next Parliament, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, to be made, and to be entred of Record in the Roll of this preſent Parliament, may and ſhall have full power and liberty to declare, by the ſaid Letters Patents, whether that the Premiſſes, or any part, clauſe, or matter thereof, ſhall be obſerved, obeyed, executed, and take place and effect, as an Act and Statute of this preſent Parliament, or not. So that if his Highneſs, by his ſaid Letters Patents, before the expiration of the times above limited, thereby do declare his pleaſure to be, That the Premiſſes, or any part, clauſe, or matter thereof, ſhall not be put in execution, obſerved, continued, nor obeyed, in that caſe all the ſaid premiſſes, or ſuch part, clauſe, or matter, as the King's Highneſs ſo ſhall refuſe, diſaffirm, or not ratifie, ſhall ſtand and be from henceforth utterly void and of none effect. And in caſe that the King's Highneſs, before the expiration of the times afore-prefixed, do declare by his ſaid Letters Patents, his pleaſure and determination to be, that the ſaid Premiſſes, or every clauſe, ſentence, and part thereof, that is to ſay, the whole, or ſuch part thereof as the King's Highneſs ſo ſhall affirm, accept, and ratifie, ſhall in all points ſtand,

remain, abide, and be put in due and effectual execution, according to the purport, tenour, effect, and true meaning of the ſame; and to ſtand and be from henceforth for ever after, as firm, ſtedfaſt, and available in the Law, as the ſame had been fully and perfectly eſtabliſhed, enacted, and confirmed, to be in every part thereof, immediately, wholly, and entirely executed, in like manner, form and effect, as other Acts and Laws; The which being fully and determinately made, ordained, and enacted in this preſent Parliament: And if that upon the foreſaid reaſonable, amicable and charitable ways and means, by the King's Highneſs to be experimented, moved, or compounded, or otherwiſe approved, it ſhall and may appear, or be ſeen unto his Grace, that this Realm ſhall be continually burdened and charged with this, and ſuch other intolerable Exactions and Demands, as heretofore it hath been. And that thereupon, for continuance of the ſame, our ſaid Holy Father the Pope, or any of his Succeſſors, or the Court of *Rome*, will, or do, or cauſe to be done at any time hereafter, ſo as above is rehearſed, unjuſtly, uncharitably, and unreaſonably vex, inquiet, moleſt, trouble, or grieve our ſaid Sovereign Lord, his Heirs or Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, or any of his or their Spiritual or Lay-Subjects, or this his Realm, by Excommunication, Excommengement, Interdiction; or by any other Proceſs, Cenſures, Compulſories, Ways, or Means; Be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, and all his Spiritual and Lay Subjects of the ſame, without any ſcruples of Conſcience, ſhall and may lawfully, to the honour of Almighty God, the encreaſe and continuance of Vertue and good Example within this Realm, the ſaid Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulſories, or any of them notwithſtanding, miniſter, or cauſe to be miniſtred, throughout this ſaid Realm, and all other the Dominions and Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto; All and all manner of Sacraments, Sacramentals, Ceremonies, or other Divine Services of the Holy Church, or any other thing or things neceſſary for the health of the Soul of Mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been vertuouſly uſed or accuſtomed to do within the ſame; and that no manner ſuch Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Proceſs or Compulſories, ſhall by any of the Prelates, or other Spiritual Fathers of this Region, nor by any of their Miniſters or Subſtitutes, be at any time or times hereafter publiſhed, executed, nor divulged, nor ſuffered to be publiſhed, executed, or divulged in any manner of ways. *Cui quidem Billæ prædictæ & ad plenum intellectæ per dictum Dominum Regem aſſenſu & Authoritate Parliamenti prædicti taliter eſt Reſponſum:*

Le Roy le veult. *Soit Baille aux Communs.*

A ceſt Bille les Communes ſont aſſentes.

Memorand.

MEmorand. quod nono die Julii, Anno Regni Regis Henrici vicesimo quinto, idem Dominus Rex per Literas suas Patentes sub magno sigillo suo sigillat. Actum prædictum ratificavit & confirmavit, & actui illi assensum suum regium dedit, prout per easdem Literas Patentes, cujus tenor sequitur in hæc verba, magis apte constat.

Here follows the King's Ratification, in which the Act is again recited and ratified.

XLII. The King's last Letter to the Pope. A Duplicate.

To the Pope's Holiness, 1532.

AFter most humble commendations, and most devout kissing of your blessed Feet. Albeit that we have hitherto differred to make answer to those Letters dated at *Bonony*, the *7th* day of *October*; which Letters of late were delivered unto us by *Paul* of *Cassali*: Yet when they appear to be written for this Cause, that we deeply considering the Contents of the same, should provide for the tranquillity of our own Conscience, and should purge such scruples and doubts conceived of our Cause of Matrimony; We could neither neglect those Letters sent for such a purpose, nor after that we had diligently examined and perpended the effects of the same, which we did very diligently, noting, conferring, and revolving every thing in them contained, with deep study of mind, pretermit the leave to answer unto them. For sith that your Holiness seemeth to go about that thing chiefly, which is to vanquish those Doubts, and to take away Inquietations which daily do prick our Conscience; insomuch as it doth appear at the first sight to be done of zeal, Love, and Piety, we therefore do thank you of your good will. Howbeit sith it is not performed in Deed, that ye pretend, we have thought it expedient to require your Holiness to provide us other Remedies; wherefore forasmuch as your Holiness would vouchsafe to write unto us concerning this Matter, we heartily thank you, greatly lamenting also both the chance of your Holiness, and also ours; unto whom both twain it hath chanced in so high a matter of so great moment to be frustrated and deceived; that is to say, That your Holiness not being instructed, nor having knowledge of the Matter, of your self, should be compelled to hang upon the Judgment of others, and so put forth and make answers, gathered of other Men, being variable and repugnant among themselves. And that we being so long sick, and exagitate with this same Sore, should so long time in vain look for Remedy; which when we have augmented our ægritude and distress, by delay and protracting of time, ye do so cruciate the Patient and Afflicted, as who seeth it should much avail to protract the Cause, and through vain hope of the end of our desire to lead us whither ye will. But to speak plainly to your Holiness; Forasmuch as we have suffered many injuries, which with great difficulty we do sustain and digest; albeit

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that among all things passed by your Holiness, some cannot be laid, alledged, nor objected against your Holiness, yet in many of them some default appeareth to be in you, which I would to God we could so diminish, as it might appear no default; but it cannot be hid, which is so manifest, and tho we could say nothing, the thing it self speaketh. But as to that that is affirmed in your Letters, both of God's Law, and Man's, otherwise than is necessary and truth, let that be ascribed to the temerity and ignorance of your Counsellors, and your Holiness to be without all default, save only for that ye do not admit more discreet and learned Men to be your Counsellors, and stop the mouths of them which liberally would speak the truth. This truly is your default, and verily a great fault, worthy to be alienate and abhorred of Christ's Vicar, in that ye have dealt so variably, yea rather so inconstantly and deceivably. Be ye not angry with my words, and let it be lawful for me to speak the Truth without displeasure; if your Holiness shall be displeased with that we do rehearse, impute no default in us, but in your own Deeds; which Deeds have so molested and troubled us wrongfully, that we speak now unwillingly, and as enforced thereunto. Never was there any Prince so handled by a Pope, as your Holiness hath intreated us. First, When our Cause was proponed to your Holiness, when it was explicated and declared afore the same; when certain Doubts in it were resolved by your Counsellors, and all things discussed, it was required that answer might be made thereunto by the order of the Law. There was offered a Commission, with a promise also that the same Commission should not be revoked; and whatsoever Sentence should be given, should straight without delay be confirmed. The Judges were sent unto us, the Promise was delivered to us, subscribed with your Holiness's hand; which avouched to confirm the Sentence, and not to revoke the Commission, nor to grant any thing else that might lett the same; and finally to bring us in a greater hope, a certain Commission Decretal, defining the Cause, was delivered to the Judges hands. If your Holiness did grant us all these things justly, ye did unjustly revoke them; and if by good and truth the same was granted, they were not made frustrate nor annihilate without fraud; so as if there were no deceit nor fraud in the Revocation, then how wrongfully and subtilly have been done those things that have been done! Whether will your Holiness say, That ye might do those things that ye have done, or that ye might not do them? If ye will say that ye might do them, where then is the Faith which becometh a Friend, yea, and much more a Pope to have, those things not being performed, which lawfully were promised? And if ye will say that ye might not do them, have we not then very just cause to mistrust those Medicines and Remedies with which in your Letters ye go about to heal our Conscience, especially in that we may perceive and see those Remedies to be prepared for us, not to relieve the Sickness and Disease of our Mind, but for other means, pleasures, and worldly respects? And as it should seem profitable, that we should ever continue in hope or despair, so always the Remedy is attempted; so that we being always a-healing and never healed, should be sick still. And this truly was the chief cause why we did consult and take the advice of every Learned Man, being free, without all affection, that the Truth (which now with our labour and

study

ſtudy we ſeem partly to have attained) by their judgments more manifeſtly divulged, we might more at large perceive; whoſe Judgments and Opinions it is eaſie to ſee how much they differ from that, that thoſe few Men of yours do ſhew unto you, and by thoſe your Letters is ſignified. Thoſe few Men of yours do affirm the prohibition of our Marriage to be inducted only by the Law poſitive, as your Holineſs hath alſo written in your Letters; but all others ſay the prohibition to be inducted, both by the Law of God and Nature: Thoſe Men of yours do ſuggeſt, that it may be diſpenſed for avoiding of ſlanders; The others utterly do contend, that by no means it is lawful to diſpenſe with that, that God and Nature hath forbidden. We do ſeparate from our Cauſe the Authority of the See Apoſtolick, which we do perceive to be deſtitute of that Learning whereby it ſhould be directed; and becauſe your Holineſs doth ever profeſs your ignorance, and is wont to ſpeak of other Mens mouths, we do confer the ſayings of thoſe, with the ſayings of them that be of the contrary Opinion; for to confer the Reaſons it were too long. But now the Univerſities of *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, in our Realms; *Paris*, *Orleance*, *Biturisen*, *Andegavon*, in *France*; and *Bonony* in *Italy*, by one conſent; and alſo divers other of the moſt famous and Learned Men, being freed from all affection, and only moved in reſpect of verity, partly in *Italy*, and partly in *France*, do affirm the Marriage of the Brother with the Brother's Wife, to be contrary both to the Law of God and Nature; and alſo do pronounce that no Diſpenſation can be lawful or available to any Chriſtian Man in that behalf: But others think the contrary, by whoſe Counſels your Holineſs hath done that, that ſithence ye have confeſſed ye could not do, in promiſing to us as we have above rehearſed, and giving that Commiſſion to the Cardinal *Campege* to be ſhewed unto us; and after, if it ſo ſhould ſeem profitable to burn it, as afterwards it was done indeed as we have perceived. Furthermore, thoſe which ſo moderate the Power of your Holineſs, that they do affirm, That the ſame cannot take away the Appellation which is uſed by Man's Law, and yet is available to Divine Matters every-where without diſtinction. No Princes heretofore have more highly eſteemed, nor honoured the See Apoſtolick than we have; wherefore we be the more ſorry to be provoked to this contention, which to our uſage and nature is moſt alienate and abhorred. Thoſe things ſo cruel we write very heavily, and more glad would have been, to have been ſilent if we might, and would have left your Authority untouched with a good will; and conſtrained to ſeek the verity, we fell, againſt our Will, into this contention; but the ſincerity of the Truth prohibited us to keep ſilence, and what ſhould we do in ſo great and many perplexities? For truly if we ſhould obey the Letters of your Holineſs, in that they do affirm that we know to be otherwiſe, we ſhould offend God and our Conſcience, and we ſhould be a great ſlander to them that do the contrary, which be a great number, as we have before rehearſed: Alſo, if we ſhould diſſent from thoſe things which your Holineſs doth pronounce, we would account it not lawful, if there were not a Cauſe to defend the Fact, as we now do, being compelled by neceſſity, leſt we ſhould ſeem to contemn the Authority of the See Apoſtolick. Therefore your Holineſs ought to take it in good part, tho we do ſomewhat at large and more liberally ſpeak in this Cauſe, which

which doth ſo oppreſs us, ſpecially foraſmuch as we pretend none atrocity, nor uſe no rhetorick in the exaggerating and encreaſing the indignity of the Matter; but if I ſpeak of any thing that toucheth the quick, it proceedeth of the meer verity, which we cannot nor ought not to hide in this Cauſe, for it toucheth not Worldly Things but Divine, not frail but eternal; in which things no feigned, falſe, nor painted Reaſons, but only the Truth, ſhall obtain and take place: and God is the Truth to whom we are bound to obey rather than to Men; and nevertheleſs we cannot but obey unto men alſo, as we were wont to do, unleſs there be an expreſs cauſe why we ſhould not; which by thoſe our Letters we now do to your Holineſs: and we do it with charity, not intending to ſpread it abroad, nor yet further to impugn your Authority, unleſs you do compel us; albeit alſo, that that we do, doth not impugn your Authority, but confirmeth the ſame, which we revocate to its firſt foundations; and better it is in the middle way to return, than always to run forth head-long and do ill. Wherefore if your Holineſs do regard or eſteem the tranquillity of our Mind, let the ſame be eſtabliſhed with verity, which hath been brought to light by the conſent of ſo many Learned Men; ſo ſhall your Holineſs reduce and bring us to a certainty and quietneſs, and ſhall deliver us from all anxiety, and ſhall provide both for us and our Realm, and finally ſhall do your Office and Duty. The reſidue of our Affairs we have committed to our Ambaſſadors to be propounded unto you, to whom we beſeech your Holineſs to give credence, *&c.*

XLIII. *A Promiſe made for engaging the Cardinal of* Ravenna. *An Original.*

Rome *Febr.* 7. 1532.

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 13. EGo Willielmus Bennet Sereniſſimi Domini mei D. Henrici octavi Angliæ, &c. Regis, in Romana Curia Orator, habens ad inſcripta ab ipſo Rege poteſtatem & facultatem, prout conſtat per ipſius Majeſtatis Literas Patentes datas in Regia ſua Grenewici die penultima Decemb. M. D. XXXI. manu ſua propria ſupraſcriptas, & ſecreto ſigillo ſuo ſigillatas; Quoniam in ipſius Regis arduis negotiis expertus ſum ſingularem & præclaram operam Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini D. Henrici Sancti Euſebii S. R. E. Presbyteri Cardinalis Ravennæ, quibus & deinceps uti cupio, ut eandem ſemper voluntatem & operam ſua Dominatio Reverendiſſima erga ipſum regem præſtet, libere promitto eidem Cardinali nomine dicti mei Regis, quod ſua Majeſtas provideri faciet eidem Cardinali, de aliquo Monaſterio ſeu Monaſteriis aut aliis beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis in Regno Galliæ primo vacaturis, uſq; ad valorem annuum ſex millium ducatorum: Et inſuper promitto quod Rex Angliæ prædictus præſentabit, ſeu nominabit eundem Cardinalem ad Eccleſiam Cathedralem primo quovis modo vacaturam, ſeu & ad præſens vacantem, in Regno Angliæ, & de illa ei provideri faciet; & caſu quo Eccleſia primo vacatura hujuſmodi, ceu ad præſens vacans, non ſit Eccleſia Elienſis

Elienſis, promitto etiam quod ſuccedente poſtea vacatione Eccleſiæ Elienſis, Rex Angliæ transferri faciet eundem Cardinalem, ſi ipſi Cardinali magis placuerit, ab illa alia Eccleſia de qua provisus erit, ad Eccleſiam Elienſem: & dictorum Monaſteriorum & Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum in Regno Galliæ, & Eccleſiæ Cathedralis in Regno Angliæ poſſeſſionem pacificam, cum fructuum perceptione, ipſum Cardinalem aſſequi faciet; Et hæc omnia libere promitto, quod Rex meus ſupradictus pleniſſime & ſine ulla prorſus exceptione ratificabit & obſervabit & exequetur; in quorum fidem præſentes manu mea propria ſcripſi & ſubſcripſi, ſigilloq; munivi. Dat. Rom. die ſeptimo Februarii, M.D.XXXII.

This is all written with his own hand, and was ſent over by him to the King.

XLIV. *Bonner's Letter about the proceedings at* Rome. *An Original.*

Rome, *April* 29. 1532.

PLeaſe it your Highneſs; this is to advertiſe the ſame, That ſithen we *William Bennet*, *Edward Karne*, and *Edmond Bonner*, ſent over Letters of the *7th* of this preſent to your Highneſs; There hath been two Diſputations publick, the one the *13th* of this, the other the *20th* day of the ſame, according to the order given and aſſigned, which was three Concluſions to be diſputed every Conſiſtory; and what was ſpoken, as well by your Highneſs's Counſel, for the juſtification of the Concluſion purpoſed the ſaid *13th*, as alſo for the impugnation thereof by the party adverſe, with Anſwers made thereunto by your Highneſs's ſaid Counſel, as fully as were any wiſe deduced, your ſaid Highneſs ſhall perceive by the Books ſent herewithall containing the ſame; and alſo the Juſtifications, Objections, and Anſwers, made in the *6th* of this preſent, according as I *Edward Karne* in my ſaid Letters promiſed. The Copies of all the which Juſtifications, Objections, and Anſwers, after that they were fully noted and deduced in writing, and maturely conſidered by your Highneſs's Learned Counſel, I *Edward Karne* did bring to the Pope's Holineſs, and to the Cardinals, for their better information; and likewiſe did of the firſt, alwiſe afore the Conſiſtory, according to the order aſſigned at the beginning; looking in likewiſe that the Queen's Counſel ſhould do this ſame, but as yet they have done nothing therein, though your Ambaſſadors and I have called upon the Pope many times for the ſame. And as concerning ſuch things as were ſpoken and done for either part in the Diſputation of the *20th* day, it is not poſſible for us, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of time, to reduce all in good order, and to ſend the ſame to your Highneſs at this time; nevertheleſs with all ſpeed it ſhall be made ready, and ſent to your Highneſs by the next Courier. After the Diſputation done, the ſaid *13th* day of this preſent, the Advocate of the party adverſe did alledge, That we did ſeek this Diſputation but only to defer the Proceſs; proteſting therefore, That the Queen's Counſel would diſpute no more; and deſiring therefore the Pope's Holineſs, and the whole Conſiſtory, to make proceſs in the principal Cauſe. Whereunto I *Edward Karne* ſaid, That the Pope's Holineſs, with the whole Senate, had granted the Diſputations upon the Matters, and given an order that the Concluſions publiſhed ſhould be diſputed according to the ſame. Whereupon I deſired that foraſmuch as there remained

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remained ſixteen Concluſions not diſputed (which to propoſe and juſtifify, with your Highneſs's Counſel, I would be ready at all times) that if the party adverſe knowing the Concluſions to be Canonical, would not confeſs them, and thereby avoid Diſputations, that then the ſaid Party ſhould diſpute them, and upon the refuſal of both the ſame, the Matters excuſatories to be admitted by his Holineſs, eſpecially becauſe the ſaid Party adverſe hath nothing material that could be perceived to lett the ſame. The Pope's Holineſs anſwered, that he would deliberate upon the demand of both Parties. The *16th* of this preſent, the Datary on the Pope's behalf ſent unto me *Edward Karne* an Intimation for diſputation of the Conſiſtory to be kept the 20. of this preſent, and that I ſhould ſend the Concluſions not diſputed, that they might be in the ſaid Conſiſtory diſputed; adding withall, that the ſaid Conſiſtory ſhould be *ultimus & peremptorius terminus quoad alias Diſputationes*. Of the which Intimation your Highneſs ſhall receive a Copy herewith. Upon this, with the advice of your Ambaſſadors and Counſel here, I repaired unto the ſaid Datary, and brought unto him three Concluſions to be diſputed, with a Proteſtation, *De non recedendo ab ordine hactenus obſervato*, according to the Proem of the ſaid Concluſions, the Copy whereof your Highneſs ſhall receive herewith. Afterwards, with the ſame Concluſions and Proteſtation, I went to Cardinal *de Monte*, who ſaid, at the beginning, That all the Conſiſtory crieth out upon the Diſputations, and that we had been heard ſufficiently, and that it was enough that we ſhould have the fourth Diſputation; adding withall, That it was a thing never ſeen before after ſuch ſort; and that it ſtood not with the honour of the See to have ſuch Diſputations in the Conſiſtory, to the great diſquieting of the Pope and the Cardinals, eſpecially conſidering the manner that is uſed, and that all the Concluſions be touched which ſhould content us. To this I anſwered, and deſired his moſt Reverend Lordſhip to call to his remembrance, what he had promiſed to your Highneſs's Ambaſſadors and me, in the *Caſtel-Angel* upon *Shrove-Sunday*, the Pope being preſent, and allowing the ſame, contented that all the Concluſions ſhould be diſputed *ſingulariter*; and that I ſhould at my pleaſure, from time to time, chuſe the Concluſions to be diſputed. And how alſo afterward, *viz.* 17. *Feb.* the Pope's Holineſs, Cardinal *Ancona*, and his Lordſhip, not going from that promiſe, gave direction for three Concluſions to be diſputed every Conſiſtory; the choice whereof to be at my liberty (according to the Copy of the ſaid Order which I ſent to your Highneſs with my Letters, of the date of the 22. of the laſt)? And furthermore, that what time the order to diſpute three Concluſions in a Conſiſtory was ſent unto me, and I required to ſend the Concluſions firſt to be diſputed according to the ſaid order; I did, to avoid all manner of doubts, proteſt afore I would accept it, and in the deliverance of the ſaid Concluſions, that I would not otherwiſe accept it, but that all the Concluſions, according to the order promiſed in *Caſtel-Angel*, ſhould be diſputed and examined *ſingulariter*, and that ſtanding, and not otherwiſe, I delivered my ſaid Concluſions according to the Order of the *17th* of *February*, which Order the Pope's Holineſs hitherto had approved and obſerved, and from that I neither could nor would go: And where he ſaid that we had been heard ſufficiently; I ſaid, that Audience and Information

ration of less than the one half of a Matter could not be sufficient; and if they intended to see the truth of the whole, every point must be discussed. And as for the crying out of the Cardinals, I said, They had no cause so to do, for it was more for the honour of the See Apostolick, to see such a Cause as this is, well and surely tried, so that the Truth may appear, and the Matters be well known, than to proceed *precipitanter*, as they did at the beginning of this Matter, afore they well knew what the Matter was. And as touching the disquieting the Pope's Holiness, and the said Cardinals, I said, your Highness for their pains was much beholden unto them; nevertheless, I said, that they might on the other side ponder such pains as your Highness hath taken for them, in part declared by me; which was much more than for them to sit in their Chairs two or three hours in a week, to hear the justice of your defence in this cause. And as touching the manner used in the said Disputation, I said, his Lordship knew well that it was by the Party adverse, which all manner of wayes goeth about to fatigate and make weary the Consistory of the Disputations, specially in chiding, scolding and alledging Laws and Decisions that never were, nor spoken of by any Doctor, and vainly continuing the time, to the intent that the Pope's Holiness, and the Cardinals, dissolving the Consistory, and not having audience, the said party, without Law, Reason, or any good ground, might attain their desire, and keep under the Truth, that it should not appear; and if any thing was sharply spoken of our Party, I said it was done only for our defence, and to shew the errors and falsity of the Queens Advocates in their Allegations, wherein, I said, they should not be spared. And forasmuch as on the behalf of your Highness there was nothing spoken but that which was grounded upon Law, and declared in what place, so that it cannot be denied; I desired his Lordship that he would continue his goodness in this Matter, as your Highness's especial trust was he would do; and that we might always, as we were accustomed, have recourse unto the same in all our Business for his good help and counsel. His Lordship not yet satisfied, said, That as concerning the Order, the Pope's Holiness might interpretate and declare what he meant by it; and as touching the Conclusions, they were superfluous, impertinent, and calumnious, only proposed to defer the Matter. I answered, and said, That to interpretate the said Order where it is clear out of doubt, the Pope's Holiness considering the promise made on *Shrove Sunday*, with my Protestation foresaid, and the execution of the said Order to that time, in divers Consistories observed, could not by right interpretate the said Order, admitting disputation upon all the Conclusions; and of this I said, That if such alterations were made, without any cause given of your Highness's Party, there was little certainty to be reckoned upon amongst them. And as touching the superfluity and impertinency of the said Conclusions, I said, That that was the saying of the Party adverse, that did not understand the same Conclusions. And further, that such Conclusions as were clamorously, by the Advocates of the Party adverse, alledged to be superfluous, his Lordship in the Disputation and trial thereof in the Consistory, did manifestly perceive that it was not so. And where it was alledged the said Conclusions to be calumnious, and laid in to delay the Process. I answered, That we might well alledge again the

Counſel of the party adverſe, the thing againſt us alledged, and ſ truly, that we were calumniouſly dealed withal, ſeeing the matters were ſo juſt and clear, and yet not admitted Then his Lordſhip went fur ther, and ſaid, that *Impedimentum allegatum erat perpetuum*, becauſe you Highneſs, *ex cauſa reipublica*, could not come out your Realm, and *quæ dignitas veſtra eſt perpetua*; and alſo *quod Cauſa requirit celeritatem*. T this I ſaid, that his Lordſhip miſtook the Matter, for we ſaid not i the matters that your Highneſs could not go out of your Realm to t place, but we ſaid, that the ſame could not go, *ad loca tam remota*, as R is: ſo that it was not *perpetuum impedimentum*. And to the other I ſhe ed him a Text, and the common opinion of Doctors in a Cauſe of Ma trimony, being *inter Regem & Reginam* which took away the thi that he had ſaid. Then his Lordſhip ſaid, That it was enough that t place were ſure to the Procurator by the Chapter, *Cum olim de teſtib* I ſaid, That that Chapter did not prove that Allegation, and that the miſtook the Text that ſo did underſtand it, for the Alternative that in that Text is not referred *ad locum tutum*, but *ad ordinem Citationis in choandæ in perſona principali, aut ejus procuratore*; and ſo *Petrus de Ar chorano* underſtandeth that Text; and otherwiſe underſtanding the ſam it ſhould be againſt the Chapter, *Ex parte de appellatione*, and the com mon opinion there. Then he ſaid that *Aretine* ſaith, *Quod ſufficit quo locus ſit tutus procuratori.* I ſaid, that under his favour, *Aretine* ſaith th contrary, for he ſaith, *Quod partibus debet locus tutus aſſignari ſi poterit, & ſi non poterit partibus, detur procuratoribus.* Then his Lordſhip ſaid t me, That I knew well he began to ſet forward theſe Diſputations, an that he would do the beſt he could for the furtherance thereof.

The 19*th* of this preſent I went with your Highneſs's Ambaſſadors t the Pope, and delivered his Holineſs in writing thoſe things that were done in the Diſputation of the 13*th* of this: And then your Ambaſſa dors were in hand with the Pope to alter the Intimation, and to put ou the term *peremptory*, and other that were excluſory of further Diſputa tions to be had upon the ſame Concluſions. The Pope's Holineſs ſai That Diſputations was no act Judicial requiring to be in the Conſiſtory and therefore he ſaid, he would call certain Congregations of Card nals, on *Friday* and *Monday* following, to hear the Diſputations. The I *William Benet* ſaid, That that could not ſtand very well with the De cree of the Intimation, which was peremptory for any further Diſputa tions after the 20*th* of this preſent; and therefore I ſpake that the ſam term *peremptory* might be put out of the Intimation, alledging with that upon the ſaid *Friday* or *Monday* it was no time to hear the Diſput tion, being ſo nigh after; and that his Holineſs hitherto hath obſerve the Conſiſtory for the Diſputations, which Conſiſtory cannot be un after *Eaſter*, if the manner of the Court be obſerved. Then the Po ſaid, he might call a Conſiſtory when he would, as he hath done making of Cardinals, an Act much more ſolemn than a Diſputatio To that I ſaid, his Holineſs might ſo do if he would; however, ſhould be *præter ſolitum morem*: and therefore deſired his Holineſs conſider therein the order before aſſigned, and that this term *peremp* would not ſtand with the order. His Holineſs then willed we ſhou inform the Cardinals, *Ancona*, and *de Monte*, and ſo we did; *Ancona* ſhe ed himſelf ſomewhat reaſonable, and was contented the term *peremp*

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ſhould be put out. *De Monte* ſaid that the Pope would promiſe to hear the Concluſions diſputed in Congregations, calling thereto certain Cardinals, ſo that the term *peremptory* ſhould not be prejudicial. Then I *Edward Karne* deſired him, that if the ſaid term ſhould not be prejudicial, that it might be ſtricken out, for I told him plainly that I would not ſtand to words, the writing ſhewing the contrary; adding withal, that I would not diſpute in this term, *tanquam peremptorio*, but would manifeſtly ſhew and proteſt, That I, with other your Highneſs's Counſel, were ready to defend the Concluſions publiſhed according to the order given, and hitherto obſerved; alledging alſo, that the Concluſions being juſtified, the Matters ought to be admitted; and that if the Pope's Holineſs and the Cardinals would not give audience to me and your Highneſs's ſaid Counſel, for the manifeſt trial and ſhowing of the truth, they ſhould give us cauſe to complain upon them, and to cry out *uſque ad Sidera*, your Highneſs's Ambaſſadors all affirming the ſame. Then the ſaid Cardinal *de Monte* ſaid, that the Pope's Holineſs would provide for the Diſputations, notwithſtanding the term *peremptory* aſſigned, and ſaid alſo, that in the Morning he would ſpeak with the Pope, and give your Ambaſſadors and me an anſwer.

In the morning, which was the 20*th* of this preſent, the ſaid Cardinal would, that nothing of the Decree of intimation ſhould be manifeſted, becauſe the other part had a Copy thereof, but would the Pope's Holineſs to give an order that the word *peremptory* ſhould be only for Diſputations to be had in the Conſiſtory, and not in Congregations, in which Congregations, the Concluſions remaining might be diſputed; and tho they had drawn out this Order, yet becauſe it was nothing plain, neither certain to be conformable to the former Order, I would have, had the ſaid Cardinal to ſpeak to the ſaid Datary for to make it as afore; and he was then contented, howbeit the Pope's Holineſs commanded all the Cardinals to their places, ſo that I could not have the ſaid Order, and was driven thereby either to diſpute and accept the term, *tanquam peremptorium*, or elſe to fly the Diſputations, giving occaſion to the adverſe Party to ſay, that I diffided in the juſtneſs of the Matters, and defence of the Concluſions. Whereupon your Highneſs's Ambaſſadors and we, with other your Learned Counſel, concluded, that I *Edward Karne* ſhould proteſt, *De non conſentiendo in termino, tanquam peremptorio*, and afterward to proceed to the propoſing of the Concluſions, and ſo I did by mouth according to the tenor of a Copy, which herewith your Highneſs ſhall receive. When I had proteſted, and the Pope had ſpoken this word *Acceptamus*, the Queen's Advocate began to proteſt that they would diſpute no more, and deſired his Holineſs to proceed in the principal Cauſe. Then I *Edward Karne* ſaid, That the Pope's Holineſs did well perceive, that the Concluſions were publiſhed and propoſed, not only for them to diſpute, but alſo for all other, that who would, for the information of his Holineſs, and the whole Conſiſtory. And therefore I ſaid, that tho they would not diſpute, yet I was there, with other your Highneſs's Learned Counſel, to propoſe the Concluſions, according to the Order given, juſtifying them to be Canonical, and ready to defend them againſt all thoſe that would gainſay them; and thereupon deſired the Pope's Holineſs, that tho the Counſel of the Party Adverſe would not diſpute, yet I with your

Highneſs's Learned Counſel might be heard again; againſt which my deſire the Queen's Advocate made great exclamations, till at the laſt the Pope commanded him to ſilence, and willed us to go to the Concluſions, which we did.

And here now it is determined, That we ſhall have no more Diſputations in the Conſiſtory, but the reſt of the Concluſions to be diſputed in Congregations before the Pope, purpoſely made for the ſame; and what therein ſhall be determined or done, your Highneſs from time to time ſhall thereof by us be advertiſed, and of all other our doings in that behalf.

And as concerning the Letters which your Highneſs ſent by *Francis* the Courier, of the laſt of *February*, as well to the Pope, as to me *Edward Karne*, for the admiſſion of me and the Matter excuſatory, we ſhall, according to your Highneſs's pleaſure and order aſſigned, in the common Letter ſent unto us by your ſaid Highneſs, proceed and do therein as may be moſt beneficial and profitable for the ſame.

And thus moſt humbly we commend us to your Highneſs, beſeeching Almighty God to preſerve the ſame in felicity and health many years. At *Rome* the 28*th* of *March* 1532.

Your Highneſs's moſt humble Subjects,

Servants, and Chaplains,

William Bennet,

Edward Karne,

Edmond Bonner.

XLV. *Another Letter concerning the Proceſs at* Rome.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 13.

PLeaſeth it your Highneſs, ſithen our Letters of the 23 of *March*, here hath been great labour, and ſolliciting, to bring the Diſputation publick out of the Conſiſtory kept once in the week, into the Congregations, to be obſerved and kept before the Pope's Holineſs and the Cardinals, in ſuch place, and as oft as ſhould pleaſe them; to the intent, as we perceived that the ſaid Diſputation might be the ſooner ended, and not take ſuch effect as it was deviſed for. And upon this great importune labour, I, *Edward Karne*, was moniſhed oftentimes to ſend Concluſions to be propoſed in the ſaid Congregations, as well in *Palm-Sunday*-week, as in *Eaſter*-week, as appeareth by the Copies of the Intimations ſent herewithal to your Highneſs: Upon which Intimations I delivered certain Concluſions, according to the order taken at the beginning, with a Proteſtation deviſed by your Grace's Counſel here, *De non-recedendo ab eodem ordine, & de proponendo eaſdem Concluſiones in*

in Consistorio, juxta eundem ordinem & non aliter. That notwithstanding the Pope's Holiness caused me to be monished again, *cum Commination*e, that if I would not come in, *cum Advocatis*, the third day of *April*, *procederes ad ulteriora, protestatione mea prævia non obstante.* Whereupon, with the advice of your said Learned Counsel, I conceived a Protestation, and the same delivered to the Pope's Holiness the said third day in the morning, protesting as it was therein contained, and causing it to be registred by the Datary; of the which Protestation your Highness shall also receive a Copy herewithal. This notwithstanding, the Pope's Holiness, the said third day in the afternoon made a Congregation, where the said Protestation was examined; and after the Treaty had upon the same, we were in conclusion remitted again to the Consistory, there to be heard, as much as the Consistory intendeth to hear, upon the Conclusions that are published; which was much more beneficial to us, than to have had all proposed in Congregations to have been kept, as is afore And by this means the Matter was shifted off, and deferred unto the *10th* of this month; at which time the Pope's Holiness kept the Consistory. And one Mr. *Providel*, a singular good Clerk, which came from *Bonony* for the furtherance of your Highness's Cause, very compendiously, and after good fashion and handling, to the great consolation, as appeared, of the Audience there, proposed three Conclusions, of the which two concerned the habilitation of me *Edward Karne*, to lay in the Matters Excusatory: And the third was, that the Cause ought to be committed, *extra curiam, ad locum tutum utrique parti:* Of the which Conclusions, and also his Sayings, the said *10th* day, your Highness shall receive a Copy herewithal. And forasmuch as at the said Consistory, neither the *Imperials*, neither yet the Queens Counsel, did appear; I, *Edward Karne*, with the advice of your Highness's Counsel, said to the Pope's Holiness, after the Proposition made by Mr. *Providel*, that his Holiness might perceive well, that if the Party adverse had any good matter to alledge, against such things as were deduced for the justification of the Conclusions, and matter Excusatory, and did not diffide of their part, they would not have absented themselves, or shrunken from the Disputations, which they afore had accepted and taken; wherefore I accused their contumacy and absence, desiring that it might be enacted; and thereupon departed from the Consistory, for that day dissolved.

The *14th* of this present, the Pope's Holiness caused Intimation to be made unto me, of the Consistory to be kept the *17th* of the same; willing me to be there, *cum Advocatis*, to dispute all the Conclusions not proposed and disputed: Upon the which Intimation, I delivered to the Datary three Conclusions, the 19, the 20, and the 21 in order, with a Protestation devised by your Learned Counsel, sent here-withal to your Highness; And in the said Consistory, Mr. *Providel* did also alledge for the justification of the Matters and Conclusions; and over that answered to such Objections as he thought the Party adverse to make foundation upon, and that very compendiously, being sorry that the *Imperials*, and Queen's Counsel, did not come in to dispute the said Conclusions; and the sayings of the said Mr. *Providel* in the said Consistory, with my Protestation also, in not agreeing to the term, as *peremptory* your Highness shall perceive in writing sent here-withal.

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As concerning the ſeven Concluſions yet remaining undiſputed, we think the Pope's Holineſs will hear us no further in the Conſiſtory; ſaying, that the Part adverſe will not abide the Diſputations, nor come into the ſame: Nevertheleſs to take otherwiſe out of the Conſiſtory, with the Cardinals Information, his Holineſs is well contented.

And verily, Sir, to ſtudy, labour, ſet forward, and call upon ſuch things as may confer to the advancement of the Matter, and your Highneſs's Purpoſe, there ſhall not want, neither good will, neither diligence to the uttermoſt, that we can excogitate or deſire, as hitherto ſurely neither Party hath failed; truſting in God that thereby if Juſtice be not oppreſſed, ſome good effect ſhall follow, to the good contentation of your Highneſs. With theſe Preſents, your Highneſs ſhall alſo receive a Copy of all things that were ſpoken, as well for your Highneſs's behalf, as by the Party adverſe, in the Conſiſtory, the 20th day of *March*.

And thus moſt humbly we commend us to your Highneſs, beſeeching Almighty God long to continue the ſame in his moſt Royal Eſtate. At *Rome*, the 29*th* of *April*.

Your Highneſs's moſt humble Subjects,

and poor Servants,

Edward Karne.

Edmond Bonner.

XLVI. *A Letter from* Benet *and* Caſſali *about the Proceſs. An Original.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 13 SEreniſſime & Invictiſſime Domine noſter Supreme, ſalutem. Tribus Superioribus Conſiſtoriis ante vacationes habitis, de Cauſâ Excuſatoria actum fuit; ſed quid illud fuerit quod in primo egerunt reſcire non potuimus, quia Cardinales pœna Excommunicationis prohibiti fuerant quicquam revelare. Secundo etiam aliquid ſuper eadem cauſa tractarunt quod itidem nos celaverunt. Sed ultimo illo, quod die octavo Julii Congregatum fuit, ita ut inferius patebit, conſtituerunt. Quum ergo poſtero die Pontificem adiviſſemus, ut quod decretum foret cognoſceremus, ab eo ſic accepimus; nolle ſe ore ſuo, propterea quod Juriſperitus non fa Conſiſtorii deliberationem pronunciare; quocirca die ſequenti ad ipſum rediremus, quoniam vellet Cardinales Montem & Anconitanum ad ipſum nobis proferre: Et nihilominus idem quod deinde ex ipſis Cardinalibus audivimus tunc explicavit, noluit tamen nobis eſſe Reſponſilo co. Igitur ſicut dixerat, redivimus, & nobis duo illi Cardinales ſic retulerunt ſummum Dominum & Cardinales decreviſſe, literas Exhortatorias cum à Pontifice, tum à Collegio Cardinalium, Majeſtati veſtræ ſcribendi

bendas esse, quibus vestram Majestatem adhortarentur, ut velit hic ad Causam Procuratorem constituere, idq; per totum Octobrem proximum facere. Pontifex præterea suadebat ut ad idem nos Majestatem Vestram cohortaremur, idemq; fecerunt Cardinales, volentes omnes ambiguitates & dubitationes tollere. Respondimus, velle quod nobis injungebatur Majestati Vestræ scribere; verum illud non posse reticere quod erga Majestatem Vestram inique actum videbatur; quum neq; Excusator admissus, neq; ipsius allegationes forent probatæ ac receptæ, id quod tam sæpe instantissime petitum fuerat. Præterea non posse nos non valde mirari ac etiam summopere conqueri, quod quum pro comperto haberemus juris esse id fieri, esset nihilominus denegatum; quum præsertim petendo Mandatum procuratorium, tacite viderentur rejicere Excusatorem, & per ipsum allegata. Sic autem illi nobis Responderunt, neque Excusatorem fuisse rejectum, neque per ipsum allegata, sed in eodem quo prius, statu permanere; hoc autem excusatorium negotium minime, ut nobis judicibus clarum, sed dubium videri. Ibiq; Anconitanus quædam nostris contraria adduxit, quæ D. Karne suis literis recenset. Dicebam quoq; in hac re favorabilius nos, quam adversarios fuisse tractatos; illud etiam addentes, quod si procuratorium mandatum mittatur, justitia optime ministrabitur, ac etiam quatenus fieri possit, favorabiliter; idque & Pontifex & Cardinales ambo constanter asseverabant. Quum vero nos sæpius diceremus, excusatorem admitti debuisse; dixerunt, si recte considerare velimus, nos idem ipsum re habuisse; si enim (aiebant), Procurator hic constituatur, literæ Remissoriæ & Compulsoriæ decernentur, ad testes in partibus examinandos. Itemq; vir aliquis probus ad id delegabitur ad utramque partem, testesque scil. examinandos, ita ut processus in partibus fiat; Atque hoc pacto nos id consequi quod desideramus, quoniam quod ad totius causæ decisionem pertinet, ex eo quod de Pontificis potestate cognoscendum, & de jure Divino disceptandum sit, ac aliis etiam de causis, ipsam Decisionem Pontifici integram semper reservari nihilominus oporteret, quamvis causam alibi quam Romæ cognosci permissum fuisset. Nobis certe visum est, haud parum esse quod obtinuimus, longe enim pejora timebamus, quum nemo in urbe esset, qui non crederet Excusatorem una cum suis allegationibus rejectum iri. Hunc quidem eventum rei Cæsariani ægerrime tulerunt. Optime valeat Majestas vestra. Romæ die 13 Julii 1532.

Vestræ Regiæ Majestatis

Hier. Episcopus Wigornien.

W. Benet.

Gregorio Cassali.

XLVII. The Sentence of Divorce.

Anno Incarnationis milleſimo quingenteſimo triceſimo tertio, Indictione ſexta, Clementis Papæ decimo, menſis Maii viceſimo tertio, in Eccleſia Conventuali Monaſterii Sancti Petri Dunſtabliæ, Ordinis Sancti Auguſtini Lincoln. Dioceſ. noſtri Cantuarien. Provinciæ.

In an Inſpeximus, Rot. Pat 25. Reg. ad. Part.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas Permiſſione Divina Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus, in quadam cauſa inquiſitionis de & ſuper viribus Matrimonii inter Illuſtriſſimum & Potentiſſimum Principem & Dominum noſtrum Henricum Octavum Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defenſorem & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Sereniſſimam Dominam Catharinam nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandi Hiſpaniarum Regis Filiam contracti & conſummati, quæ coram nobis in judicio ex officio noſtro mero aliquandiu vertebatur, & adhuc vertitur, & pendet indeciſa, rite & legitime procedentes viſis primitus per nos & diligenter inſpectis, articulis ſive capitulis in dicta cauſa objectis & miniſtratis, una cum reſponſis eis ex parte dicti Illuſtriſſimi & Potentiſſimi Principis Henrici Octavi factis & redditis, viſiſque & ſimiliter per nos inſpectis plurimorum Nobilium & aliorum teſtium fide dignorum dictis & depoſitionibus in eadem cauſa habitis & factis, viſiſque præterea & ſimiliter per nos inſpectis, quamplurimum fere totius Chriſtiani orbis Principalium Academiarum Cenſuris ſeu Concluſionibus Magiſtralibus, etiam tam Theologorum quam Juriſperitorum reſponſis & opinionibus, utriuſque denique Provinciæ Anglicanæ Conciliorum provincialium aſſertionibus & affirmationibus, aliiſque ſalutaribus monitis & doctrinis ſuper dicto matrimonio deſuper reſpective habitis & factis; viſiſq; ulterius, & pari modo per nos inſpectis, pactis ſeu fœderibus pacis, & amicitiæ inter perennis famæ Henricum ſeptimum nuper Regem Angliæ, & dictum nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandum nuper Regem Hiſpaniæ deſuper initis & factis; viſis quoque peramplius, & diligenter per nos inſpectis, omnibus & ſingulis actis actitatis, literis, proceſſibus, inſtrumentis, ſcripturis, monumentis, rebuſq; aliis univerſis in dicta cauſa quomodolibet geſtis & factis, ac aliis omnibus & ſingulis per nos viſis & inſpectis, atque à nobis cum diligentia & maturitate ponderatis & recenſitis, ſervatiſque ulterius per nos in hac parte de jure ſervandis, necnon partibus prædictis, videlicet præfato illuſtriſſimo & potentiſſimo Principe Henrico Octavo per ejus Procuratorem idoneum coram nobis in dicta cauſa legitime comparente, dicta vero Sereniſſima Domina Catharina per contumaciam abſente, cujus abſentia Divina repleatur præſentia, de Conſilio Juriſperitorum & Theologorum, cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus, ad ſententiam noſtram definitivam ſive finale Decretum noſtrum in dicta cauſa ferendam ſive ferendum ſic duximus procedendum, & procedimus in hunc modum. Quia per acta actitata, deducta, propoſita, exhibita, & allegata, probata pariter & confeſſata, articulataque, capitulata, partis reſponſa, teſtium depoſitiones, & dicta inſtrumenta, monumenta, literas, ſcripturas, cenſuras, concluſiones Magiſtrales, opiniones, conſilia, aſſertiones, affirmationes, tractatus & fœdera pacis, proceſſus, res alias, & cætera promiſſa coram nobis in

dicta

dicta causa respective habita, gesta, facta, exhibita & producta; Necnon ex eisdem, & diversis aliis ex causis & considerationibus, argumentisq; & probationum generibus variis, & multiplicibus, validis quidem & efficacibus, quibus animum nostrum hac in parte ad plenum informavimus, plene & evidenter invenimus & comperimus dictum Matrimonium inter præfatos Illustrissimum & Potentissimum Principem & Dominum nostrum Henricum Octavum, ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, ut præmittitur, contractum & consummatum, nullum & omnino invalidum fuisse & esse, & Divino Jure prohibente contractum & consummatum extitisse: Idcirco nos Thomas Archiepiscopus Primas & Legatus antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes, pro nullitate & invaliditate dicti Matrimonii pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, ipsumq; prætensum Matrimonium fuisse & esse nullum & invalidum, ac Divino Jure prohibente contractum & consummatum, nulliusq; valoris aut momenti esse, sed viribus & firmitate juris caruisse & carere, præfatoque Illustrissimo & Potentissimo Principi Henrico Octavo & Serenissimæ Dominæ Catharinæ, non licere in eodem prætenso Matrimonio remanere, & pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus; ipsosq; Illustrissimum & Potentissimum Principem Henricum Octavum ac Serenissimam Dominam Catharinam, quatenus de facto & non de jure dictum prætensum Matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt & consummarunt, ab invicem separamus & divorciamus, atq; sic separatos & divorciatos, necnon ab omni vinculo Matrimoniali respectu dicti prætensi Matrimonii liberos & immunes fuisse & esse, pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale Decretum, quam sive quod ferimus & promulgamus in his scriptis. In quorum præmissorum fidem & testimonium, has literas nostras testimoniales, sive præsens publicum sententiæ vel Decreti instrumentum, exinde fieri ac per Notarios Publicos subscriptos, scribas cancellarios nostros in ea parte specialiter assumptos, subscribi & signari, notariq; sigilli appensione jussimus & fecimus communiri.

Likewise passed Judgment (confirming the King's Marriage with Queen Ann) at Lambeth, May 28. 1533. *which is in the same* Inspeximus.

Act 5. Anno Regni 25.

XLVIII. *An Act concerning the Deprivations of the Bishops of* Salisbury *and* Worcester.

WHere before this time the Church of *England*, by the King's most noble Progenitors, and the Nobles of the same, have been founded, ordained, and established, in the Estate and degree of Prelatic Dignities, and other Promotions Spiritual, to the intent and purpose that the said Prelates, and other Persons, having the said Dignities and Promotions Spiritual, continually should be abiding, and Residents upon their said Promotions within this Realm; and also keep, use, and exercise Hospitality, Divine Services, teaching and preaching of the

Laws of Almighty God, to ſuch Perſons as were and have been within the precinct of their Promotions or dignities, for the Wealth of the Souls of their Givers and Founders, greatly to the honour of Almighty God. Of the which ſaid Spiritual Perſons, the King's Highneſs, and his moſt noble Progenitors, have had right honourable, and well-learned Perſonages, apt, meet, and convenient, for to guide and inſtruct his Highneſs, and his moſt noble Progenitors, in their Counſels concerning as well their Outward as Inward Affairs, to be deviſed and practiſed for the utility and preſervation of this Realm; by reaſon whereof the Iſſues, Revenues, Profits, and Treaſure, riſing and coming of the ſaid Spiritual promotions and Dignities, were and ſhould be ſpent, employed, and converted within this Realm, to the great profit and commodity of the King's Subjects of the ſame. And where alſo by the laudable Laws and Proviſions of this Realm, before this time made, it hath been ordained, uſed, and eſtabliſhed, that no Perſon nor Perſons, of whatſoever Eſtate, Degree, or Quality he or they were, ſhould take or receive within this Realm of *England*, to Farm, by any Procuracy, Writ, Letter of Attorney, Adminiſtrations, by Indenture, or by any other Mean, any Benefice, or other Promotion within this Realm, of any Perſon or Perſons, but only of the King's true and lawful Subjects, being born under the King's Dominions. And alſo that no Perſon or Perſons, of what eſtate and degree ſoever he or they were, by reaſon of any ſuch Farm, Procuracie, Letter of Attorney, Adminiſtration, Indenture, or by any other mean, as is aforeſaid, ſhould carry, conveigh, or cauſe to be carried and conveighed out of this Realm any Gold, Silver, Treaſure, or other Commodity, by Letter of Exchange, or by way of Merchandiſe, or otherwiſe, for any of the Cauſes aforeſaid, to the profit or commodity of any Alien, or other Stranger, being born out of this Realm, having any ſuch Promotion Spiritual within the ſame, without licence of the King's Highneſs, by the advice of his Council, as by the ſame Laws, Statutes and Proviſions, more plainly at large it may appear; which ſaid laudable Laws, Statutes, and Proviſions, were made, deviſed, and ordained, by great policy and foreſight of the King's moſt noble Progenitors, the Nobles and Commons of this Realm, for the great profit, utility, and benefit of the ſame, to the intent that the Gold, Silver, Treaſure, Riches, and other Commodity of the ſame, by the occaſion aforeſaid, ſhould not be exhauſted, employed, converted, and otherwiſe tranſported out of this Realm and Dominions of the ſame, to the uſe, profit, and commodity of any Stranger being born out of this Realm, or the Dominions of the ſame; But only to be ſpent, and uſed, and beſtowed within the ſame, to the great comfort and conſolation of the Subjects of this Realm. Notwithſtanding which ſaid wholſom Laws, Statutes, and Proviſions, the King's Highneſs being a Prince of great benignity and Liberality, having no knowledge, nor other due information, or inſtruction of the ſame Laws, Statutes, and proviſions, heretofore hath nominated, and preferred and promoted, *Laurence Campegius* Biſhop of *Sarum*, with all the Spiritual and Temporal Poſſeſſions, Promotions, and other Emoluments and Commodities in any wiſe belonging or appertaining to the ſame: And alſo hath nominated, preferred, and promoted *Hierome*, being another Stranger, born out of the King's ſaid Realm and Dominions, to the

the See and Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, with all the Spiritual and Temporal Promotions, and other Emoluments and Commodities, in any wiſe belonging or appertaining to the ſame. Which ſaid two Biſhops, and namely the Biſhop of *Sarum*, nothing regarding their Duties to Almighty God, nor their Cures of the ſaid Biſhopricks, everſith or for the more part of the time of their ſaid Promotions or Profections into the ſame, have been, and yet be reſident, dwelling and abiding at the See of *Rome*, or elſewhere, in other parts beyond the Sea, far out and from any of the King's ſaid Dominions; by reaſon whereof, the great Hoſpitality, Divine Service, teaching and Preaching the Laws, and Examples of good living, and the other good and neceſſary effects before rehearſed, have been many years by-paſt, and yet continually be, not only withdrawn, decayed, hindred, and miniſhed, but alſo great quantity of Gold, Silver, and Treaſure, to the yearly ſum and value of 3000*l.* at the leaſt, have been yearly taken and conveighed out of this Realm, to the ſingular profit, and great enriching of the ſaid Biſhops, and daily is like to be conveighed, tranſported, and ſent, contrary to the purport and effect of the ſaid former wholſome Laws and Statutes, to the great impoveriſhing of this Realm, as well preſently as for to come, if ſpeedy remedy be not had therefore in brief time provided. In conſideration whereof, be it enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, that the ſaid two ſeveral Sees and Biſhopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worceſter*, and either of them from henceforth, ſhall be taken, reputed, and accounted in the Law to be utterly void, vacant, and utterly deſtitute of any Incumbent, or Prelate, *&c.*

XLVIII. *A Letter from* Cromwel *to* Fiſher, *about the Maid of* Kent, *Anno* 34, *or end of* 35.

MY Lord, in my right hearty wiſe I commend me to your Lordſhip, doing you to underſtand, that I have received your Letters dated at *Rocheſter*, the 18*th* day of this Month; in which ye declare what craft and cunning ye have to perſwade, and to ſet a good Countenance upon an ill Matter, drawing ſome Scriptures to your purpoſe; which well weighed, according to the places whereout they be taken, make not ſo much for your purpoſe as ye alledge them for; and where in the firſt Leaf of your Letters ye write, that ye doubt nothing, neither before God nor before the World, if need ſhall that require, ſo to declare your ſelf, whatſoever hath been ſaid of you, that ye have not deſerved ſuch heavy words, or terrible threats, as hath been ſent from me unto you by your Brother. *Cotton* Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4.

How ye can declare your ſelf afore God and the World, when need ſhall require, I cannot tell; but I think verily that your Declaration made by theſe Letters, is far inſufficient to prove that ye have deſerved no heavy words in this behalf. And to ſay plainly, I ſent you no heavy words, but words of great comfort, willing your Brother to ſhew you

how benign and merciful the Prince, was: And that I thought it expedient for you to write unto his Highness, and to recognize your Offences, and desire his pardon, which his Grace would not deny you now in your age and sickness; which my counsel I would you had followed, rather than to have written these Letters to me, excusing your self altho' there were no manner of default in you. But, my Lord, if it were in another manner of case than your own, and out of the Matter which ye favour, I doubt not but that ye would think him that should have done as ye have done, not only worthy heavy Words, but also heavy Deeds; for where ye labour to excuse your self of your Hearing, Bribing, and concealing of the Maiden's false and feigned Revelations, and of your manifold sending of your Chaplains unto her, by a certain intent which ye pretend your self to have had, to know by communing with her, or by sending your Chaplains unto her, whether her Revelations were of God, or no, alledging divers Scriptures that ye were bound to prove them, and to receive them after they were proved. My Lord, whether you have used a due means to try her and her Revelations, or no, it appeareth by the process of your own Letters. For where you write that ye had conceived a great opinion of the holiness of this Woman, for many considerations rehearsed in your Letters, comprised in six Articles; whereof the first is grounded upon the bruit and fame of her; the second, upon her entring into Religion after her trances and diffiguration; the third, upon rehearsal that her Ghostly father being Learned and Religious, should testify that she was a Woman of great holiness; the fourth, upon the report that divers other vertuous Priests, Men of good Learning and Reputation, should so testifie of her, with which Ghostly Father, and Priests, ye never spake, as ye confess in your Letters; the fifth, upon the praises of my late Lord of *Canterbury*, which showed you, as ye write, that she had many great Visions; the sixth, upon the saying of the Prophet *Amos*, *Non faciet Dominus Deus Verbum, nisi revelaverit secretum suum ad servos suos Prophetas.* By which Considerations ye were induced to the desire to know the very certainty of this Matter, whether these Revelations which were pretended to be shewed to her from God, were true Revelations or not. Your Lordship in all the sequel of your Letters, shew not that ye made any further trial upon the truth of her and her Revelations, but only in communing with her and sending your Chaplains to her with idle Questions, as of the 3 *Mary Magdalens*, by which your communication and sending, ye tried out nothing of her falshood, neither (as it is credibly supposed) intended to do as ye might have done, in any wise more easily than with communing with her, or sending to her; for little credence was to be given to her, affirming her own feigned Revelations to be from God; for if credence should be given to every such lewd Person as would affirm himself to have Revelations from God, what readier way were there to subvert all Common-Weals and good orders in the World?

Verily, my Lord, if ye had intended to trace out the truth of her, and of her Revelations, ye would have taken another way with you first, you would not have been converted with the vain Voices of the People, making bruits of her Trances and Diffiguration, but like a wise, discreet, and circumspect Prelate, ye should have examined (as

other

other since) such sad and credible persons as were present at her Trances, and Disfigurings, not one or two, but a good number; by whose testimony ye should have proved, whether the Bruits of her Trances and Disfigurations were true or not. And likewise ye should have tried by what craft and perswasion she was made a Religious Woman; and if ye had been so desirous, as ye pretended, to enquire out the truth or falshood of this Woman, and of her Revelations; it is to be supposed ye would have spoken with her good, religious, and well-learned Ghostly Father ere this time, and also with the vertuous and well-learned Priests, (as they were esteemed) of whose reports ye would have been informed by them which heard them speak; or ye would also have been minded to see the Book of her Revelations, which was offered you, of which ye might have had more trial of her and her Revelations, than of a hundred communications with her, or of as many sendings of your Chaplains unto her. As for the late Lord of *Canterbury*'s saying unto you, that she had many great Visions, it ought to move you never a deal to give credence unto her or her Revelations; for the said Lord knew no more certainty of her, or of her Revelations, than he did by her own Report. And as touching the saying of *Amos* the Prophet, I think verily the same moved you but a little to hearken unto her; for sithence the Consummation and the end of the Old Testament, and sithen the Passion of Christ, God hath done many great and notable things in the World, whereof he shewed nothing to his Prophets that hath come to the knowledge of Men. My Lord, all these things moved you not to give credence unto her, but only the very matter whereupon she made her false Prophecies; to which matter ye were so affected, as ye be noted to be in all matters which ye enter once into, that nothing could come amiss that made for that purpose. And here I appeal to your Conscience, and instantly desire you to answer, Whether if she had shewed you as many Revelations for the confirmation of the King's Grace's Marriage, which he now enjoyeth, as she did to the contrary, ye would have given as much credence to her as the same done, and would have let the trial of her and her Revelations, to overpass those many years, where ye dwelt not from her but twenty miles in the same Shire where her Trances, and Disfigurings, and Prophecies in her Trances were surmised, and reported. And if percase ye will say (as is not unlike but ye will say, minded as ye were wont to be) that the matter is not like, for the Law of God, in your opinion, standeth with the one and not with the other: Surely, my Lord, I suppose there had been no great cause to trust the one more than the other; for ye know by Scriptures of the Bible, that God may by his Revelation dispense with his own Law, as with the *Israelites* spoiling the *Egyptians*, and with *Jacob* to have four Wives, and such other. Think you, my Lord, that any indifferent Man, considering the quality of the Matter, and your affections, and also the negligent passing over of such lawful Trials as ye might have had of the said Maiden, and her Revelations, is so dull, that cannot perceive and discern that your communing, and often sending to the said maid, was rather to hear and bruit many of her Revelations, than to try out the truth and falshood of the same? And in this business, I suppose, it will be hard for you to purge your self before God, or the World, but that ye have been in great default in hearing, believing,

believing, and concealing ſuch things as tended to the deſtruction of the Prince; and that her Revelations were bent and purpoſed to that end, it hath been duly proved afore as great Aſſembly and Council of the Lords of this Realm, as hath been ſeen many years meet out of a Parliament. And what the ſaid Lords deemed them worthy to ſuffer, which ſaid, heard, believed, and concealed thoſe falſe Revelations, be more terrible than any threats ſpoken by me to your Brother.

And where ye go about to defend, that ye be not to be blamed for concealing the Revelations concerning the King's Grace, becauſe ye thought it not neceſſary to rehearſe them to his Highneſs, for ſix Cauſes following in your Letters; afore I ſhew you my mind concerning theſe Cauſes, I ſuppoſe that albeit you percaſe thought it not neceſſary to be ſhewed to the Prince by you, yet that your thinking ſhall not be your Trial, but the Law muſt define whether ye oughted to utter it or not.

And as to the firſt of the ſaid ſeven Cauſes; Albeit ſhe told you that ſhe had ſhewed her Revelations concerning the King's Grace to the King her ſelf; yet her ſaying, or others, diſcharged not you, but that ye were bound, by your fidelity, to ſhew to the King's Grace that thing which ſeemed to concern his Grace and his Reign ſo nighly: for how knew you that ſhe ſhowed theſe Revelations to the King's Grace, but by her own ſaying, to which ye ſhould have given no ſuch credence, as to forbear the utterance of ſo great Matters concerning a King's Weal? And why ſhould you ſo ſiniſterly judge the Prince, that if ye had ſhewed the ſame unto him, he would have thought that ye had brought that tale unto him, more for the ſtrengthning and confirmation of your Opinion, than for any other thing elſe. Verily, my Lord, whatſoever your Judgement be, I ſee daily ſuch benignity and excellent humanity in his Grace, that I doubt not but his Highneſs would have accepted it in good part, if ye had ſhewed the ſame Revelations unto him, as ye were bounden by your fidelity.

To the ſecond Cauſe; Albeit ſhe ſhowed you not that any Prince, or other Temporal Lord ſhould put the King's Grace in danger of his Crown; yet there were wayes enough by which her ſaid Revelations might have put the King's Grace in danger, as the foreſaid Council of Lords have ſubſtantially and duly conſidered: And therefore albeit ſhe ſhewed you not the means whereby the danger ſhould enſue to the King, yet ye were nevertheleſs bounden to ſhew him of the danger.

To the third; think you my Lord, that if any Perſon would come unto you, and ſhew you, that the King's deſtruction were conſpired againſt a certain time, and would fully ſhew you that he were ſent from his Maſter to ſhew the ſame to the King, and will ſay further unto that, he would go ſtreight to the King; were it not yet your duty to certifie the King's Grace of this Revelation, and alſo to enquire whether the ſaid Perſon had done his foreſaid Meſſage or no? Yes verily, and ſo were ye bound, tho' the maiden ſhewed you it was her Meſſage from God to be declared by her to the King's Grace.

To the fourth; Here ye tranſlate the temporal Duty that ye owe to your Prince, to the ſpiritual Duty of ſuch as be bound to declare the Word of God to the People, and to ſhew unto them the ill and puniſh-

ment

ment of it in another World; the concealment whereof pertaineth to the Judgement of God, but the concealment of this Matter pertaineth to other Judges of this Realm.

To the fifth; There could no blame be imputed to you, if ye had shewed the Maidens Revelations to the King's Grace, albeit they were afterward found false, for no Man ought to be blamed doing his Duty: And if a Man would shew you secretly, that there were a great Mischief intended against the Prince, were ye to be blamed if ye shewed him of it; albeit it was a feigned talk, and the said mischief were never intended?

To the sixth; Concerning an Imagination of Mr. *Parr*, it was known that he was beside himself, and therefore they were not blamed that made no report thereof; but it was not like in this case, for ye took not this Maiden for a mad Woman, for if ye had, ye would not have given unto her so great credence as ye did.

To the final, and seventh Cause; Where ye lay unto the charge of our Sovereign, that hath so unkindly entreated you with grievous Words, and terrible Letters, for showing his Grace truth in his great matter, whereby ye were discomforted to shew unto him the Maidens Revelations: I believe that I know the King's Goodness, and natural Gentleness so well, that his Grace would not so unkindly handled you, as your unkindly writings him, unless ye gave him other Causes than be expressed in your Letters. And whatsoever the King's Grace hath said or written unto you heretofore, yet notwithstanding ye were nevertheless bounden to utter to him those pernicious Revelations.

Finally; Where ye desire, for the Passion of Christ, that ye be no more twitched in this matter, for if ye be put to that strait, ye will not lose your Soul, but ye will speak as your Conscience bindeth you, with many more words of great courage. My Lord, if ye had taken my counsel sent unto you by your Brother, and followed the same, submitting your self, by your Letters, at the King's Grace, for your offences in this behalf, I would have trusted that ye should never be quykkrand in this matter more. But now, where ye take upon you to defend the whole Matter, as ye were in no default, I cannot so far promise you: And surely, my Lord, if the Matter come to trial, your own confession in this Letter, besides the Witness which be against you, will be sufficient to condemn you: Wherefore, my Lord, I will eft-soons advise you, That laying apart all such excuses as ye have alledged in your Letters, which in my opinion be of small effect, as I have declared, ye beseech the King's Grace, by your Letters, to be your Gracious Lord, and to remit unto you your negligence, over-sight, and offence, committed against his Highness in this behalf; and I dare undertake that his Highness shall benignly accept you into his gracious favour, all matters of displeasure past afore this time forgotten and forgiven. As touching the speaking of your Conscience, It is thought that ye have written and have spoken as much as ye can, and many things, as some right probably believes, against your own Conscience: and many report, that at the last Convocation, ye spake many things which ye could not well defend; and therefore it is not greatly feared what ye can say or write in that Matter, howsoever ye be quykkrane and startled. And if ye had taken, &c.

L. A.

L. *A Renunciation of the Pope's Supremacy ſigned by the Heads of ſix Religious Houſes.*

QUum ea ſit non ſolum Chriſtianæ Religionis & pietatis ratio, ſed noſtræ etiam obedientiæ regula, ut Domino noſtro Henrico ejus nominis pro Dominio Regio Octavo, cui uni & ſoli poſt Chriſtum Jeſum Salvatorem noſtrum debentur omnia, non modo omnimodam in Chriſto & eandem ſinceram, perpetuamq; animi devotionem, fidem, obſervantiam, honorem, cultum, reverentiam præſtemus, ſed etiam de eadem fide & obſervantia noſtra rationem quotieſcunque poſtulabitur reddamus, & palam omnibus ſi res poſcat libentiſſime teſtemur: Norint univerſi ad quos præſens ſcriptum pervenit, quod nos Priores & Conventus fratrum, viz. prædicatores Langley Regis ordinis Sancti Dominici, Minorum de Aiſbury Ordinis Sancti Franciſci, prædicatorum Dunſtopliæ Ordinis antedicti, Minorum de Bedford Ordinis Sancti Franciſci, Fratrum Carmelitarum de Hechyng Ordinis Beatæ Mariæ, Minorum de Morea Ordinis Sancti Franciſci, uno ore & voce, atque unanimi omnium & ſingulorum conſenſu & aſſenſu, hoc ſcripto noſtro ſub ſigillis noſtris communibus, & in domibus noſtris capitularibus dato, pro nobis & ſucceſſoribus noſtris omnibus & ſingulis, in perpetuum profitemur, teſtamur & fideliter promittimus & ſpondemus, nos dictos Priores & Conventus & Succeſſores noſtros, omnes & ſingulos, integram, inviolatam, ſinceram perpetuamq; fidem, obſervantiam & obedientiam ſemper præſtituros erga Dominum Regem noſtrum Henricum Octavum, & erga Sereniſſimam Reginam Annam Uxorem ejuſdem, & erga caſtum ſanctumq; Matrimonium nuper non ſolum inter eoſdem juſte & legitime contractum, ratum & conſummatum, ſed etiam tam in duabus Convocationibus Cleri, quam in Parliamento Dominorum Spiritualium & Temporalium atq; Communium in eodem Parliamento congregatorum & præſentium determinatum, & per Thomam Cantuarien. Epiſcopum ſolenniter confirmatum, & erga quamcunq; aliam ejuſdem Henrici Regis noſtri Uxorem, poſt mortem prædictæ Annæ nunc Uxoris ſuæ legitimæ ducendam, & erga ſobolem dicti Domini Regis Henrici ex prædicta Anna legitime tam progenitam quam progignendam, & erga ſobolem dicti Domini Regis ex alia quacunq; legitima Uxore poſt mortem ejuſdem Annæ legitime progignendam, & quod eadem populo notificabimus, prædicabimus & ſuadebimus, ubicunque dabitur locus & occaſio. Item, quod confirmatum, ratumq; habemus ſemperq; perpetuo habituri ſumus, quod prædictus Rex noſter Henricus eſt Caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ. Item, quod Epiſcopus Romanus, qui in ſuis Bullis Papæ nomen uſurpat & ſummi Pontificis Principatum ſibi arrogat, nihilo majoris neq; Auctoritatis aut juriſdictionis habendus ſit, quam cæteri quivis Epiſcopi in Anglia alibi in ſua cujuſq; Dioceſe. Item, quod ſoli dicto Domino Regi & Succeſſoribus ſuis adhærebimus, atq; ejus & Proclamationes, inſuper omnis Angliæ leges atque etiam Statuta omnia, in Parliamento & per Parliamentum decreta, confirmata, ſtabilita & ratificata, perpetuo manutenebimus, Epiſcopi Romani legibus, decretis & Canonibus, ſi qui contra legem Divinam & Sacram Scripturam eſſe invenientur, in perpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus noſtrum omnium in ulla vel privata vel publica concione

quicquam

quicquam ex Sacris Scripturis desumptum ad alienum sensum detorquere præsumet, sed quisquis Christum ejusque vera prædicabit Catholice & Orthodoxe. Item, quod unusquisque in suis orationibus & comprecationibus de more faciendis, primum omnium Regem, tanquam Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Deo & populi precibus commendabit; deinde Reginam cum sua sobole, tum demum Archiepiscopum Cantuarien. cum cæteris Cleri Ordinibus, prout videbitur. Item, quod omnes & singuli prædicti Priores & conventus & Successores nostri, Conscientiæ & Jurisjurandi Sacro firmiter obligamur, quod omnia & singula præfata fideliter & in perpetuum observabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic Instrumento, vel scripto nostro, communia sigilla nostra appendimus, & nostra nomina propria quisque manu subscripsimus, Sacris in Domibus nostris Capitularibus, die quinto Mensis Maii, Anno Christi millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo quarto, Regni vero Regis nostri Henrici Octavi vicesimo sexto.

Ego Frater Richardus Ingerth Prior Conventus, & Prædicator Langley Regis, cum consensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Johannes Cotton, Prior Conventus Prædicatorum Dunstabliæ, cum assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Sutler, Prior Conventus Carmelitarum Hiechiæ, cum Assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Edwardus Tryley Sacræ Theologiæ Bacalaureus, & Conventus Ailsberiæ, cum assensu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus sed sponte subscribo.

Ego Frater Johannes Wyatt, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor Conventus Bed. una cum assensu omnium Fratrum, sponte hoc scribo & non coactus.

Ego Frater Johannes Chapmanus, Sacræ Theologiæ Bacalaureus, Magister immerito Conventus Mare, cum assensu omnium Fratrum, mea sponte subscribo.

Another Declaration to the same purpose, Mutatis mutandis, *is made by the Prioress of* Bedford *in* Kent, *of the Order of St.* Dominick, *May* 4. 1534. Regn. vicesimo sexto. Rot. Clausa.

LI. *A Mandate for the Consecration of a Suffragan Bishop.*

Rot. Pat. 2. par. 27 Regni.

REX Reverendissimo in Christo Patri & perdilecto Consiliario nostro Thomæ Cantuariensi Episcopo salutem. Reverendus Pater & dilectus Consiliarius noster Richardus Norvicensis Episcopus nobis significavit, quod Diœcesis sua Episcopi Suffraganei solatio, qui suæ sollicitudinis partem sustinere consuevit, destituta est & existit; & ideo reverendos Patres Gregorium Abbatem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Leystone, & Thomam Mannynge Priorem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley, Norvicen. Dioc. Ordine Sacerdotali rite insignitos, & legitimo Matrimonio natos, & in ætate legitima constitutos, virosque in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus multum circumspectos, quibus de Canonicis nihil obviant instituta, quo minus (ut asserunt) ad Episcopalem Suffraganei Dignitatem admitti possint & deberent, nobis per suas literas suo magno sigillo munitas præsentavit, humiliter & devote supplicans, quatenus nos alterum ipsorum sic præsentatorum ad aliquam sedem Episcopi Suffraganei infra Provinciam Cantuariensem existentem nominare, ipsique sic nominato stylum, Titulum & Dignitatem hujusmodi sedis donare dignaremur: unde nos ex gratia nostra speciali & mero motu nostris, dictum Reverendum Patrem Thomam Mannynge Priorem Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley prædicti, alterum ex dictis, præsentamus in Episcopum Suffraganeum Sedis Gips vici Norvicen. Diocesis antedictæ, nominamus, eique Stilum, Titulum & Dignitatem ejusmodi Sedis Episcopi Suffraganei damus & conferimus. Atque hæc vobis tenore præsentium significamus, requirentes vos, quatenus eundem Patrem sic per nos nominatum, in Episcopum Suffraganeum ejusdem Sedis Gips vici consecretis, eique Benedictionem ac omnia Episcopalia Insignia conferatis; cæteraq; omnia & singula quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastorali, juxta modum & formam Statuti Parliamenti in vicesimo sexto Anno Regni nostri apud Westmonasterium nuper editi peragetis.

T. R. apud Westm. 6. die Martii 27 Regn.

Ad

Ad Librum Tertium.

I. Instructions for the General Visitation of the Monasteries.

Articuli Regiæ Inquisitionis, in Monasticam vitam agentes, exponendi, & præcipue in exemptos à jurisdictione Diœcesana, jam tantum Regiæ Majestati & ejus jurisdictioni subditos & subjectos, ac hujus inclyti sui Regni Statutis & legibus, nullisque aliis penitus, obnoxios & astrictos.

1. *IN primis*; Whether Divine Service be solemnly sung, said, observed, and kept in this Monastery, according to the Number and the Abilities thereof, by Night and by Day, in due time and hours? and how many be present commonly at Mattins, and other Service, and who be absent, and so accustomed to be, without cause or sickness? *Cotton* Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4.

2. *Item*; How many Monks, Canons Regulars, or Nuns, be within this Monastery, and how many there ought to be, and whether the number be compleat according to the Founder's Will, or the Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable custom of this House; and whether the number be augmented or diminished now of late?

3. *Item*; Who were the first Founders of this House?

Fundationem primam, secundam, tertiam, & quotquot habent, exhibeant.

4. *Item*; Whether this House hath had any encrease of Lands given to it sithence the first Foundation thereof? by whom? by how many? and when?

5. *Item*; To what Sum of Money those Revenues and Rents this House doth extend and amount yearly?

6. *Item*; Whether this House was ever translated from one habit and order to another? by whose Authority? and for what Cause?

Translationem exhibeant.

7. *Item*; How the Lands and Possessions appertaining unto this Monastery, given by the first Founder, and all other Lands given sithence the first Foundation, were granted, given, and established, and so first brought to *Mortemain*? whether by the only Authority of the Giver, or by the Autorization of the Prince for that time reigning, and by what tenour and form ye hold them?

Donationem & Confirmationem exhibeant.

8. *Item*; What evidence have you to shew for all and singular your Lands, Manors, Tenements, and other your Possessions Mortisate, and given unto you, and this your Monastery?

9. *Item*; Wherefore, for what Cauſes and Conſiderations ye were exempt from your Dioceſan? and what was your Suggeſtion and Motive at the obtaining of your ſaid Exemption?

Exemptionem exhibeat.

10. *Item*; Whether ye have any private, peculiar, or local Statutes, Confirmations, Ordinances, or Rules, made only for the behoof, good order, and ſingular weal of this Houſe, beſides the Rules of your Profeſſion? and whether they were made either by your Founders before your Exemption, or by the good Fathers of this Houſe, with the whole conſent of the Brethren, being ſinneth your exemption: to what uſe they were made, and how ye obſerve them?

Statuta illa localia, & alia quotquot habent, exhibeant.

11. *Item*; By what way and form the Maſter of this Houſe was elected and choſen? And whether all the Brethren having, or ought to have by the Law, Statutes, or laudable cuſtom of this Houſe, Voices in the Election, were preſent in the ſame Election, or Lawfully called or cited to it?

12. *Item*; Whether any Perſons Excommunicate, Suſpended, or Interdicted, did give Voices in the ſame Election?

13. *Item*; Within what time after the Election was made and done, the Maſter of this Houſe was confirmed? and by whom?

14. *Item*; Whether unto the Confirmation, all that had Intereſt, or that would object againſt the ſame, were lawfully cited, moniſhed, and called?

Exhibeat Electionem, Confirmationem & Titulum ſua Incumbentia.

15. *Item*; What Rule the Maſter of this Houſe, and other the Brethren, do profeſs?

16. *Item*; How many be profeſſed, and how many be Novices; and whether the Novices have like Habit, or uſe to wear an Habit diſtinct from the Habit of the Brethren Profeſſed?

17. *Item*; Whether ye do uſe to profeſs your Novices in due time, and within what time and ſpace after they have taken the Habit upon them?

18. *Item*? Whether the Brethren of this Houſe do know the Rule that they have profeſſed, and whether they keep their Profeſſion according to that their Rule, and Cuſtom of this Houſe; and in eſpecial, the three ſubſtantial and principal Vows, that is to ſay, *Poverty*, *Chaſtity*, and *Obedience*?

19. *Item*; Whether any of the Brethren uſe any propriety of Money, or of Plate, in their Chambers: or of any other manner thing unwares of the Maſter, and without his knowledge and licence, or by his ſufferance and knowledge? and for what cauſe?

20. *Item*; Whether ye do keep Chaſtity, not uſing the Company of any ſuſpect Woman within this Monaſtery, or without? And whether the Maſter, or any Brother of this Houſe be ſuſpected upon Incontinency, or defamed for that he is much converſant with Women?

21. *Item*; Whether Women uſeth and reſorteth much to this Monaſtery by back ways, or otherwiſe? and whether they be accuſtomably,

nably, or at any time lodged within the Precinct thereof?

32. *Item*; Whether the Master, or any Brother of this House, useth to have any Boys or young men laying with him?

33. *Item*; Whether the Brethren of this House keep their Obedience, being ready at their Master's Commandment, in all things honest, lawful, and reasonable?

Sequuntur Regulæ Cæremoniales.

34. *Item*; Whether ye do keep silence in the Church, Cloister, Fraitrie, and Dormitorie, at the hours and time specified in your Rule?

35. *Item*; Whether ye do keep Fasting and Abstinence, according to your Rules, Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable Customs of this House?

36. *Item*; Whether ye abstain from Flesh in time of *Advent*, and other times declared and specified by the Law, Rules, and laudable Customs of this House?

37. *Item*. Whether ye wear Shirts and Sheets of Woollen, or that ye have any Constitution, Ordinance, or Dispensation, granted or made to the contrary, by sufficient and lawful Authority?

Professentes Regulam Benedicti quam arctissime tenentur ad predicta Cæremonialia observanda.

38. *Item*; Whether ye do sleep altogether in the *Dormitorie*, under one roof, or not?

39. *Item*; Whether ye have all separate Beds, or any one of you doth ly with another?

40. *Item*; Whether ye do keep the Fraitry at Meals, so that two parts, or the least, the two parts of the whole Covent be always there, unless the Master at every one time dispense with you to the contrary?

41. *Item*; Whether ye do wear your Religious habit continually, and never leave it off but when ye go to bed?

42. *Item*; Whether every Brethren of this House have lightly departed hence, and hath gone to any other House of like Order and Profession, without special Letters and Licence of their Master?

43. *Item*; Whether the Master and Brethren of this House have received and admitted any Brother of another House, without special Licence and Letters of his Master and Head?

44. *Item*; Whether any of you, sithence the time of your Profession, hath gone out of this House to his Friends, or otherwise?

45. *Item*; How oft-times he did so, and how long at every time ye tarried forth?

46. *Item*; Whether ye had special Licence of your Master so to go forth, or not?

47. *Item*; Whether at every time of your being forth, ye changed or left off your habit, or every part thereof?

48. *Item*; Whether ye, or any of you be, or hath been, in manifest Apostasy, that is to say, Fugitives or Vagabonds?

49. *Item*; For what cause or occasion ye have so gone forth and been in Apostasy? and whether the cause of your going forth was by reason of the great cruelty of your Master, or by his negligence, not calling you home to your Cloister?

50. *Item*;

40. *Item*; Whether ye be weekly shaven, and do not nourish or suffer your Hair to be long? and whether ye wear your Apparel according to the Rule, not too excessive, nor too exquisite; and in like wise the trappo's of your Horses, and other your bearing Beasts?

41. *Item*; Whether the Master and Head of this House do use his Brethren charitably, without partiality, malice, envy, grudge, or displeasure more shewed to one than to another?

42. *Item*; Whether he do use his Disciplines, Corrections, and Punishments upon his Brethren, with mercy, pity, and charity, without cruelty, rigorousness, and enormous hurt, no more favouring one than another?

43. *Item*; Whether any Brother, or Religious Person of this House, be incorrigible?

44. *Item*; Whether the Master of this House do use his Brethren charitably when they be sick and diseased; and whether in time of their sickness he do procure unto them Physicians, and all other necessaries?

45. *Item*; Whether he make his Accompts (as he ought to do) once every year before his Brethren, and chiefly the Seniors and Officers, to the intent they may be made privy to the state and condition of the House, and know perfectly the due administration thereof?

46. *Item*. Whether the Prior, Subprior, Sellerer, Kitchener, Terrure, Sacristen, or any such-like Officer, having Administration of every manner Revenues of this House, do make his whole and true Account, according as he is bound to do, not applying any thing by him received to his own proper use or commodity?

47. *Item*; Whether any Religious Person of this House do bear, occupy, or exercise more Offices than one, for, and to his own singular commodity, advantage, or profit, by the partial dealing of the Master?

48. *Item*; Whether all and singular the Revenues and Profits of this House be converted and employed to the Behove and use thereof, and of the Brethren, and according to the Founder's mind and Giver?

49. *Item*; Whether the Master do make sufficient reparations upon his Monastery, as the Church and all other housing thereto adjoyned, and also upon all other the Lands, Granges, Farms, and Tenements belonging to the same, and whether he suffer any dilapidation, decay, or ruine in any part of them?

50. *Item*; Whether there be any Inventory made of all and singular the Moveables, Goods, which from time to time have been, and yet be in this House, as of Jewels, Reliques, Ornaments, Vestiments, ready Money, Plate, Bedding, with other Utensils; also of Corn, Chattels and other Commodities, to the intent the state and condition of this House may be always known?

51. *Item*; That ye express truly and sincerely the whole state and condition of this House, as in Money, Plate, Cattel, Corn, and other Goods?

52. *Item*; Whether this Monastery be indebted? to whom? and for what cause?

53. *Item*; Whether any of the Lands be sold, or mortgaged; and for what Sums?

54. *Item*; Whether any be let to Farm by the Master of this House for term of years, and for how many years? and specially whether they be

be letten for ſmall Sums, or for leſs Sums than they were wont to be letten for, to the intent to have great ſums of ready Money before hand?

55. *Item*; Whether he do enforce, compel, or conſtrain his Brethren, or any of them, to conſent to the ſealing of any Leaſes, Grants, Farm-Holds, Annuities, Corrodies, or any other Alienations?

56. *Item*; Whether the Plate and Jewels, or any part or parcel thereof or of any other moveable Goods of this Houſe be laid to pledge, ſold, or alienated for a time, or for ever? for what cauſe, and to whom? or otherwiſe imbezled, or conſumed?

57. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe be wont to give under his Seal of Office, or Covent-Seal, Farms, Corrodies, Annuities, or Offices, to his Kinſfolk, Alliances, Friends, or Acquaintance, for term of years, or otherwiſe, to the hurt, hindrance, dammage, and impoveriſhment of this Houſe?

58. *Item*; Whether he be wont to grant any Patent, or Covent-Seal, without the Conſent of his Brethren?

59. *Item*; Whether the Covent-Seal of this Houſe be ſurely and ſafely kept under three Keys; that is to ſay, one remaining and being in Cuſtody of the Maſter, and the other two in the cuſtody of two Seniours?

60. *Item*; Whether the Muniments and Evidences of the Lands, Rents, and Revenues of this Houſe, be ſafely kept from Vermine and Moiſtneſs?

61. *Item*; Whether the Maſter do keep Hoſpitality according to the ability of his Houſe, and in like manner as other Fathers hereof have done heretofore?

62. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe, in receiving any Novice, being of willing and toward mind to enter into Religion, hath demanded or received, or convented to receive any Money, Rewards, or any other temporal Commodities of him ſo entring, or willing to enter, or of any other his Friends? and whether for not promiſing, granting, or giving ſuch Rewards or Gifts, any hath been repelled and not received?

63. *Item*; Whether the Novices, and other received into Religion, have a Preceptor and Maſter deputed unto them to teach them Grammar and good Letters?

64. *Item*; Whether any Seniour of this Houſe be deputed to declare, inform, and inſtruct them their Rules, and whereunto they ſhall be bounden to obſerve and keep, after their Profeſſion?

65. *Item*; Whether any of you have taken upon him the Habit and Profeſſion of your Religion, chiefly for the intent, hope, or truſt to be made Head and Maſter of this Houſe?

66. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe, in giving any Advocation, Nomination, Preſentation, or Collation of any Parſonage, Vicarage, Chapel, or Benefice of the Patronage and gift of this Houſe, do take, or uſe to take any manner Penſion, Portion, or other Commodity or Gains; or elſe doth make any Convention or Compaction, whereby any lucre may enſue to him in that behalf?

67. *Item*; Whether he do receive, or uſe to receive, the Fruits and Revenues of every ſuch Benefice vacant, or uſe to borrow any Money

of

of him to whom he intendeth to give ſuch Benefice unto, expreſly covenanting or intending, that he ſo obtaining the ſaid Benefice, ſhall freely and clearly remit the ſaid Money ſo borrowed?

68 *Item*; What, and how many Benefices the Maſter of this Houſe doth occupy and keep in his own hands?

69. *Item*; Whether the ſame Benefices be appropriate and united to this Houſe by ſufficient authority?

70. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe doth make diſtributions amongſt the Pariſhioners of the Benefices appropriate; and doth keep and obſerve all and ſingular other Proviſions and Ordinances ſpecified and expreſſed in the Appropriations of the ſame Benefices?

Exhibeant omnes & ſingulas Appropriationes, una cum Ordinationibus & Dotationibus Vicariatuum.

71. *Item*; Whether he do promote unto ſuch Benefices as be of his Gift, ſufficient and able perſons in Learning, Manners, and Vertue?

72. *Item*; Whether any Brother of this Houſe do ſerve any Pariſh-Church, being appropriate and united to the ſame, and how many Churches appropriate be ſo ſerved?

73. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe hath and poſſeſſeth any Benefice with Cure, or any other Dignity with his Abby?

Si aliquod tale habet, Diſpenſationem exhibeat.

74. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe at any time ſince he was firſt made Abbot, or Maſter, did know or believe that he was Suſpended, or Excommunicate, either by the Law, or by any Judge; and whether he knowing or ſuppoſing himſelf ſo to be, did ſing Maſs in the mean time, and before he was abſolved?

In Viſitatione Monialium ad Præmiſſa addantur hæc.

75. *Item*; Whether this Monaſtery hath good and ſufficient Encloſure, and whether the Doors and Windows be diligently kept ſhut, ſo that no Man can have any entry into the ſame, or any part thereof, at inconvenient times?

Propter quod neceſſarium erit Viſitatori circumire Monaſterium, & videre & rimare diſpoſitionem ædificiorum, & an ſint aliqua loca pervia per quæ ſecrete intrari poſſit; & una ſecum habeat Abbatiſſam cum duabus aut tribus ſenioribus Monialibus, à quibus tum interroget, an oſtia Monaſterii ſingulis quibuſque noctibus ſub clavibus clauſa teneantur, & quæ earum Monialium ſenio confectarum, vel an Abbas ipſa clavium cuſtodiam tempore nocturno habeat & teneant: nam non eſt tutum clavium cuſtodem Junioribus committere.

76. *Item*; Whether Strangers, both Men and Women, uſeth commonly to have communication with the Siſters of this Houſe, without licence of the Abbeſs or Prioreſs, ſpecially in ſecret places, and in the abſence of their Siſters?

77. *Item*;

77. *Item*; Whether any Sister of this House were professed for any manner of compulsion of her Friends and Kinsfolks, or by the Abbess or Prioress?

78. *Item*; Whether any of the Sisters of this House useth to go forth any whither out of the Precinct thereof, without special Licence of their Abbess or Prioress?

79. *Item*; Whether any Sister doth use her Habit continually out of her Cell?

80. *Item*; Wherein every one of you occupieth her self, beside the time of Divine Service?

81. *Item*; Whether any Sister of this House hath any familiarity with Religious Men, Secular Priests, or Laymen, being not near of kin unto them?

82. *Item*; Whether any Sister of this House hath been taken and found with any such accustomably so communing, and could not shew any reasonable cause why they so did?

83. *Item*; Whether any of you doth use to write any Letters of Love, or lascivious fashion to any Person, or receive any such, or have any privy Messengers coming and resorting unto you, or any of you, with Token or Gifts, from any manner secular Person or other?

84. *Item*; Whether any of you doth use to speak with any manner of Person, by night or by day, by Grates or back Windows, or other privy Places within this Monastry, without licence of your Head?

85. *Item*; Whether the Confessor of this House be a discreet Man, of good learning, vertue and honest behaviour, of good name and fame, and whether he hath been always so taken?

86. *Item*; How oftimes in the year the Sisters of this House useth to be Confessed and Communicate;

Restat pro Ecclesiis Collegiatis, Hospitalibus, Ecclesiis Cathedralibus, Parochialibus, Ecclesiis, Episcopo, & Archiepiscopo, pro ordine Jerosolmitarum?

Exhibeant omnia scripta, munimenta, Inventaria, Schedulas quascunque aut aliquid cognitionis eorum reformationi Monasteriorum, sive domorum statuti, necessaria explicari, aut quoquo modo colligi possit.

II. *General Injunctions to be given on the King's Highness's behalf in all Monastries and other Houses, of whatsoever Order or Religion they be.*

First; That the Abbot, Prior, or President, and all other Brethren of the Place that is visited, shall faithfully, truly, and heartily, keep and observe, and cause reach, and procure to be kept and observed of other, as much as in them may lie, all and singular Contents, as well in the Oath of the King's Highness Succession, given heretofore by them, as in a certain Profession lately sealed with the Common Seal, and subscribed and Signed with their own hands: Also that they shall ob-

Cotton Lib. *Cleop.* E. 14.

obſerve and fulfil, by all the means that they beſt may, the Statutes of this Realm, made or to be made, for the ſuppreſſion and taking away of the uſurped and pretenſed Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome* within this Realm: and for the aſſertion and confirmation of the Authority, Juriſdiction, and Prerogative of our moſt noble Sovereign Lord the King, and his Succeſſors; and that they ſhall diligently inſtruct their Juniors and Youngers, and all other committed to their Cure, That the King's Power is by the Laws of God moſt excellent of all under God in Earth; and that we ought to obey him afore all other Powers, by God's Preſcript; and that the Biſhop of *Rome's* Juriſdiction or Authority heretofore uſurped, by no means is founded or eſtabliſhed by Holy Scripture: but that the ſame, partly by the craft and deceit of the ſame Biſhop of *Rome*, and by his evil and ambitious Canons and Decretals; and partly by the toleration and permiſſion of Princes, by little and little hath grown up; and therefore now, of moſt right and equity, is taken away, and clean expelled out of this Realm.

Alſo, that the Abbot, Prior, or Preſident and Brethren, may be declared, by the Kings Supream Power and Authority Eccleſiaſtical, to be abſolved and looſed from all manner Obedience, Oath, and Profeſſion by them heretofore perchance promiſed, or made, to the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, or to any other in his ſtead, or occupying his Authority; or to any other Foreign Prince, or Perſon: And nevertheleſs let it be enjoined to them, that they ſhall not promiſe or give ſuch Oath or Profeſſion to any ſuch Foreign Potentate hereafter. And if the Statutes of the ſaid Order Religious, or Place, ſeem to bind them to Obedience, or Subjection or any other Recognizance of Superiority to the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, or to any other Forreign Power, Potentate, Perſon or Place by any ways: ſuch Statutes, by the King's Grace's Viſitors, be utterly annihilate, broken, and declared void and of none effect; and that they be in no caſe bounden or obligate to the ſame, and ſuch Statutes to be forthwith utterly put forth and aboliſhed out of the Books, or Muniments of that Religion, Order or Place, by the Preſident and his Brethren.

Alſo, that no Monk, or Brother of this Monaſtery, by any means go forth of the Precinct of the ſame.

Alſo, that Women, of what ſtate or degree ſoever they be, be utterly excluded from entring into the Limits or Circuit of this Monaſtery, or place, unleſs they firſt obtain licence of the King's Highneſs, or his Viſitor.

Alſo, that there be no entring into this Monaſtery but one, and that by the great fore-gate of the ſame, which diligently ſhall be watched and kept by ſome Porter ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe, and ſhall be ſhut and opened by the ſame both day and night, at convenient and accuſtomed hours; which Porter ſhall repel all manner Women from entrance into the ſaid Monaſtery.

Alſo, that all and ſingular Brethren, and Monks of this Monaſtery, take their refections altogether in a place called the *Miſericorde*, ſuch days as they eat Fleſh, and all other days in their Refectory; and that at every Meſs there ſit four of them, not of duty demanding to them any certain, uſual, or accuſtomed duty or portion of Meat as they were wont to do; but that they be content with ſuch Victuals as is ſet before them, and there take their Refections ſoberly, without exceſs, with giving due thanks

thanks to God; and that at every ſuch Refection, ſome Chapter of the New Teſtament, or Old, by ſome of the ſaid Brethren, be read and recited to the other, keeping ſilence, and giving audience to the ſame.

Alſo, that the Abbot and Preſident do daily prepare one Table for himſelf and his Gueſts thither reſorting, and that not over-ſumptuous, and full of delicate and ſtrange Diſhes, but honeſtly furniſhed with common Meats; At which Table, the ſaid Abbot, or ſome Senior in his ſtead, ſhall ſit to receive, and gently entertain the Strangers, the Gueſts.

Alſo, that none of the Brethren ſend any part of his Meat, or the leavings thereof to any Perſon, but that there be aſſigned an Almoner, which ſhall gather the Leavings, both of the Covent and Strangers Tables, after that the Servants of the Houſe have had their convenient Refections, and diſtribute the ſame to poor People; amongſt whom ſpecial conſideration be had of ſuch, before other, as be Kinſfolk to any of the ſaid Brethren, if they be of like power and debility as other be; and alſo of thoſe which endeavour themſelves, with all their will and labour, to get their living with their hands, and yet cannot fully help themſelves for their chargeable Houſhold, and multitude of Children: yet let not them be ſo cheriſhed, that they ſhall leave labour and fall to idleneſs; with conſideration alſo ſpecially to be had of them, which by weakneſs of their Limbs and Body be ſo impotent that they cannot labour; and by no means let ſuch Alms be given to valiant mighty and idle Beggars and Vagabonds, as commonly uſe to reſort about ſuch places; which rather, as drove-beaſts and Mychers, ſhould be driven away and compelled to labour, than in their idleneſs and lewdneſs, againſt the form of the King's Grace's Statute in this behalf made, cheriſhed, and maintained, to the great hindrance and damage of the Common-Weal.

Alſo, that all other Almſes or Diſtributions due, or accuſtomed to be made, by reaſon of the Foundation, Statutes, or cuſtoms of this place, be made and given, as largely and as liberally as ever they were at any time heretofore.

Alſo, that the Abbot, Prior, or Preſident, ſhall find Wood and fewel ſufficient to make Fire in the Refectory, from *Alhallow*-even to *Good-Friday*.

Alſo, that all the Brethren of this Houſe, except the Abbot, and ſuch as be ſick, or evil at eaſe, and thoſe that have fulfilled their *Jubilee*, lie together in the Dormitory, every one by himſelf, in ſeveral Beds.

Alſo, that no Brother, or Monk, of this Houſe, have any Child or Boy laying, or privily accompanying with him, or otherwiſe haunting unto him, other than to help him to Maſs.

Alſo, that the Brethren of this Houſe, when they be ſick, or evil at eaſe, be ſeen unto, and be kept in the Infirmary duly, as well for their ſuſtenance of Meat and Drink, as for their good keeping.

Alſo, that the Abbot, or Preſident, keep and find in ſome Univerſity, one or two of his Brothers, according to the Ability and Poſſeſſions of this Houſe, which Brethren, after they be learned in good and holy Letters, when they return home, may inſtruct and teach their Brethren, and diligently preach the Word of God.

Alſo, that every day, by the ſpace of one hour, a Leſſon of Holy Scripture be kept in this Covent, to which all, under pain by this ſaid Preſident to be moderated, ſhall reſort; which Preſident ſhall have Authority to diſpenſe with them, that they, with a low and treatable voice, ſay their long hours, which were wont to be ſung.

Alſo, that the Brethren of this Houſe, after Divine Service done, read or hear ſomewhat of Holy Scripture, or occupy themſelves in ſome ſuch like honeſt and laudable exerciſe.

Alſo, that all and every Brethren of this Houſe ſhall obſerve the Rule, Statutes, and laudable Cuſtoms of this Religion, as far as they do agree with Holy Scripture and the Word of God. And that the Abbot, Prior, or Preſident of this Monaſtery, every day ſhall expound to his Brethren, as plainly as may be, in Engliſh, a certain part of the Rule that they have profeſſed, and apply the ſame always to the Doctrine of Chriſt, and not contrariwiſe; and he ſhall teach them, that the ſaid Rule, and other their principles of Religion (ſo far as they be laudible) be taken out of Holy Scripture; and he ſhall ſhow them the places from whence they were derived; and that their Ceremonies, and other obſervances of Religion, be none other things than as the firſt Letters or Principles, and certain Introductions to true Chriſtianity, or to obſerve an order in the Church. And that true Religion is not contained in Apparel, manner of going, ſhaven Heads, and ſuch other marks; nor in ſilence, faſting, up-riſing in the night, ſinging and ſuch other kind of Ceremonies, but in cleanneſs of mind, pureneſs of living, Chriſt's Faith not feigned, and brotherly Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Verity. And that thoſe above-ſaid things were inſtituted and begun, that they being firſt exerciſed in theſe, in proceſs of time might aſcend to thoſe as by certain ſteps, that is to ſay, to the chief point and end of Religion: and therefore let them be diligently exhorted, that they do not continually ſtick and ſurceaſe in ſuch Ceremonies and Obſervances, as though they had perfectly fulfilled the chief and outmoſt of the whole true Religion; but that when they have once paſt ſuch things, they endeavour themſelves to higher things, and convert their minds from ſuch external Matters, to more inward and deeper Conſiderations, as the Law of God and Chriſtian Religion doth teach and ſhow. And that they aſſure not themſelves of any Reward or Commodity any wiſe, by reaſon of ſuch Ceremonies and Obſervances, except they refer all ſuch to Chriſt, and for his ſake obſerve them; and for that they might thereby the more eaſily keep ſuch things as he hath commanded, as well to them as to all Chriſtian People.

Alſo, that the Abbot and Preſident of this Place ſhall make a full and true reckoning and accompt of his Adminiſtration every year to his Brethren, aſwell of his Receipts as Expences; and that the ſaid Accompt be written in a great Book remaining with the Covent.

Alſo, that the Abbot and Preſident of this Houſe ſhall make no waſte of the Woods pertaining to this Houſe, nor ſhall ſet out unadviſedly any Farms of Reverſions, without the conſent of the more part of the Convent.

Alſo, that there be aſſigned a Book and a Regiſter that may copy out into that Book all ſuch Writings, word by word, as ſhall paſs under the Convent-Seal of this Houſe.

Alſo,

Alſo, that no Man be ſuffered to profeſs, or to wear the Habit of Religion in this Houſe e're he be 24 years of Age compleat; And that they entice nor allure no Man with ſuaſions and blandiments to take the Religion upon him.

Item, That they ſhall not ſhew no Reliques, or feigned Miracles, for encreaſe of Lucre, but that they exhort Pilgrims and Strangers to give that to the Poor, that they thought to offer to their Images or Reliques.

Alſo, that they ſhall ſuffer no Fairs, or Markets, to be kept or uſed within the limits of this Houſe.

Alſo that every Brother of this Houſe that is a Prieſt, ſhall every day in his Maſs, pray for the moſt happy and moſt proſperous eſtate of our Sovereign Lord the King, and his moſt noble and lawful Wife Queen Anne.

Alſo, that if either the Maſter, or any Brother of this Houſe, do infringe any of the ſaid Injunctions, any of them ſhall denounce the ſame, or procure to be denounced, as ſoon as may be, to the King's Majeſty, or to his Viſitor-General, or his Deputy. And the Abbot, or Maſter, ſhall miniſter ſpending Mony, and other Neceſſaries, for the way to him that ſhall ſo denounce.

Other ſpiritual Injunctions may be added by the Viſitor, as the place and nature of the Comperts ſhall require, after his diſcretion.

Reſerving Power to give more Injunctions, and to examine and diſcuſs the Comperts, to puniſh and reform them that be convict of any notable Crime, to ſearch and try the Foundations, Charters, Donations, Appropriations and Muniments of the ſaid Places; and to diſpoſe all ſuch Papiſtical Eſcripts as ſhall be there found, to the Right Honourable Mr. *Thomas Cromwell* General-Viſitor to the King's ſaid Highneſs, as ſhall ſeem moſt expedient to his high wiſdom and diſcretion.

III. *Some Particulars relating to the Diſſolution of Monaſteries.*

Section I.

The Preamble of the Surrender of the Monaſtery of Langden.

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus, &c. Willielmus Dyer, Abbas Monaſterii Beatæ Mariæ Virginis & S. Thomæ Martyris de Langden, in Com. Kanc, & ejuſdem loci Conventus, Ordinis Præmonſtrat. capitulum dictæ domus plene facientes, ejuſdemq; domus (quæ in ſuis fructibus, reditibus, provenien. even. & emolumen, non mediocriter deteriorata eſt, & quaſi in totum diminuta, ingentiq; ære alieno obruta, oppreſſa, & gravata extitit) ſtatum uſq; adeo matura deliberatione, & diligenti inſtatu, conſiderantes, ponderantes, & penſantes, quod niſi celeri remedio, regia proviſione huic Monaſterio ſive Prioratui (quippe quod de ejus fundatione & perſonatu exiſtit) brevi ſuccurratur & provideatur, funditus

funditus in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus annihiletur, per præsentes damus & concedimus, &c.

The rest follows in the ordinary form of Law: but the ordinary Preamble in most Surrenders is,

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, &c. Nos — Salutem. Sciatis quod nos, deliberate, certa scientia, & mero motu, nostris, ex quibusdam causis, justis, & rationabilibus, nos, animas & conscientias nostras specialiter moventibus, ultro & sponte dedisse & concessisse Domino Regi, &c.

But it seems some few Houses though they were prevailed with to surrender, yet would not do it with such a Preamble, for there are about twenty Surrenders without any Preamble at all, made to *John London* Clerk, *ad usum Domini Regis.*

Section II.

A List of Religious Houses, which by the King's Letters Patents were of new founded and preserved from the dissolution of Lesser Monasteries.

Anno Regni 28.			
	ST. Mary *of* Betlesden, Buckinghamshire, Cistercians.	17.	*August.*
	St. Mary *of* Huntington, Augustians.		
	Chertsey, Cambridg-shire, Benedict. Nuns.		
	St. Mary *in* Winton, Southamp. shire, Benedict. Nuns.		
	Grace-dieu, Leicester shire, August. Nuns.		
	St. Michael Hull, York-shire, Carthusians.	27.	
	St. Clare *of* Denby, Cambridgshire, Nuns.	28.	
	Kymme, Lincolnshire, Augustin.	2.	*September*
	St. Ann Marick, York-shire, Benedict. Nuns.	9.	
	St. Mary *of* Bindon, Dorset-shire, Cistercians.	16.	*November.*
	St. Mary Harpa, Westmor. Præmonstrat.	16.	
	St. Mary *of* Hynnings Lincoln-shire, Cisterc. Nuns.	27.	
	St. Mary de la-Pray, Northamp. shire, Nuns.	13.	*December.*
	St. Mary *of* Kelling, York-shire, Nuns.	14.	
	St. Mary *of* Cockersand, Lancash. Præmonstrat. Nuns.	19.	
	De-la-val, York-shire, Carthus.	2.	*January.*
	St. Mary New-stead, Nottinghamsh. August. Nuns.	2.	
	Wormsley, Herefordsh. August.	27.	
	St. Mary *of* Alnewick, Northumb. Præmonst.	30.	
	Bellalanda, Yorksh. Cisterc.	30.	
	St. John Bapt. Egglestone, Yorksh.	30.	
	St Mary de Nith, Glamorganshire Cisterc.	30.	
	St. Mary Ulnestock Leicestersh.	30.	
	St. Mary *of* Dale Derbysh. August.	30.	
	St. Katharine of Polesloe, Devonsh. Benedict. Nuns.	30.	
	St. Mary Lacock, Wiltsh. August. Nuns.	30.	
	St. Mary Chester, Nuns.	30.	
	St. Mary *of* Studley, Oxfordsh. Nuns.	30.	

St. Mary

St. Mary *of* Canon Leigh, Devonſh. Nuns. 12. *February.*
Cockhill, Worceſterſh. Auguſt. Nuns. 5. *March.*
St. Bartholomew, New-Caſtle, Nuns. 30.
St. Mary *of* Wallingwells, Yorkſh. *April.*

The Grants for theſe Houſes are all in the 28th *year of the King, to be held* in perpetuam eleemoſynam, *and are enrolled in the 1ſt, 2d, 4th, and 5th. parts of the Patent Rolls for that Year.*

Section III.

A Liſt of all the Surrenders of Abbies, which are yet extant in the Augmentation Office.

Langden, Præmonſt. ſigned by the Abbot and 10. Monks, Com. Kent 13. *November* *Regni* 27.
Folkeſton, Benedict. the Prior, Kent. 15.
Dover, the Prior, 8 Monks, Kent. 16.
Merten, Auguſt. the Prior, and 5 Friers, Yorkſh. 9. *February.*
Hornby, Præmonſt. the Prior and two Monks. 23.
Tilty, Ciſterc. the Abbot and 5 Monks, Eſſex. 28.
Bilſington, the Prior and two Monks, Kent. 21.
Theſe are all enrolled Rot. Clauſ. Part 1ſt. *Regni* 28.

Furneſſe, the Abbot and 30 Monks, Lancaſhire. 9. *April.*
Bermondſey, the Abb. Surrey. 1. *June.*
Ruſhliſham. Bp of St. Davids, Commendator, Berk. 5. *July.*

The Originals of theſe two laſt are loſt, but enrolled Rot. Clauſ. Part 2d. Regn. 28.

Lanthony, Auguſt. the Prior and 21 Monks, Gloceſtſh. 10. *May.* *Regni* 29.
Abbington, Bened. the Abbot and 25 Monks, Berkſh. 29.
Charterhouſe, the Prior, London. 10. *June.*
Chertſey,—the Abbot and 14 Monks. 6. *July.*
Wardon, Ciſterc. the Abbot and 14 Monks, Bedfordſh. 4. *December.*
St. Auſtins Canterb. the Abby Seal. 5.
Weſtacre, Auguſt. the Prior and 8 Monks, Norfolk. 14. *January.*
Kingſwood. Ciſterc. Gloceſtſh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 1. *February.*
Coxhall, Ciſterc. the Abbot, Eſſex. 5.
St. Andrew, Bened. Northampt. the Prior and 12 Fr. 2. *March.*
Holcultrin—the Abbot and 25 Monks, Cumberland. 6.
Butley, Auguſt. the Commend. and 8 Monks, Suffolk. 7.
Stradford-Langthorn, Ciſterc. the Abbot and 14 Mon. Eſſex. 8.
Southwick, Auguſt. Hampſh. 7. *April.*
Kennelworth. Bened. the Prior and 16. Mon. Warwickſh. 14.
Merton, Auguſt. the Abbot and 14 Monks, Surrey. 16
Pont-Robert, Ciſterc. the Abbot and 8 Monks, Suſſex. 16.
Belloloco, Ciſterc. the Abbot and 19 Monks, Hamp. 17.
Beſides theſe, the following Surrenders are enrolled.

Lewes,

	Lewes, Cluniac. Suſſex, the Prior.	16.	*November*
	Caſtle-Acre, Cluniac. Norfolk, the Prior.	22.	
	Titchfield, Præmonſt. the Commend. Southamptſh.	18.	*December.*
	Muchelling, Bened. Somerſetſh. the Abbot.	3.	*January.*
	Boxley, Ciſterc. Kent, the Abbot.	26.	
	Walden. Bened. Eſſex the Bp. Suffr. of Colcheſter, Commend.	22.	*March.*

Almoſt all theſe Abbies were above the value of two hundred pound, ſo that they were not within the Statute for ſuppreſſing the leſſer Abbies, but the Abbots were prevailed on by other motives to ſurrender their Houſes to the King.

Regni 30.	Batle, Bened. Suſſex, the Abbot and 16 Monks.	27.	*May.*
	Thurgarton, Auguſt. Yorkſh. the Prior and 8 Frat.	14.	*June.*
	Buſhliſham, Bened. Berkſh. the Abbot and 15 Monks.	19.	
	Axiholm, Carthuſ. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 8 Monks.	23.	
	Rupa, Ciſterc. Yorkſh. the Abbot and 17 Monks.	23.	
	Walbeck, Præmonſt. Nottingſh. the Abbot and 18 Monks.	20.	
	Huntington Canons, Aug. the Prior and 8 Canons.	11.	*July.*
	Lincoln, Gilbertines the Prior, and 15 Monks.	14.	
	Feverſham, Cluniac. Kent, the Abbot and 8 Monks.	8.	
	Bordeſley, Ciſterc. Worceſtſh. the Abbot and 19 Monks	17.	
	Cumbermore, Auguſt. Cheſh. the Abbot.	27.	
	St. Auſtins, Canterb. Bened. the Abbot and 30 Monks.	30.	
	St. James, Northamptonſh. Bened. the Abbot Elect and 5 Monks.	25.	*August.*
	Fordham Gilbertines, Cambridgſh. the Prior and 3 Frat.	1.	*September.*
	Chateras, Black-Nuns, Cambridgſh. the Abbeſs and 10 Nuns.	3.	
	Val-royal, Cheſh. the Abbot and 14 Monks.	7.	
	Croxton, Præmonſt. Leiceſterſh. the Abbot and 22 Monks.	8.	
	Haughmond, Canons. Shropſh. the Abbot and 10 Monks.	9.	
	Tudbury, Bened. Staffordſh. the Prior and 8 Monks.	14.	
	De-la-pray, no Subſcriptions, only the Common Seal.	16.	
	Roſtiter, Auguſt. Staffordſh. the Abbot and 8 Monks.	16.	
	Crockeſden, Ciſterc. Staffordſh. the Abbot and 12 Monks.	17.	
	Hilton, Ciſterc. Staffordſh. the Abbot and 8 Monks.	18.	
* *In the Houſes of this Order there were Cloiſters for both Sexes. St.* Gilbert *L. of* Sempering-ham *founded it; the Bp. of* Landaff *was at this time Commendator of the whole Order.*	Semperingham, * Gilbertines, the Prior and 8 Monks.	18	
	Sulby, Præmonſt. Northamp. ſh. the Abbot and 11 Monks.	20.	
	Haberholm, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 6 Can.	24.	
	Betleſden, Ciſterc. Bedfordſh. Abbot and 11 Monks.	25.	
	Cately, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior.	25.	
	Bolington, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 9 Monks.	26.	
	Thelſford, the Holy Trinity, Warwickſh. Prior & 3 Monks.	26.	
	Sixhill, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Commend. and 8 Monks.	27.	
	Thetford, Auguſt. Norfolk, the Prior.	27.	
	Alvinghame, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 27 Monks.	29.	
	Ormesby, Gilb. the Prior and 6 Frat.	30.	
	Linn Carmelites, The Prior and 10 Fra.		
	Linn Dominicans, The Prior and 11 Fra. Norfolk.	30	
	Linn Auguſt. The Prior and 14 Fra.		

Linn,

Linn, Franciſc. the Warden and 9 Frat. 1. *October.*
Alesbury, Franciſc. Buckinghamſh. the Warden and 6 Frat. 1.
Coventry, Carm. Warwickſh. the Prior and 13 Frat. 1.
Newſtead, Gilb. the Prior and 5 Monks. 2.
Matterſey, Gilb. the Prior and 4 Monks. 3.
Coventry, Franc. Warden and 10 Frat. 5.
Marmond, Canons, Cambridgſh. the Prior and 1 Monk. 5.
Stamford, Auguſt. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 5 Frat. 6.
Stamford, Dominic. the Prior and 9 Frat. 7.
Grinsbey, Franciſc. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 5 Frat. 9.
Miraval, Ciſterc. Warwickſh. the Abbot and 9 Monks. 13.
Shouldham, Gilb. Norfolk, the Prior, 9 Monks, 7 Nuns. 15.
Braywood, Black-Nuns, Staffordſh. the Prioreſs. 16.
Lilleſhull, Auguſt. Shropſh. the Abbot and 10 Monks. 16.
Stafford, Auguſt. the Prior and 5 Monks. 16.
Northampton, Dominic. the Prior and 7 Frat. 16.
Northallerton, Carmel. Yorkſh. the Prior and 9 Frat. 17.
Warwick, Dominic. the Prior and 6 Frat. 20.
Northampton, Carmel. the Prior and 8 Frat. 20.
Weatheral, Dominic. Cumberland, the Prior. 20.
Chickſand, Gilb. Bedfordſh. the Prior, 6 Monks, 18 Nuns. 22.
Darley, Auguſt. Derbyſh. the Abbot, and 13 Monks. 22.
Dale, Premonſt. Derbyſh. the Abbot, and 16 Monks. 24.
Repton, Auguſt. Derbyſh. the Subprior, and 8 Monks. 25.
Grace-dieu, Auguſt. Nuns, Leiceſterſh. the Prioreſs. 27.
Northampton, Franciſc. the Warden and 10 Frat. 28.
Northampton, Auguſt. the Prior and 9 Frat. 28.
Mallen Nuns, Kent, the Abbeſs and 10 Nuns. 29.
Bardeny, Bened. Lincolnſh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 1. *November.*
Barnwell, Auguſt. Can. Cambridgſh. the Prior and 6 Monks. 8.
Leiceſter, Franciſc. the Warden and 7 Frat. 10.
Dominic. the Prior. 10.
Auguſt. the Prior. 10.
London, Dominic. the Bp of Rocheſt. Commend. & 15 Frat. 10.
Auguſt. the Prior and 12 Frat. 12.
Franciſ. the Warden and 25 Frat. 12.
Croſs-Friers, 6 Frat. 13.
Doncaſter, Carm. Yorkſh. the Prior and 6 Friers. 13.
Werkſop, Auguſt. Nottinghamſh. the Prior and 15 Friers. 14.
Pipewell——— Lincolnſh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 15.
Wigemore ---- Herefordſh. the Commend. and 10 Friars. 18.
York, Auguſt. the Prior and 7 Friars. 18.
Doncaſter, Franciſc. Guardian, 6 Friars, 3 Novices. 20.
Monkbreton, Bened. Yorkſh. the Prior and 13 Monks. 21.
S. Helens Lond. a Nunnery, no Hands, only the Seal. 25.
Pomfret, Dominic. Yorkſh. the Prior, 7 Friars, 1 Novice. 26.
York, Carmel. the Prior, 9 Friars, 3 Novices. 27.
Franciſc. the Guardian, 15 Friars, 5 Novices. 27.
Dominic. the Prior, 6 Friars, 4 Novices. 27.
Gilbertines, the Prior, 3 Monks. 28.
Auguſt. the Prior, 9 Friars, 4 Novices. 28.

Bellalanda, Ciſterc. Yorkſh. the Abbot and 24 Monks. 30. *November.*
Dunnington, the Order of the Trinity, Berkſh. the Miniſter. 30.
Ryeval, Ciſterc. Yorkſh. the Abbot and 23 Monks. 3. *December.*
St. Albans, Bened. Herefordſh. the Abbot and 37 Monks. 5.
Anſham, Bened. Oxfordſh. the Prior and 8 Monks. 4.
Kirkham, Auguſt. Yorkſh. the Prior and 17 Friers. 8.
Notely, ——— Yorkſh. the Abbot and 17 Monks. 9.
Ellerton, Gilber. Yorkſh. the Prior and 4 Friers. 11.
York, the H. Trin. the Miniſter and 10 Prieſts.
Yarom, Dominic. the Prior and 5 Friers and 6 Novices.
Darby, Dominic. the Prior and 5 Friers. 3. *January.*
Semperingham, Gilber. the Commend. and 3 Monks. 6.
Newcaſtle, Franciſ. the Warden, with 8 Friers and 2 Nov. 9.
Newcaſtle, Auguſt. 9.
Newcaſtle, Dominic. the Prior and 12 Friers. 10.
Newcaſtle, Carmel. the Prior, 7 Friers, and 2 Novices. 10.
Walknell, Newcaſtle, H. Trin. the Prior. 10.
Tinmouth. Bened. Northumberl. Prior, 15 Prebend. 3 Nov. 12.
Warwick, Bened. the Prior. and 12 Monks. 15.
Coventry, Carthuſ. the Prior and 7 Monks. 16.
York, Auguſt. the Prior and 17 Fellows. 17.
Bredneſtock, Wiltſh. the Prior and 13 Monks. 18.
Richmond, Yorkſh. Franciſ. the Prior and 14 Friers. 19.
Lacock, Wiltſh. Nunnery, the Abbeſs. 21.
Combe, Warwickſh. Ciſterc. the *quondam* Abbot, 13 Monks. 21.
Keniſham, Somerſetſh. Auguſt. the Abbot and 10 Monks. 23.
Bolton, Yorkſh. Auguſt. the Prior and 14 Friers. 29.
Cockerſand, Lancaſh. Premonſ. the Abbot and 22 Monks. 29.
Polliſworth, Warwickſh. Nunnery, no Hands, only the Seal. 31.
Notingham, Carmel. the Prior and 6 Friers. 5. *February.*
Franciſ. the Prior and 7 Friers. 5.
Athelny, Sommerſetſh. Bened. the Abbot and 8 Monks. 8.
Taunton, Sommerſetſh. Auguſt. the Prior and 12 Monks. 10.
Buckland, Sommerſetſh. Nunnery, the Prioreſs. 10.
Dunkeſwell, Sommerſetſh. Ciſterc. 12.
Polleſlow, Devonſh. Nunnery, the Prioreſs. 14.
Witham, Sommerſetſh. Carthuſ. the Prior and 12 Monks. 15.
Buſhſham, Devonſh. 19.
Cannonleigh, Devonſh. Nunnery, no Hands but the Seal. 19.
Hartland, Devonſh. Auguſt. the Abbot and 4 Monks. 21.
Torry, Premonſt. Devonſh. the Abbot and 15 Monks. 23.
Launceſton, Cornwal, Auguſt. the Prior and 8 Monks. 24.
Buckfaſt, Devonſh. Ciſterc. the Abbot with 10 Monks. 25.
Buckland, Devon. Ciſterc. the Abbot. 27.
Bodmyn, Cornwal, Auguſt. the Prior and 8 Monks. 27.
Edingdon, Wiltſh. Auguſt. the Rector and 12 Monks. 28.
Plimpton, Canons, Auguſt Devonſh, the Prior and 18 Monks. 1. *March.*
St. Germans, Can. Aug. Cornwal, the Prior 7 Monks. 2.
Ford. Ciſterc. Devon. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 8.
Midleton, Bened. Devon. Abbot & Bp Suff. of Shafti. 12 Mo. 11.
Abbots-bury, Bened. Dorſetſh. the Prior and 10 Monks. 12.

Tarent

Tarent Nunnery, Dorcetſh. the Abbeſs and 18 Nuns. 13. *March.*
Bindon, Ciſterc. Dorcetſh. the Abbot and 7 Monks. 14.
Cerne, Bened. Dorcetſh. the Abbot and 16 Monks. 15.
Sherburn, Bened. Dorcetſh. the Abbot and 16 Monks. 18
Montecute Cluniac. Somerſetſh. the Abbot & 13 Monks. 20.
Tavenſtock, Bened. Somerſetſh. the Abbot & 20 Monks. 20.
Shaftſbury Nunnery, Dorcetſh. the Abbeſs. 23.
Wilton Nunnery, Wiltſh. the Abbeſs. 25.
Hinton Carthuſ. Somerſetſh. the Prior and 19 Monks. 31.
Bruton Canons, Auguſt. Somerſetſh. the Abbot & 14 Monks. 1. *April.*
Hide, Bened. Hampſh. Bp *Bangor* Commend. and 21 Monks, in *April*, but no date.

Without date there are four.

Franciſcans Cambr. the Guardian and 23 Frat.
Dominicans Cambr. the Prior and 15 Frat.
Thetford Dominic. the Prior.
Sancta Maria de Pratis, the Abbot and 19 Monks.

Hoſpitals reſigned this Year.

St. Thomas Southwark, the Maſter and one Brother. 25. *July.*
St. John Wells, the Maſter and 3 Brothers. 3. *February.*
Bridgwater, the Maſter and 7 Brothers. 3.
St. John Exon, the Maſter and 2 Brothers. 20.

All the former Reſignations have the Covent Seals put to them, except thoſe of ſome few Houſes of Begging Friars, which perhaps had no Seals; they are alſo enrolled in the firſt, ſecond, third, and fifth Clauſ. Rolls of that Year. There are likewiſe ſome few more enrolled, of which the Originals are loſt, which follow.

Hales-Owen, Premonſt. Salop, the Abbot. 9. *June.*
Clattercott. Gilbert. the Prior. 22. *Auguſt.*
Bedford, Franciſc. the Warden. 3. *October.*
Stamford, Franciſc. the Warden. 8.
Derleyghs, Ciſterc. Staffordſh. the Abbot. 20.
Pipeldeth, Ciſterc. Northamptonſh. the Abbot. 5. *November.*
De-la-pray Nunnery, Northamptonſh. the Abbeſs. 16. *December.*
Northallerton, Carmel. Yorkſh. the Prior. 20.
Pulton, Gilbert. the Prior. 16. *January.*
Newburg, Auguſt. Yorkſh. 22.
Bath Cathedral, Bened. 27.
Bruſyard Nunnery, Suffolk, the Abbeſs. 17. *February.*
Newham, Ciſterc. Devonſh. the Abbot. 8. *March.*

Here follow the Reſignations made in the 31 Year of the King's Reign, of which the Originals are yet extant.

KImme Can. Auguſt. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 9 Monks. 6. *July.*
Bevoll Carthuſ. Nottinghamſh. the Prior and 7 Monks. 8.
Irthforth Nunnery, Lincolnſh. the Prioreſs and 17 Nuns. 9.
Nuncotton Nunnery, Yorkſh. without Subſcriptions. 11.
Hynings Nunnery, Lincolnſh. no Subſcriptions. 11.
Foſſe Nunnery, Lincolnſh. the Prioreſs. 11.
Newſtead Premonſt. Nottinghamſh. the Prior and 11 Monks. 21.
St. Oſith. Can. Auguſt. Eſſex, the Abbot and 16 Monks. 28.
Eliſtu Nunnery, Bedfordſh. the Abbeſs. 26. *Auguſt.*
Hamond, a Commiſſion to the Bp. of Cheſter to take the Surrender of it. 31.
Swine Nunnery, Yorkſh. no ſubſcriptions. 3. *September.*
Haughmond Can. Auguſt. Sallop, the Abbot and 10 Monks. 9.
Nunkeling Nunnery, Yorkſh. no ſubſcription but the Seal. 10.
Nunniton Nunnery, the Prioreſs, 27 Croſſes for ſubſcript. 12.
Ulneſcroft, Leiceſterſh. the Prior and 11 Friers. 15.
Marrick Nunnery, Yorkſh. the Prioreſs. 15.
Burnham Nunnery, Bucks, the Abbeſs and 9 Nuns. 19.
St. Bartholomew Smithfield, the Prior. 25. *October.*
Edmundsbury Bened. Suffolk, the Abbot and 44 Monks. 4. *November.*
A Commiſſion for the ſurrender of St. Alborough, Cheſh. 7.
Berkin Nunnery, Eſſex, the Abbeſs. 14.
Tame, Oxfordſh. Bp. * Reonen and 16 Monks. 16.
Oſney, *ibid. id.* and 12 Monks. 17.
Godſtow Nunnery, Oxfordſh. ſubſcribed by a Notary. 17.
Studley Nunnery, Oxfordſh. ſigned as the former. 19.
Theſsford, Norfolk, the Prior and 13 Monks. 16. *February.*
Weſtminſter Bened. the Abbot and 27 Monks. 16. *January.*
A Commiſſion to the Arch-Bp. of Canterb. for taking the ſurrender of Chriſt's-Church Canterbury. } 20. *March.*
And another for the ſurrender of Rocheſter, both dated }
Waltham Benedict. Eſſex, the Abbot and 17 Monks. 23.
St. Mary Watte, Gilber. Biſhop of Landaffe Commend. 8 Friers and 14 Nuns.

* *What this See was I cannot conjecture.*

There is alſo in the Augmentation-Office, a Book concerning the Reſignations and Suppreſſions of the following Monaſteries.

St. Swithins Wincheſter. 15. *November.*
St. Mary Wincheſter. 17.
Wherewel, Hampſhire. 21.
Chriſt's-Church, Twinham, the Commendator thereof is called *Epiſcopus Neopolitanus.* 28.
Winchelcomb. 3. *December.*
Ambroſe Bury. 4.
St. Auſtins, near Briſtol. 9.

Billeſſwick,

Billeſſwick, near Briſtol.	9. *December.*
Malmeſbury.	15.
Cirenceſter.	19.
Hales.	24.
St. Peter's, Gloceſter.	2. *January.*
Teuksbury.	9.

There are alſo ſeveral other Deeds enrolled, which follow.

S. Mary-Overhay, in Southwark.	14. *October.*
St. Michael, near Kingſton upon Hull, Carthuſ.	9. *November.*
Burton upon Trent, Staffordſh.	14.
Hampol Nunnery, Yorkſh.	19.
St. Oſwald, Yorkſh.	20.
Kirkſtal, Yorkſh.	22.
Pomfret, Yorkſh.	23.
Kirkelles, Yorkſh.	24.
Ardyngton, Yorkſh.	26.
Fountains, Yorkſh.	26.
St. Mary York.	29.
St. Leonard York.	1. *December.*
Nunnapleton Nunnery, Yorkſh.	5.
St. Gelmans Selbe, Yorkſh.	6.
Melſey, Yorkſh.	11.
Malton, Yorkſh.	11.
Whitby, Yorkſh.	14.
Albalanda, Northumb.	18.
Montgraſſe Carthuſ. Yorkſh.	18.
Alnewick Premonſtrat. Northumb.	22.
Gisburn Auguſt. Yorkſh.	22.
Newſhame, Dunelme.	29.
St. Cutchberts Cathedral of Dureſme.	31.
St. Bartholomew Nunnery, in Newcaſtle.	3. *January.*
Egleliſton, Richmondſh.	5.
St. Mary Carlile, Cumber.	9.
Hoppa Premonſt. Weſtmoreland.	14.
St. Werburg, Cheſter.	20.
St. Mary Cheſter, a Nunnery.	21.
St Peters Shrewsbury.	24.
St. Milburgh Winlock, Salop.	26.

Section IV.

IT ſeems there was generally a Confeſſion made with the Surrender: Of theſe ſome few are yet extant, though undoubtedly great care was taken to deſtroy as many as could be in Queen *Mary*'s time. That long and full one made by the Prior of St. *Andrews* in *Northampton*, the Preamble whereof is printed by *Fuller*, and is at large printed by *Weaver*, is yet preſerved in the Augmentation-Office. There are ſome few more alſo extant, ſix of theſe I have ſeen, one of them follows.

For-

FOraſmuch as we *Richard Green*, Abbot of our Monaſtery of our Bleſſed Lady St. *Mary* of *Betleſden*, and the Convent of the ſaid Monaſtery, do profoundly conſider, That the whole manner and trade of living, which we and our pretenſed Religion have practiſed, and uſed many days, does moſt principally conſiſt in certain dumb Ceremonies, and other certain Conſtitutions of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and other Forinſecal Potentates, as the Abbot of *Ciſtins*, and therein only nuſled, and not taught in the true knowledg of God's Laws, procuring always Exemptions of the Biſhops of *Rome* from our Ordinaries and Dioceſans: ſubmitting our ſelves principally to Forinſecal Potentates and Powers, which never came here to reform ſuch diſorders of living and abuſes, as now have been found to have reigned amongſt us. And therefore now aſſuredly knowing, that the moſt perfect way of living is moſt principally and ſufficiently declared unto us by our Maſter Chriſt, his Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, and that it is moſt expedient for us to be governed and ordered by our Supreme Head, under God, the King's moſt noble Grace, with our mutual Aſſent and Conſent, ſubmit our ſelves, and every one of us, to the moſt benign Mercy of the King's Majeſty; and by theſe Preſents do Surrender, *&c.*

The Surrender follows in common form, ſigned by the Abbot, Subprior, and 9 Monks, 25 *Septemb.* Regni 30.

There are others to the ſame purpoſe, Signed by the Guardian and ſeven Franciſcans at *Aleſbury*, the firſt of *October*. By the Franciſcans at *Bedford* the third of *October*. The Franciſcans in *Coventry* the fifth of *October*. And the Franciſcans in *Stamford* the eighth of *October*. And the Carmelites in *Stamford* upon the ſame day, which I ſhall alſo inſert, the former four agreeing to it.

FOraſmuch as the Prior and Friers of this Houſe of *Carmelitu* in *Stamford*, commonly called the White-Friers in *Stamford*, in the County of *Lincoln*, do profoundly conſider that the perfection of Chriſtian living doth not conſiſt in ſome Ceremonies, wearing of a white Coat, diſguiſing our ſelves after ſtrange faſhions, dockying and becking, wearing Scapulars and Hoods, and other-like Papiſtical Ceremonies, wherein we have been moſt principally practiſed and nuſled in times paſt; but the very true way to pleaſe God, and to live a true Chriſtian Man, without all hypocriſy and feigned diſſimulation, is ſincerely declared to us by our Maſter Chriſt, his Evangeliſts, and Apoſtles; being minded hereafter to follow the ſame, conforming our ſelf to the Will and Pleaſure of our Supream Head under God on Earth, the King's Majeſty; and not to follow henceforth the ſuperſtitious Traditions of any Forinſecal Potentate or Power, with mutual Aſſent and Conſent, do ſubmit our ſelves to the Mercy of our ſaid Sovereign Lord, and with the like mutual Aſſent and Conſent do Surrender, &c.

Signed by the Prior, and ſix Friers.

Section

Section V.

Of the manner of ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries after they were ſurrendred.

THE Reader will beſt underſtand this by the following account of the Suppreſſion of the Monaſtery of *Teuksbury*, copied from a Book that is in the Augmentation-Office, which begins thus:

THe Certificate of *Robert Southwell* Eſquire, *William Petre*, *Edward Kairne*, and *John London*, Doctors of Law: *John Ap-price*, *John Kingſman*, *Richard Paulet*, and *William Bernars*, Eſquires, Commiſſioners aſſigned by the King's Majeſty, to take the Surrenders of divers Monaſteries, by force of his Grace's Commiſſion to them, 6, 5, 4, or 3 of them, in that behalf directed; bearing date at his Highneſs's Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the 7*th* day of *November*, in the 31 year of the Reign of our moſt Dread Soveraign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth immediately under Chriſt Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, of all and ſingular their Proceedings, as well in and of theſe Monaſteries by his Majeſty appointed to be altered, as of others to be diſſolved, according to the tenour, purport and effect of his Graces ſaid Commiſſion; with Inſtructions to them likewiſe delivered, as hereafter enſueth.

Com. *Gloceſter.*

Teuksbury late Monaſtery — Surrendred to the uſe of the King's Majeſty, and of his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever made, bearing date under the Covent-Seal of the ſame late Monaſtery, the 9*th* day of *January*, in the 31 Year of the Reign of our moſt dread victorious Sovereign Lord King *Henry* the Eighth: and the ſaid Day and Year clearly diſſolved and ſuppreſſed.

The clear yearly value of all the Poſſeſſions belonging to the ſaid late Monaſtery, — As well Spiritual as Temporal, over and beſides 136 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d.* in Fees, Annuities, and Cuſtodies granted to divers Perſons by Letters Patents under the Covent-Seal of the ſaid late Monaſtery for term of their Lives. — *l.* 1595 *s.* 15 *d.* 06

Penſions

		l.	*s.*	*d.*	
Penſions aſſigned to the late Religious diſpatched; that is to ſay, to	*John Wich*, late Abbot there	266	13	04	551 06 08.
	John Beley late Prior there	16	00	00	
	J. Bromeſgrove late Pr. of *Delehurſt*	13	06	08	
	Robert Circeſter Prior of St. *James*	13	06	08	
	Will. Didcote Prior of *Cranborne*	10	00	00	
	Robert Cheltenhem B. D.	10	00	00	
	Two Monks 8 *l.* a piece	16	00	00	
	One Monk	07	00	00	
	27 Monks 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* each	180	00	00	
		l.	*s.*	*d.*	
	And ſo remains clear	1044	08	10	

Records and Evidences	Belonging to the late Monaſtery	Remain in the Treaſury there under the Cuſtody of *John Whittington*, Kt. the Keys thereof being delivered to *Richard Paulet* Receiver.

Houſes and Buildings aſſigned to remain undefaced.	The Lodging called the *Newark*, leading from the Gate to the late Abbot's Lodging, with Buttery, Pantery, Cellar, Kitching, Larder and Paſtry thereto adjoyning. The late Abbot's Lodging, the Hoſtery, the great Gate entring into the Court, with the Lodging over the ſame; the Abbot's Stable, Bakehouſe, Brewhouſe and Slaughterhouſe, the Almry, Barn, Derry-houſe, the great Barn next *Aven*, the Maltinghouſe, with the Garners in the ſame, the Oxhouſe in the Barton, the Barton-gate, and the Lodging over the ſame.	Committed to the cuſtody of *John Whittington*, Knight.
Deemed to be ſuperfluous.	The Church, with Chappels, Cloiſters, Chapterhouſe, Miſericord, the two Dormitories, Infirmary, with Chappels and Lodgings within the ſame; the Wonk-hay, with another Houſe adjoyning to the ſame, the Covent-Kitchen, the Library, the old Hoſtery, the Chamberers Lodging, the new Hall, the old Parlor adjoining to the Abbot's Lodging; the Cellarers Lodging, the Poultry-houſe, the Gardner, the Almary, and all other Houſes and Lodgings not above reſerved.	Committed as above-ſaid.
Leads remaining upon	The Quire, Iles, and Chappels annext the Cloiſter Chapter-houſe, Frater, St. *Michael's* Chappel, Hall, Fermory, and Gate-houſe, eſteemed to	180 Foder.
Bells remaining	In the Steple there are eight poize, by eſtimation.	14600 weight.

Jewels

Jewels reserved to the use of the King's Majesty.	Miters garnished with gilt, rugged Pearls, and counterfeit Stones.		2.
Plate of Silver reserved to the same use.	Silver gilt	329 ounces.	1431.
	Silver parrel gilt	605 ounces.	
	Siver white	497 ounces.	
Ornaments reserved to the said use.	One Cope of Silver Tissue, with one Clesible, and one Tunicle of the same; one Cope of Gold Tissue, with one Clef. and two Tunicles of the same.		
Sum of all the Ornaments, Goods, and Chattels belonging to the said late Monastery.	Sold by the said Commissioners, as in a particular Book of Sales thereof made ready to be shewed, as more at large may appear.	*l.* 194	*s.* *d.* 08 00.
Payments to the late Religious and Servants dispatcht	To 38 late Religious Persons of the said late Monastery of the King's Mat. reward.	80	13 04.
	To an 144 late Servants of the said late Monastery, for their Wages and Liveries.	75	10 00.
Payments. For debts owing by the said late Monastery.	To divers Persons for Victuals and Necessaries of them had to the use of the said Monastery, with 10 *l.* paid to the late Abbot there, for and in full payment of 124 *l.* 5 *s.* 4 *d.* by him to be paid to certain Creditors of the said late Monastery, by Covenants made with the aforesaid Commissioners.	18	12 00.
	And so remains clear—	19	12 08

Then follows a list of some small Debts owing to and by the said Monastery.

Then follows a list of the Livings in their Gift.

Com. *Gloceſt.* } Four Parsonages and 10 Vicarages.

Com. *Wigorn.* } Two Parsonages and 2 Vicarages.

Com. *Warwic.* } Two Parsonages.

Com. *Will.* *Briſtol.*	}	Five Parſonages and 1 Vicarge.
Com. *Wilts.*	} ∞	2 Vicar.
Com. *Oxon.*	}	One Parſ. and 2 Vicar.
Com. *Dorſ.*	}	Four Parſ. and 2 Vicar.
Com. *Sommerſ.*	}	Three Parſ.
Com. *Devon.*	} ∞	1 Vicar.
Com. *Cornub.*	} ∞	2 Vicar.
Com. *Glamorg.* and *Morgan.*	} ∞	5 Vicars.

In all 21 Parſonages, and 27 Vicarages.

IV. *Queen* Ann Boleyn's *laſt Letter to King* Henry.

SIR,

Cotton Libr. *Otho* C. 10.

YOur Grace's Diſpleaſure, and my Impriſonment, are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me (willing me to confeſs a Truth, and ſo obtain your Favour) by ſuch an one whom you know to be mine antient profeſſed Enemy. I no ſooner received this Meſſage by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you ſay, confeſſing a Truth indeed may procure my ſafety, I ſhall with all willingneſs and duty perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a Fault, where not ſo much as a thought thereof preceded. And to ſpeak a Truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all Duty, and in all true Affection, than you have ever found in *Ann Boleyn*, with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented my ſelf, if God, and your Grace's Pleaſure had been ſo pleaſed. Neither did I at any time ſo far forget my ſelf in my Exaltation, or received Queenſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my Preferment being on no ſurer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy; the leaſt alteration I knew, was fit and ſufficient to draw that Fancy to ſome other Subject. You have choſen me, from a low eſtate, to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire. If then you found me worthy of ſuch Honour, Good your Grace let not any light Fancy, or bad Counſel of mine Enemies, withdraw your Princely Favour from me; neither let that Stain, that unworthy Stain of diſloyal Heart towards your good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your moſt dutiful Wife, and the

Infant

Infant-Princeſs your Daughter: Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful Trial, and let not my ſworn Enemies ſit as my Accuſers and Judges; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my Truth ſhall fear no open ſhame; then ſhall you ſee, either mine Innocency cleared, your Suſpicion and Conſcience ſatisfied, the ignominy and ſlander of the World ſtopped, or my Guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open Cenſure; and mine Offence being ſo lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy Puniſhment on me as an unlawful Wife, but to follow your Affection, already ſetled, on that Party, for whoſe ſake I am now as I am, whoſe Name I could ſome good while ſince have pointed unto; your Grace being not ignorant of my ſuſpicion therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous Slander muſt bring you the enjoying of your deſired happineſs; then I deſire of God, that he will pardon your great Sin therein, and likewiſe mine Enemies, the Inſtruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a ſtrict account for your unprincely and cruel uſage of me, at his General Judgment-Seat, where both you and my ſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe Judgment I doubt not (whatſoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently cleared.

My laſt aud only Requeſt ſhall be, That my ſelf may only bear the burden of your Grace's diſpleaſure, and that it may not touch the Innocent Souls of thoſe poor Gentlemen, who (as I underſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait Impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found favour in your ſight, if ever the Name of *Ann Boleyn* hath been pleaſing in your Ears, then let me obtain this Requeſt; and I will ſo leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earneſt Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions. From my doleful Priſon in the *Tower*, this *6th* of *May*.

Your moſt Loyal and ever

Faithful Wife,

Ann Boleyn.

V. *The Judgment of the Convocation concerning General-Councils. Publiſhed by the L.* Herbert *from the Original.*

AS concerning General-Councils, like-as we (taught by long experience) do perfectly know that there never was, nor is, any thing deviſed, invented, or inſtituted by our Fore-Fathers, more expedient or more neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of our Faith, for the extirpation of Hereſies, and the aboliſhing of Sects and Schiſms; and finally, for the reducing of Chriſt's People unto one perfect unity and concord in his Religion, than by the having of General-Councils; ſo

that the ſame be lawfully had and congregated in *Spiritu Sancto*, and be alſo conform and agreeable, as well concerning the ſurety and indifferency of the Places, as all other Points requiſite and neceſſary for the ſame, unto that wholſome and godly Inſtitution and Uſage, for the which they were at firſt deviſed and uſed in the Primitive Church: Even ſo on the other ſide, taught by like experience, we eſteem, repute, and judg, That there is, ne can be any thing in the World more peſtilent and pernicious to the Common-Weal of Chriſtendom, or whereby the Truth of God's Word hath in times paſt, or hereafter may be ſooner defaced or ſubverted, or whereof hath and may enſue more contention, more diſcord and other deviliſh Effects, than when ſuch General Councils have or ſhall be aſſembled, not chriſtianly, nor charitably, but for and upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnal Reſpects and conſiderations, according to the ſaying of *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his Epiſtle to one *Procopius*, wherein he writeth this Sentence following; *Sic ſentio, ſi verum ſcribendum eſt, omnes Conventus Epiſcoporum fugiendos eſſe, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis ſolutionem malorum, quam incrementum: Nam cupiditates contentionum, & gloria (ſed ne putes me odioſum iſta ſcribentem) vincunt rationem.* That is to ſay; "I think this, if I ſhould write truly, That all General "Councils be to be eſchewed, for I never ſaw that they produced any "good End or Effect, nor that any Proviſion or Remedy, but rather "increaſe of Miſchiefs proceeded of them. For the deſire of maintenance of Mens Opinions, and ambition of Glory (but reckon not that "I write this of Malice) hath always in them overcomed Reaſon. Wherefore we think that Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially and above all things, ought and muſt, with all their Wills, Power, and Diligence, foreſee and provide; *Ne Sanctiſſima hac in parte majorum Inſtituta, ad improbiſſimos ambitionis aut malitiæ effectus explendos, diverſiſſimo ſuo fine & ſceleratiſſimo pervertantur: Neve ad alium prætextum poſſint valere, & longe diverſum effectum orbi producere quam Sanctiſſima rei facies præ ſe ferat.* That is to ſay, "Leſt the moſt noble wholſome Inſtitutions of our Elders in this behalf, be perverted to a moſt contrary and moſt wicked "End and Effect; that is to ſay, to fulfil and ſatisfy the wicked affections of Mens Ambition and Malice; or, leſt they might prevail for any "other colour, or bring forth any other Effect, than their moſt vertuous "and laudable Countenance doth outwardly to the World ſhew or pretend. And firſt of all, we think they ought principally to conſider who hath the Authority to call together a General Council. Secondly, Whether the Cauſes alledged, be ſo weighty and ſo urgent, that neceſſarily they require a General Council, nor can otherwiſe be remedied. Thirdly, Who ought to be Judges in the General Council. Fourthly, What order of proceeding is to be obſerved in the ſame; and how the Opinions or Judgments of the Fathers are to be conſulted or asked. Fifthly, What Doctrines are to be allowed or defended, with divers other things which in General Councils ought of reaſon and equity to be obſerved. And as unto the firſt Point, We think that neither the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor any one Prince, of what Eſtate, Degree, or Preheminence ſoever he be, may, by his own Authority, call, indict, or ſummon any General Council, without the expreſs conſent, aſſent, and agreement of the reſidue of Chriſtian Princes, and eſpecially ſuch as have

have within their own Realms and Seigniories, *Imperium merum*, that is to ſay, of ſuch as have the whole, intire, and ſupream Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without knowledging or recognizing of any other ſupream Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think, by many and ſundry, as well Examples as great Reaſons and Authority. The which, foraſmuch as it ſhould be over long and tedious to expreſs here particularly, we have thought good to omit the ſame for this preſent. And in witneſs that this is our plain and determinate Sentence, Opinion and Judgment, touching the Premiſſes, we the Prelats and Clergy under-written, being congregate together in the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, and repreſenting the whole Clergy of the ſame, have to theſe Preſents ſubſcribed our Names the *20th* of *July*, in the Year of our Lord 1556. 28 *Hen.* 8.

Signed by

Thomas Cromwel, Thomas Cantuarienſis, Johannes London, with 13 Biſhops; and of Abbots, Priors, Arch-Deacons, Deans, Proctors, Clerks, and other Miniſters 49.

There were then but 17 Biſhops in the Province of Canterbury, *and* Rocheſter *being vacant, of the other 16, 14 did ſign this.*

VI. Inſtructions for the King's Commiſſioners, for a new Survey; and an Inventory to be made of all the Demeſnes, Lands, Goods, and Chattels appertaining to any Houſe of Religion of Monks, Canons, and Nuns within their Commiſſion, according to the Articles hereafter following. The number of which Houſes in every County limited in their Commiſſion, being annexed to the ſaid Commiſſion. An Original.

Henry R.

FIrſt; After the Diviſion made, one Auditor, one particular Receiver, one Clerk of the Regiſter of the laſt Viſitation, with three other diſcreet Perſons to be named by the King, in every County where any ſuch Houſes be; after their repair to ſuch Houſe, ſhall declare to the Governour, the Religious Perſons of the ſame, the Statute of Diſſolution, the Commiſſion, and the Cauſe and Purpoſe of their repair for that time. Ex MSS. *Nob.* D.G. *Pierpoint.*

Item; That after the Declaration made, the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall ſwear the Governours of the Houſes, or ſuch other the Officers of the ſame Houſe, or other, as ye ſhall think can beſt declare the ſtate and plight of the ſame, to make Declaration and Anſwer to the Articles there under-written.

Item; Of what Order, Rule, or Religion, the ſame Houſe is, and whether it be a Cell or not: and if it be a Cell, then the Commiſſioners to deliver to the Governour of the Houſe a Privy Seal; and alſo to injoin him, in the King's Name, under a great pain, to appear without delay before the Chancellor of the Augmentations of the Revenues of the

the King's Crown and the Council; and in the mean time not to meddle with the ſame Cell, till the King's Pleaſure be further known.

Item; What number of Perſons of Religion be in the ſame, and the converſation of their Lives; and how many of them be Prieſts, and how many of them will go to other Houſes of that Religion; or how many will take Capacities; and how many Servants or Hinds the ſame Houſe keepeth commonly, and what other Perſons have their living in the ſame Houſe.

Item; To ſurvey the quantity or value of the Lead and Bells of the ſame Houſe, as near as they can; with the ruin, decay, ſtate and plight of the ſame.

Item; Incontinently to call for the Covent-Seal, with all Writings and Charters, Evidences and Muniments concerning any of the Poſſeſſions to be delivered to them, and put the ſame in ſure keeping; and to take a juſt Inventory betwixt them and the Governour, or other Head-Officer, by Indenture, of the Ornaments, Plate, Jewels, Chattels, ready-Mony, Stuff of Houſhold, Coin, as well ſigned as not ſigned; Stock and Store in the Farmer's hands, and the value thereof, as near as they can, which were appertaining to the ſame Houſes the firſt day of *March* laſt paſt; and what Debts the Houſe doth owe, and to what Perſon; and what Debts be owing to them, and by whom.

Item; After, to cauſe the Covent, or Common-Seal, the Plate, Jewels, and ready Mony, to be put in ſafe keeping, and the reſidue of the Particulars ſpecified in the Inventory, to be left in the keeping of the Governor, or ſome other head Officer, without waſting or conſumption of the ſame, unleſs it be for neceſſary expence of the Houſe.

Item; That they command the Governour, or other Receiver of the ſame Houſe, to receive no Rents of their Farms, until they know further of the King's Pleaſure, except ſuch Rents as muſt needs be had for their neceſſary Food or Suſtenance, or for paiment of their Servants Wages.

Item; To ſurvey diſcreetly the Demeſnes of the ſame Houſe; that is to ſay, ſuch as have not been commonly uſed to be letten out, and to certify the clear yearly value thereof.

Item; To examine the true yearly value of all the Farms of the ſame Houſe, deducting thereof Rents reſerved, Pentions and Portions paid out of the ſame, Synodals, and Proxies; Bailiffs, Receivers, Stewards, and Auditors Fees, and the Names of them to whom they be paid and due, and to none other.

Item; What Leaſes hath been made to any Farmer, of the Farms pertaining to the ſame Houſe; and what Rent they reſerved, and to whom, and for how many Years; and a Copy of the Indenture if they can get it, or elſe the Counter-pane.

Item; To ſearch and enquire what Woods, Parks, Forreſts, Commons, or other Profit, belonging to any of the Poſſeſſions of the ſame Houſes, the Number of the Acres, the Age and Value, as near as they can.

Item; What Grants, Bargains, Sales, Gifts, Alienations, Leaſes of any Lands, Tenements, Woods, or Offices, hath been made by any the ſaid Governors, of any of the ſaid Houſes, within one Year next before the

the 4th day of *February* last past, and of what things, or to what value, and to whom, and for what estate.

Item; If there be any House of the Religion aforesaid omitted and not certified in the *Exchequer*, then the said Commissioners to survey the same, and to make Certificate accordingly.

Item; That they straitly command every Governour of every such House limited in their Commission, to sow and till their Grounds as they have done before, till the King's Pleasure be further known.

Item; If there be any House given by the King to any Person, in any of the said several Limits of the said Commission, the Names whereof shall be declared to the said Commissioners, Then the said Commissioners shall immediately take the Covent from the Governour, and take an Inventory indented of the Lead, Bells, Debts, Goods, Chattels, Plate, Jewels, Ornaments, Stock and Store, to the King's use; and to make sale of the Goods, Chattels, and other Implements, Plate and Jewels only excepted.

Item; The said Commissioners in every such House, to send such of the Religious Persons that will remain in the same Religion, to some other great House of that Religion, by their discretion, with a Letter to a Governour for the Receipt of them; and the Residue of them that will go to the World, to send them to my Lord of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Chancellor for their Capacities, with the Letter of the same Commissioners.

Item; The said Commissioners to give the said Persons that will have Capacities, some reasonable Rewards, according to the distance of the place, by their discretions to be appointed.

Item; The said Commissioners to command the Governour to resort to the Chancellor of the Augmentation for his yearly Stipend and Pension.

Item; If there be any House dissolved or given up to the King by their Deed, then the Commissioners shall order themselves in every point and purpose, as the Houses given by the King to any other Person, in form aforesaid.

Item; Every of the said Commissioners having in charge to survey more than one Shire within the Limits of their Commission, immediately after they have perused one Shire, parcel of their Charge, in form aforesaid, shall send to the Chancellour of the Court for the Augmentation of the Revenues of the King's Crown, a brief Certificate of all these Comperts, according to the Instructions aforesaid, what they have done in the premisses; and in every County so surveyed, then to proceed further to another County; and so as they pass the said Counties to make the like Certificate, and so forth, till their Limits be surveyed, and there to remain till they know further of the King's pleasure.

Item; If the said Commissioners have but one County in charge, then to certify the said Chancellor in form aforesaid, and there to remain till they know further of the King's Pleasure.

VII. *In-*

VII. *Injunctions given by the Authority of the King's Highneſs to the Clergy of this Realm.*

Regiſter, *Craum*, fol. 47.

IN the Name of God. Amen. In the Year of our Lord God, One thouſand five hundred thirty ſix, and of the moſt noble Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England* and *France* the 28th Year, and the day of I *Thomas Cromwel* Knight, Lord *Cromwel*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal of our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, and Vicegerent unto the ſame, for and concerning all his Juriſdictions Eccleſiaſtical within the Realm, viſiting by the King's Highneſs's Supream Authority Eccleſiaſtical, the People and Clergy of this Deanery of by my truſty Commiſſary lawfully deputed and conſtitute for this part, have, to the glory of Almighty God, to the King's Highneſs's honour, the Publick-weal of this his Realm, and encreaſe of Vertue in the ſame, appointed and aſſigned theſe Injunctions enſuing to be kept and obſerved, of the Dean, Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and Stipendaries reſiant, or having cure of Souls, or any other Spiritual Adminiſtrations within this Deanery, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

The firſt is; That the Dean, Parſons, Vicars, and other, having cure of Soul any-where within this Deanery, ſhall faithfully keep and obſerve, and as far as in them may lie, ſhall cauſe to be obſerved and kept of other, all and ſingular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made for the aboliſhing and extirpation of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s pretenſed and uſurped Power and Juriſdiction within this Realm. And for the eſtabliſhment and confirmation of the King's Authority and Juriſdiction of the ſame, as of the Supream Head of the Church of *England*; and ſhall, to the uttermoſt of their Wit, Knowledg, and Learning, purely, ſincerely, and without any colour or diſſimulation, declare, manifeſt, and open, for the ſpace of one quarter of a year next enſuing, once every *Sunday*, and after that at the leaſt-wiſe twice every quarter, in their Sermons and other Collations, that the Biſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Power and Juriſdiction, having no eſtabliſhment nor ground by the Law of God, was of moſt juſt cauſes taken away and aboliſhed; and therefore they owe unto him no manner of Obedience or Subjection; and that the King's Power is within his Dominion the higheſt Power and Potentate, under God, to whom all Men within the ſame Dominions, by God's Commandment, owe moſt Loyalty and Obedience, afore and above all other Powers and Potentates in Earth.

Item; Whereas certain Articles were lately deviſed and put forth by the King's Highneſs's Authority, and condeſcended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation, whereof part are neceſſary to be holden and believed for our Salvation, and the other part do concern and teach certain laudable Ceremonies, Rites, and Uſages of the Church, meet and convenient to be kept and uſed for decent and politick order in the ſame; the ſaid Dean, Parſons, Vicars, and other Curats, ſhall ſo open and declare in their ſaid Sermons, and other Collations,

Collations the ſaid Articles unto them that be under their Cure, that they may plainly know and diſcern which of them be neceſſary to be believed and obſerved for their Salvation, and which be not neceſſary, but only do concern the decent and politick order of the ſaid Church: according to ſuch Commandment and Admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore, by Authority of the King's Highneſs in that behalf.

Moreover, that they ſhall declare unto all ſuch as be under their Cure, the Articles likewiſe deviſed, put forth, and authorized of late, for and concerning the abrogation of certain ſuperfluous Holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the ſame Articles: and perſwade their Pariſhioners to keep and obſerve the ſame inviolable, as things honeſtly provided, decreed, and eſtabliſhed, by common conſent, and publick Authority, for the Weal, Commodity, and Profit of all this Realm.

Beſides this, to the intent that all Superſtition and Hypocriſie, crept into divers Mens hearts, may vaniſh away, they ſhall not ſet forth or extol any Images, Reliques, or Miracles, for any ſuperſtition or lucre; nor allure the People by any inticements to the pilgrimages of any Saint, otherwiſe than is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the Authority of the King's Majeſty, and condeſcended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation; as though it were proper or peculiar to that Saint to give this Commodity, or that: ſeeing all Goodneſs, health, and Grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very Author of the ſame, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given: But they ſhall exhort, as well their Pariſhioners as other Pilgrims, that they do rather apply themſelves to the keeping of God's Commandments, and fulfilling of his Works of Charity: perſwading them that they ſhall pleaſe God more by the true exerciſing of the bodily Labour, Travail, or Occupation, and providing for their Families, than if they went about to the ſaid Pilgrimages; and that it ſhall profit more their Souls health, if they do beſtow that on the Poor and Needy, which they would have beſtowed upon the ſaid Images or Reliques.

Alſo in the ſame their Sermons, and other Collations, the Parſons, Vicars, and other Curates, aforeſaid, ſhall diligently admoniſh the Fathers and Mothers, Maſters and Governours of Youth, being within their Cure, to teach, or cauſe to be taught, their Children and Servants, even from their Infancy, their *Pater Noſter*, the Articles of our Faith, and the ten Commandments, in their Mother Tongue: And the ſame ſo taught, ſhall cauſe the ſaid Youth oft to repeat and underſtand. And to the intent that this may be the more eaſily done, the ſaid Curates ſhall, in their Sermons, deliberately and plainly recite of the ſaid *Pater Noſter*, the Articles of our Faith, and the ten Commandments, one Clauſe or Article one day, and another another day, till thoſe be taught and learnt by little; and ſhall deliver the ſame in writing, or ſhow where printed Books containing the ſame be to be ſold, to them that can read or will deſire the ſame. And thereto that the ſaid Fathers and Mothers,

Maſters and Governours, do beſtow their Children and Servants, even from their Childhood, either to Learning, or ſome other honeſt Exerciſe, Occupation, or Husbandry: exhorting, counſelling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their ſaid Sermons and Collations, as otherwiſe, perſwading the ſaid Fathers, Mothers, Maſters, and other Governours, being under their Cure and Charge, diligently to provide and foreſee that the ſaid Youth be in no manner-wiſe kept or brought up in idleneſs, leſt at any time afterwards they be driven, for lack of ſome Myſtery or Occupation to live by, to fall to begging, ſtealing, or ſome other unthriftineſs; foraſmuch as we may daily ſee, through ſloth and idleneſs, divers valiant Men fall, ſome to begging, and ſome to theft and Murder; which after brought to calamity and miſery, impute a great part thereof to their Friends and Governours, which ſuffered them to be brought up ſo idlely in their Youth; where if they had been well educated and brought up in ſome good Literature, Occupation, or Myſtery, they ſhould, being Rulers of their own Family, have profited, as well themſelves as divers other Perſons, to the great commodity and ornament of the Common-weal.

Alſo, that the ſaid Parſons, Vicars, and other Curates, ſhall diligently provide that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently miniſtred in their Pariſhes; and if at any time it hapned them, either in any of the Caſes expreſſed in the Statutes of this Realm, or of ſpecial licence given by the King's Majeſty to be abſent from their Benefices, they ſhall leave their Cure, not to a rude and unlearned Perſon, but to an honeſt, well learned, and expert Curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their Cure wholſom Doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; and always let them ſee, that neither they, nor their Vicars, do ſeek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the Souls that they have under their Cure, or the Glory of God.

Alſo, the ſaid Dean, Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and other Prieſts, ſhall in no wiſe, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cauſe, than for their honeſt neceſſity, haunt or reſort to any Taverns or Ale houſes; And after their Dinner and Supper, they ſhall not give themſelves to Drinking or Riot, ſpending their time idlely, by Day or by Night, at Tables or Cards-playing, or any other unlawful Game; but at ſuch times as they ſhall have ſuch leiſure, they ſhall read or hear ſomewhat of Holy Scripture, or ſhall occupy themſelves with ſome other honeſt Exerciſe; and that they alway do thoſe things which appertain to good congruence and honeſty, with profit of the Common-weal, having always in mind, That they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and ſhould be examples to all other to live well and chriſtianly.

Furthermore; Becauſe the Goods of the Church are called the Goods of the Poor, and at theſe days nothing is leſs ſeen than the Poor to be ſuſtained with the ſame; all Parſons, Vicars, Penſionaries, Prebendaries, and other Beneficed Men within the Deanery, not being reſident upon their Benefices, which may diſpend yearly 20 *l.* or above within this Deanry or elſe where, ſhall diſtribute hereafter yearly amongſt their

their poor Parishioners, or other Inhabitants there, in the presence of the Church-Wardens, or some other honest Men of the Parish; the fortieth part of the Fruits and Revenues of the said Benefices: lest they be worthily noted of Ingratitude: which reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongst the poor People of that Parish, that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

And to the intent that Learned Men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the Premisses; Every Parson, Vicar, Clerk, or beneficed Man within this Deanery, having yearly to dispend in Benefices, and other promotions of the Church, an 100 *l.* shall give competent exhibition to one Scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many Scholars more shall give like exhibition in the University of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, or some Grammer-School; which after they have profited in good Learning, may be Partners of their Patrons Cure and Charge, as well in preaching as otherwise, in the execution of their Offices; or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the Common-wealth with their Counsel and Wisdom.

Also, that all persons, Vicars, and Clerks, having Churches, Chappels, or Mansion within this Deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same Mansions, or Chancels of their Churches being in decay, the fifth part of their Benefices till they be fully repaired: and the same so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good state.

All which and singular Injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said Dean, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, Stipendaries, and other Clerks and beneficed Men, under the pain of suspension and sepuestration of the Fruits of their Benefices, until they have done their duty according to these Injunctions.

VIII. Cromwel's *Letter to* Shaxton, *Bishop of* Sarum, *taken from a Copy writ by his Secretary.*

MY Lord, after hearty Commendations, I cannot but both much marvel that you whom I have taken as mine trusty Friend, should judge me, as I perceive by your Letters you do, and also be glad that ye so frankly utter your Stomach to me. I would thank you for your plain writing and free monitions; saving that you seem fuller of suspicion than it becometh a Prelate of your sort to be: and (to say that maketh me more sorry) much worse perswaded of me than I thought any of your Learning and Judgement could have been. I took a Matter out of your hands to mine, if upon Considerations mine Office bind me to do so, what cause have ye to complain? if I had done this, either upon affection, or intending prejudice to your estimation, you might have expostulated with me; and yet if ye then had done it after a gentler sort, I should both sooner have amended that I did amiss, *Cott.* Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4.

and alſo have had better cauſe to judge your writing to me, to be of a friendly heart towards me. If ye be offended with my ſharp Letters, how can your teſty words (I had almoſt given them another Name) delight me? I required you to uſe no extremity in your office, *durus eſt hic ſermo*, ye call it; and when ye have done, ye begin again, even as though all being ſaid, all were ſtill behind. If ye have uſed none extremity, I am I enſure you as glad of it as I ought to be: And though ye do not, yet upon a complaint my Office bindeth me to ſuccour him that ſaith he is over-matched, and is compelled to ſuſtain wrong. I was thus informed, and by Perſons to whom I gave more credit than I intend to do hereafter, if they have abuſed me, as ye would make me believe they have. They thus complaining, could I do leſs than grant unto them ſuch Remedies as the King's Highneſs and his Laws give indifferently to all his Subjects? Might I not alſo ſomewhat gather, that ye proceeded the ſorer againſt the Reader, *Roger London*, when I had ſeen how much you deſired the preferment of your Servant to that Revenue? My Lord, you had ſhewed your ſelf of much more patience, I will not ſay of much more prudence, if you had contented your ſelf with their lawful Appeal, and my lawful Injunctions; and rather have written ſomewhat fully to inſtruct us in this Matter, than thus to deſire to conquer me by ſhrewd words, to vanquiſh me by ſharp threp of Scripture, which as I know to uſe travel, ſo I truſt to God as great a Clerk as ye be, is done already. Thus out of their place, it becometh me not, neither yet I am wont to vaunt my ſelf of well-doing, I know who worketh all that is well wrought by me; and whereas he is the whole Doer, I intend not to offer him this wrong, to labour, and I to take the thanks; yet as I do not ceaſe to give thanks, that it hath pleaſed his Goodneſs to uſe me as an Inſtrument, and to work ſomewhat by me, ſo I truſt I am as ready to ſerve him in my Calling, to my little power, as ye are preſt to write worſe of me than ye ought to think. My Prayer is, That God give me no longer life, than I ſhall be glad to uſe mine Office *in ædificationem*, and not *in deſtructionem*, as ye bear me in hand I do. God, ye ſay, will judge ſuch uſing of Authority, meaning flatly, that I do abuſe ſuch Power as hath pleaſed God and the King's Highneſs to ſet me in; God, I ſay, will judge ſuch Judges as ye are, and charge alſo ſuch thoughts as ye miſuſe: ye do not ſo well as I would ye ſhould do, if ye ſo think of me as your Letters make me think ye do. The Crime that ye charge me withal, is greater than I may or ought to bear, untruer, I truſt, than they that would faineſt ſhall be able to prove. It is a ſtrange thing, you ſay, that I neither would write, nor ſend you word by mouth, what ye ſhould do with the Popiſh Monks of *Abington*; and that the Abbot of *Redding* could get ſtraight-way my Letters to inhibit your juſt doings; That was not my mind which I wrot, I did not intend to lett your juſt doings, but rather to require you to do juſtly; neither was I ſwift in granting my Letters to him, albeit I am much readier to help him that complains of wrong, than preſt to further on him that deſireth puniſhment of a Perſon whom I am not ſure hath offened. I made you no anſwer, a ſtrange thing! my Lord, I thought ye had better known my Buſineſs, than for ſuch a Matter to eſteem me not your Friend; you might have better judged that I was too much cumbred with other Affiairs, that thoſe which

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ſued for the Abbot, could better eſpy their time than you could. Some Man will think it rather utter diſpleaſure conceived before, than that ye have any urgent occaſion here to misjudge my mind towards you. As concerning your Manor, you muſt uſe your Priviledges as things lent unto you, ſo long as ye ſhall occupy them well, that is, according to the mind and pleaſure of them that gave you them. I took neither the Monk's Cauſe, nor any other, into my hands, to be a bearer of any ſuch whom their upright dealings is not able to bear. No, you know I think, that I love ſuch readers of Scripture as little as ye do: would God Men of your ſort were as diligent to ſee that in all their Dioceſes good were made, as I am glad to remove things when I know them; if ye had taken even then but half the pains to ſend up ſuch things againſt him as ye now ſend, neither you ſhould have had cauſe, no nor occaſion thus eaſily to divine of my good or evil-will towards you, nor I have been cumbred with this anſwer. My Lord, I pray you, while I am your Friend, take me to be ſo, for if I were not, or if I knew any cauſe why I ought not, I would not be afraid to ſhew you what had alienated my mind from you; ſo you ſhould well perceive that my diſpleaſure ſhould laſt no longer than there were cauſe. I paſs over your *Nemo læditur niſi à ſeipſo*, I pray with you this firſt part, *Our Lord have pity upon me*; the other part is not in my Prayers, *That God ſhould turn my heart*, for he is my Judge, I may err in my doings for want of knowledge, but I willingly bear no miſdoers, I willingly hurt none whom honeſty and the King's Laws do not refuſe. Undo not you your ſelf, I intend nothing leſs than to work you any diſpleaſure. If hitherto I have ſhewed you any pleaſure, I am glad of it: I ſhowed it to your Qualities and not to you; if they tarry with you, my good-will cannot depart from you, except your Prayer be heard, that is, *My heart be turned*. I aſſure you I am right glad ye are in the place ye are in, and will do what ſhall lie in me to aid you in your Office, to maintain your Reputation, to give you credit among your Flock, and elſe where; as long as I ſhall ſee you faithful to your Duty, according to your Calling. I will not become your good Lord, as your deſire is, I am and have been your Friend, and take you to be mine; caſt out vain ſuſpicion; let raſh Judgement rule Men of leſs wit and diſcretion; wilfulneſs becometh all Men better than a Biſhop, which ſhould always teach us to lack gladly our own Will, becauſe you may not have your own Will. Here is *Chriſtus paup. facit & ditat, cum Dominus dedit & Dominus abſtulit*, to what porpoſe? *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*, can never lack his place, it becometh always in ſeaſon; or elſe as great a Divine as ye are, I would ſay, it were not the beſt placed here, except you wiſt better, you had rather loſe all than any part of your will. I pray you teach Patience better in your Deeds, or elſe ſpeak as little of it as ye can. My Lord, you might have provoked another in my place, that would have uſed leſs patience with you, finding ſo little in you; but I can take your Writings, and this Heat of your Stomach, even as well as I can, I truſt, beware of Flatterers. As for the Abbot of *Redding*, and his Monk, if I find them as ye ſay they are, I will order them as I ſhall think good. Ye ſhall do well to do your Duty; if you ſo do, ye have no cauſe to miſtruſt my Friendſhip; if ye do not, I muſt tell it you, and that ſomewhat after the plaineſt ſort, To take a Cauſe out of your hands into mine

mine, I do but mine Office, you meddle further than your Office will bear you, thus roughly to handle me for using of mine. If ye do so no more, I let pass all that is past, and offer you such kindness as ye shall lawfully desire at my hands. Thus fare you well

IX. The Sentence given out by Pope *Paul* the third, against King *Henry*.

Damnatio & Excommunicatio Henrici 8 *Regis* Angliæ, *ejusque Fautorum & Complicum, cum aliarum pœnarum adjectione.*

Paulus *Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

Cherubini Bullarium Tom. 2. pag. 704.

EJus qui immobilis permanens sua providentia ordine mirabili dat cuncta moveri, disponente clementia, vices, licet immeriti gerentes in terris, & in sede justitiæ constituti, juxta prophetæ quoque Hieremiæ vaticinium dicentis: Ecce te constitui super gentes & Regna, ut evellas & destruas ædifices, plantes, præcipuum super omnes Reges Universæ Terræ cunctosq; populos obtinentes principatum: ac illum qui pius & misericors est, & vindictam ei qui illam prævenit paratam temperat, nec quos impœnitentes videt severa ultione castigat, quin prius comminetur, in assidue autem peccantes & in peccatis perseverantes, cum excessus misericordiæ fines prætereunt, ut saltem metu pœnæ ad cor reverti cogantur, justitiæ vires exercet, imitantes; ex incumbenti nobis Apostolicæ sollicitudinis studio per-urgemur, ut cunctarum personarum nostræ curæ cœlitus commissarum salubri statui solertius intendamus, ac erroribus & scandalis, quæ Hostis antiqui versutia imminere conspicimus, propensius obviemus, excessusq; & enormia ac scandalosa crimina congrua severitate coerceamus, & juxta Apostolum inobedientiam ovium promptius ulciscendo, illorum perpetratores debita correctione fic compescamus, quod eos Dei iram provocasse pœniteat, & ex hoc aliis exemplum cautelæ salutaris accedat.

Sane cum superioribus diebus nobis relatum fuisset, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, licet tempore Pontificatus fœl. record. Leonis Papæ X. Prædecessoris nostri diversorum hæreticorum Errores, sæpe ab Apostolica Sede & Sacris Conciliis præteritis temporibus damnatos, & novissime nostra ætate per perditionis alumnum Martinum Lutherum suscitatos & innovatos, zelo Catholicæ Fidei, & erga dictam Sedem devotionis fervore inductus, non minus docte quam pie, per quendam librum per eum desuper compositum, & eidem Leoni Prædecessori ut eum examinaret & approbaret oblatum, confutasset, ob quod ab eodem Leone Prædecessore ultra dicti libri, cum magna ipsius Henrici Regis laude & commendatione, approbationem, titulum Defensoris Fidei reportaverit, à recta Fide & Apostolico tramite devians, ac propriæ salutis, famæ, & honoris

honoris immemor, poſtquam Chariſſima in Chriſto Filia noſtra Catharina Angliæ Regina illuſtri ſua progenie conjuge, cum qua publice in facie Eccleſiæ Matrimonium contraxerat, & per plures annos continuaverat, ac ex qua, dicto conſtante Matrimonio, prolem pluries ſuſceperat; nulla legitima ſubſiſtente cauſa, & contra Eccleſiæ prohibitionem dimiſſa, cum quadam Anna Bolena, Muliere Anglica, dicta Catharina adhuc vivente, de facto Matrimonium contraxerat, ad deteriora proſiliens, quaſdam leges ceu generales Conſtitutiones edere non erubuit, per quas ſubditos ſuos ad quoſdam hæreticos & ſchiſmaticos Articulos tenendos, inter quos & hoc erat quod Romanus Pontifex Caput Eccleſiæ, & Chriſti Vicarius non erat, & quod ipſe in Anglica Eccleſia ſupremum Caput exiſtebat, ſub gravibus etiam mortis pœnis cogebat. Et his non contentus, Diabolo ſacrilegii crimen ſuadente, quamplures Prælatos, etiam Epiſcopos, aliaſq; perſonas Eccleſiaſticas, etiam Regulares, necnon Sæculares, ſibi ut hæretico & ſchiſmatico adhærere, ac Articulos prædictos Sanctorum Patrum decretis & Sacrorum Conciliorum Statutis, imo etiam ipſi Evangelicæ veritati contrarios, tanquam tales alios damnatos approbare, & ſequi nolentes, & intrepide recuſantes, capi & carceribus mancipari. Hiſq; ſimiliter non contentus, mala malis accumulando, bonæ memoriæ Jo. H. S. Vitalis Presbyt. Cardinal. Roſſen. quem ob fidei conſtantiam & vitæ Sanctimoniam ad Cardinalatus dignitatem promoveramus, cum dictis hæreſibus & erroribus conſentire nollet, horrenda immanitate & deteſtanda ſævitia, publice miſerabili ſupplicio tradi & decollari mandaverat, & fecerat, Excommunicationis, & Anathematis, aliaſq; gravitſimas ſententias, cenſuras, & pœnas in literis & conſtitutionibus recolendæ mem. Bonifacii VIII. Honorii III. Roman. Pontificum Prædeceſſorum noſtrorum deſuper editis contentas, & alias in tales à jure latas damnabiliter incurrendo, ac Regno Angliæ, & dominiis quæ tenebat, necnon regalis faſtigii celſitudine ac præfati tituli prærogativa, & honore ſe indignum reddendo.

2. Nos licet ex eo, quod prout non ignorabamus, idem Henricus Rex certis cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis, quibus à piæ memoriæ Clemente Papa VII. etiam prædeceſſore noſtro, poſtquam humaniſſimis literis & paternis exhortationibus, multiſq; nunciis & mediis, primo & poſtremo etiam judicialiter, ut præfatam Annam à ſe dimitteret, & ad prædictæ Catharinæ ſuæ veræ Conjugis conſortium rediret, fruſtra monitus fuerat, innodatus extiterat, Pharaonis duritiam imitando, per longum tempus in clavium contemptum inſorduerat, & in[illegible]cebat, quod ad cor rediret, vix ſperar[illegible] poſſe videremus, ob pate[illegible] tamen Charitatem qua in minoribu[illegible]onſtituti donec in obedientia, & reverentia Sedis prædictæ permanſi[illegible] proſecuti fueramus, utq; clarius videre poſſemus, an clamor q[illegible] delatus fuerat, (quem certe etiam ipſius Henrici Regis reſpec[illegible]eſſe deſideramus) verus eſſet, ſtatuimus ab ulteriori contra ipſ[illegible]ricum Regem proceſſu ad tempus abſtinendo, hujus rei veritatem diligentius indagare.

3. Cum autem debitis diligentiis deſuper factis clamorem ad nos, ut præfertur, delatum, verum eſſe, ſimulque, quod dolenter referimus, dictum Henricum Regem ita in profundum malorum deſcendiſſe, ut de ejus reſipiſcentia nulla penitus videatur ſpes haberi poſſe, reperimus: Nos attendentes vetere lege, crimen adulterii notatum lapidari mandatum, ac auctores Schiſmatis halitu terræ abſorptos, eorumq; ſequaces cœleſti igne

igne conſumptos, Elymamque Magum viis Domini reſiſtentem per Apoſtolum æterna ſeveritate damnatum fuiſſe, volenteſq; ne in diſtricto examine ipſius Henrici Regis & ſubditorum ſuorum, quos ſecum in perditionem trahere videmus, animarum ratio à nobis expoſcatur, quantum nobis ex alto conceditur, providere contra Henricum Regem, ejuſque complices, fautores, adhærentes, & ſequaces, & in præmiſſis quomodolibet culpabiles, contra quod ex eo quod exceſſus, & delicta prædicta adeo manifeſta ſunt & notoria, ut nulla poſſint tergiverſatione celari, abſque ulteriori mora ad executionem procedere poſſemus, benignius agendo, decrevimus infraſcripto modo procedere.

4. Habita itaque ſuper his cum venerabilibus fratribus noſtris S. R. E. Cardinalibus deliberatione matura, & de illorum conſilio & aſſenſu, præfatum Henricum Regem, ejuſque complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores & ſequaces, ac quoſcunque alios in præmiſſis, ceu eorum aliquo quoquo modo culpabiles, tam Laicos quam Clericos, etiam regulares cujuſcunque dignitatis, ſtatus, gradus, ordinis, conditionis, præeminentiæ, & excellentiæ exiſtant, (quorum nomina & cognomina, perinde ac ſi præſentibus inſererentur, pro ſufficienter expreſſis haberi volumus) per viſcera miſericordiæ Dei noſtri hortamur, & requirimus in Domino, quatenus Henricus Rex à prædictis erroribus prorſus abſtineat, & conſtitutiones, ſeu leges prædictas, ſicut de facto eas fecit, revocet, caſſet, & annullet, & coactione ſubditorum ſuorum ad eas ſervandas, necnon carceratione, captura, & punitione illorum, qui ipſis conſtitutionibus ſeu legibus adhærere, aut eas ſervare noluerint, & ab aliis erroribus prædictis penitus, & omnino abſtineat, & ſi quos præmiſſorum occaſione captivos habeat, relaxet.

5. Complices vero, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces dicti Henrici Regis in præmiſſis, & circa ea ipſi Henrico Regi ſuper his de cætero non adſiſtant, nec adhæreant, vel faveant, nec ei conſilium, auxilium, vel favorem, deſuper præſtent.

6. Aliàs ſi Henricus Rex, ac fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, hortationibus & requiſitionibus hujuſmodi non annuerint cum effectu, Henricum Regem, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores & ſequaces, ac alios culpabiles prædictos, auctoritate Apoſtolica, ac ex certa noſtra ſcientia, & de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, tenore præſentium, in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ, ac ſub majoris Excommunicationis lata ſententia, à qua etiam prætextu cujuſcunque privilegii, vel facultatis, etiam in forma confeſſionalis, cum quibuſcunque efficaciſſimis clauſulis nobis & Sedè prædicta quomodolibet conceſſis, & etiam iteratis vicibus innovatis, ab alio quam à Romano Pontifice, præterquam in mortis Articulo conſtituti, ita tamen, quod ſi aliquem abſolvi contingat, qui poſtmodum convaluerit, niſi poſt convaleſcentiam, monitioni & mandatis noſtris hujuſmodi paruerit cum effectu, in eandem Excommunicationis ſententiam reincidant, abſolvi non poſſint.

7. Necnon rebellionis, & quoad Henricum Regem, etiam perditionis Regni, & Dominiorum prædictorum, & tam quoad eum, quam quoad alios monitos ſupradictos ſupra & infraſcriptis pœnis, quas ſi dictis monitioni & mandatis, ut præfertur, non paruerint, eos & eorum ſingulos, ipſo facto reſpective incurrere volumus, per præſentes monemus; eiſque & eorum cuilibet diſtricte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus Henricus Rex per ſe, vel procuratorem legitimum & ſufficienti mandato ſuffultum,

ſultum, infra nonaginta, complices vero, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, ac alii in præmiſſis quomodolibet culpabiles ſupradicti, Seculares & Eccleſiaſtici etiam regulares, perſonaliter infra ſexaginta dies compareant coram nobis, ad ſe ſuper præmiſſis legitime excuſandum & defendendum; alias videndum & audiendum contra eos & eorum ſingulos, etiam nominatim, quos ſic monemus, quatenus expediat, ad omnes & ſingulos, actus, etiam ſententiam definitivam, declaratoriam, condemnatoriam, & privatoriam, ac mandatum executivum procedi. Quod ſi Henricus Rex, & alii moniti prædicti intra dictos terminos eis ut præfertur, reſpective præfixos non comparuerint, & prædictam Excommunicationis ſententiam per tres dies, poſt lapſum dictorum terminorum animo, quod abſit, ſuſtinuerint indurato, cenſuras ipſas aggravamus, & ſucceſſive reaggravamus, Henricumq; ipſum, privationis Regni & Dominiorum prædictorum, & tam eum quam alios monitos prædictos, & eorum ſingulos, omnes & ſingulas alias pœnas prædictas incurriſſe, ab omnibuſq; Chriſti fidelibus, cum eorum bonis perpetuo diffidatos eſſe. Et ſi interim ab humanis decedat, Eccleſiaſtica debere carere ſepultura, auctoritate & poteſtatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, & declaramus, eoſque anathematis, maledictionis, & damnationis æternæ mucrone percutimus.

8. Necnon quæ præfatus Henricus Rex quomodolibet, & ex quavis cauſa tenet, habet, aut poſſidet, Quamdiu Henricus Rex, & alii moniti prædicti, & eorum ſinguli in aliis per dictum Henricum Regem non tentis, habitis, aut poſſeſſis permanſerint, & triduo poſt eorum inde receſſum, & alia quæcunq; ad quæ Henricum Regem, & alios monitos prædictos, poſt lapſum dictorum terminorum declinare contigerit, Dominia, civitates, terras, caſtra, villas, oppida, Metropolitanaſque, & alias Cathedrales, cæteraſq; inferiores Eccleſias, necnon Monaſteria, Prioratus, Domos, Conventus, & loca religioſa, vel pia cujuſcunque, etiam S. Benedict. Cluniacen. Ciſtercien. Præmonſtraten. ac Prædicatorum, Minorum, Eremitarum, S. Auguſtini, Carmelitarum, & aliorum Ordinum, ac Congregationum, & Militiarum quarumcunque in ipſis Dominiis, Civitatibus, terris, caſtris, villis, oppidis, & locis exiſtentia, Eccleſiaſtico ſupponimus Interdicto, ita ut illo durante in iis etiam prætextu cujuſcunque Apoſtolici indulti, Eccleſiis, Monaſteriis, Prioratibus, Domibus, Conventibus, locis, ordinibus, aut perſonis, etiam quacunq; dignitate fulgentibus conceſſi, præterquam in caſibus à jure permiſſis, ac etiam in illis alias quam clauſis januis, & Excommunicatis & interdictis excluſis, nequeant Miſſæ, aut alia divina officia celebrari.

9. Et Henrici Regis, complicumque, fautorum, adhærentium, conſultorum, ſequacium, & culpabilium prædictorum filii, pœnarum, ut hic in hoc caſu par eſt, participes ſint, omnes & ſingulos ejuſdem Henrici Regis ex dicta Anna, ac ſingulorum aliorum prædictorum filios natos, & naſcituros, alioſque deſcendentes, uſque in eum gradum, ad quem jura pœnas in caſibus hujuſmodi extendunt (nemine excepto, nullaq; minoris ætatis, aut ſexus, vel ignorantiæ, vel alterius cujuſvis cauſæ habita ratione) dignitatibus, & honoribus in quibus quomodolibet conſtituti exiſtunt, ſeu quibus gaudent, utuntur, potiuntur, aut muniti ſunt, necnon privilegiis, conceſſionibus, gratiis, indulgentiis, immunitatibus, remiſſionibus, libertatibus, & indultis, ac dominiis, civitatibus, caſtris, terris, villis, oppidis, & locis, etiam Commendatis, vel in Gubernium

conceſſis, & quæ in feudum, emphyteuſim, vel alias à Romanis, vel aliis Eccleſiis, Monaſteriis, & locis Eccleſiaſticis, ac ſecularibus Principibus, Dominiis, Potentatibus, etiam Regibus & Imperatoribus, aut aliis privatis, vel publicis perſonis quomodolibet habent, tenent, aut poſſident, cæteriſq; omnibus bonis, mobilibus & immobilibus, juribus & actionibus, eis quomodolibet competentibus privatos, dictaq; bona feudalia, vel emphyteutica, & alia quæcunq; ab aliis quomodolibet obtenta, ad directos dominos, ita ut de illis libere diſponere poſſint, reſpective devoluta, & eos qui Eccleſiaſtici fuerint, etiamſi religioſi exiſtant, Eccleſiis etiam Cathedralibus, & Metropolitanis, necnon Monaſteriis & Prioratibus, præpoſituris, præpoſitatibus, dignitatibus, perſonatibus, Officiis, Canonicatibus & Præbendis, aliiſq; beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis per eos quomodolibet obtentis privatos, & ad illa ac alia in poſterum obtinenda inhabiles eſſe, ſimiliter decernimus & declaramus; eoſq; ſic reſpective privatos ad illa, & alia quæcunq; ſimilia, ac dignitates, honores, adminiſtrationes, & officia, jura, ac feuda in poſterum obtinenda, auctoritate & ſcientia, ac plenitudine ſimilibus inhabilitamus.

10. Ipſiuſq; Henrici Regis, ac Regni omniumq; aliorum dominiorum, civitatum, terrarum, caſtrorum, villarum, fortalitiorum, arcium, oppidorum, & locorum ſuorum, etiam de facto obtentorum Magiſtratus, judices, Caſtellanos, Cuſtodes & Officiales quoſcunque, necnon Communitates, Univerſitates, Collegia, Feudatarios, vaſſallos, ſubditos, cives, incolas, & habitatores etiam forenſes, dicto Regi de facto obedientes, tam ſæculares, quam ſi qui rationis alicujus temporalitatis ipſum Henricum Regem in ſuperiorem recognoſcant, etiam Eccleſiaſticos, à præfato rege, ſeu ejus complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus, & ſequacibus ſupradictis deputatis, à juramento fidelitatis, jure vaſſallitico, & omni erga Regem, & alios prædictos ſubjectione abſolvimus, ac penitus liberamus. His nihilominus ſub Excommunicationis pœna mandantes, ut ab ejuſdem Henrici Regis, ſuorumq; officialium, judicum, & magiſtratuum quorumcunq; obedientia penitus & omnino recedant, nec illos in ſuperiores recognoſcant, neque illorum mandatis optemperent.

11. Et ut alii eorum exemplo perterriti diſcant ab hujuſmodi exceſſibus abſtinere, eiſdem auctoritate, ſcientia, & plenitudine, volumus, ac decernimus, quod Henricus Rex & complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, ſequaces, & alii in præmiſſis culpabiles, poſtquam alias pœnis prædictas, ut præfertur, reſpective incurrerint, necnon præfati deſcendentes, ex tunc infames exiſtant, & ad teſtimonium non admittantur, teſtamenta, & codicillos, aut alias diſpoſitiones, etiam inter vivos concedere, & facere non poſſint, & ad alicujus ſucceſſionem ex teſtamento, vel ab inteſtato, necnon ad jurisdictionem, ſeu judicandi poteſtatem, & ad Notoriatus Officium, omneſq; actus ligitimos quoſcunq;, ita ut eorum proceſſus, ſive inſtrumenta atq; alii actus quicunque, nullius ſint roboris vel momenti, inhabiles exiſtant, & nulli ipſis, ſed ipſi aliis ſuper quocunque debito & negotio, tam civili, quam criminali, de jure reſpondere teneantur.

12. Et nihilominus omnes, & ſingulos Chriſti fideles, ſub Excommunicationis, & aliis infraſcriptis pœnis, monemus, ut monitos, Excommunicatos, aggravatos, interdictos, privatos, maledictos, & damnatos prædictos evitent, & quantum in eis eſt, & ab aliis evitari faciant,

faciant, nec cum eiſdem, ſeu præfati Regis Civitatum, Dominiorum, Terrarum, Caſtrorum, Comitatuum, Villarum, Fortalitiorum, Oppidorum, & locorum prædictorum civibus, incolis, vel habitatoribus aut ſubditis & vaſſallis, emendo, vendendo, permutando, aut quamcunque mercaturam, ſeu negotium exercendo, commercium, ſeu aliquam converſationem, ſeu communionem habeant: aut vinum, granum, ſal, ſeu alia victualia, arma, pannos, merces vel quaſvis alias mercantias, vel res per mare in eorum navibus, triremibus, aut aliis navigiis, ſive per terram cum mulis, vel aliis animalibus, deferre aut conducere, ſeu deferri aut conduci facere, vel delata per illos recipere, publice vel occulte, aut talia facientibus auxilium, conſilium, favorem publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis quæſito colore, per ſe, vel alium, ſeu alios quoquo modo præſtare præſumant. Quod ſi fecerint, ultra Excommunicationis prædictæ, etiam nullitatis contractuum quos inirent, necnon perditionis mercium, victualium, & bonorum omnium delatorum, quæ capientium fiant, pœnas ſimiliter eo ipſo incurrant.

13. Cæterum quia convenire non videtur, ut cum his qui Eccleſiam contemnunt, dum præſertim ex eorum pertinacia ſpes corrigibilitatis non habetur, hi qui divinis obſequiis vacant, converſentur, quod etiam illos tuto facere non poſſe dubitandum eſt, omnium & ſingularum Metropolitanarum & aliarum Cathedralium, cæterarumq; inferiorum Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum, domorum & locorum Religioſorum, & piorum quorumcumque, etiam S. Auguſtini, S. Benedicti, Cluniacen. Ciſtercien. Præmonſtraten. ac Prædicatorum, Minorum, Carmelitarum, aliorumque quorumcumq; ordinum, & Militiarum, etiam Hoſpitalis Hieroſolymitani, Prælatis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Præceptoribus, Præpoſitis, Miniſtris, Cuſtodibus, Guardianis, Conventibus, Monachis & Canonicis, necnon Parochialium Eccleſiarum Rectoribus, aliiſque quibuſcunq; perſonis Eccleſiaſticis in Regno & Dominiis prædictis commorantibus, ſub Excommunicationis ac privationis Adminiſtrationum & regiminum Monaſteriorum, dignitatum, perſonatuum, adminiſtrationum, ac officiorum, Canonicatuumque, & Præbendarum, Parochialium Eccleſiarum, & aliorum beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum quorumcumq; quomodolibet qualificatorum, per eos quomodolibet obtentorum, pœnis mandamus, quatenus infra quinq; dies, poſt omnes & ſingulos terminos prædictos elapſos, de ipſis Regno, & Dominiis, dimiſſis tamen aliquibus Preſbyteris in Eccleſiis quarum curam habuerint, pro adminiſtrando baptiſmate parvulis, & in pœnitentia decedentibus, ac aliis Sacramentis Eccleſiaſticis, quæ tempore Interdicti miniſtrari permittuntur, exeant & diſcedant, neque ad Regnum, & Dominia prædicta revertantur; donec moniti, & Excommunicati, aggravati, reaggravati, privati, maledicti, & damnati prædictis monitionibus, & mandatis noſtris hujuſmodi obtemperaverint, meruerint à cenſuris hujuſmodi abſolutionis beneficium obtinere, ſeu Interdictum in Regno, & Dominiis prædictis, fuerit ſublatum.

14. Præterea ſi præmiſſis non obſtantibus, Henricus Rex, Complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces prædicti in eorum pertinacia perſeveraverint, nec conſcientiæ ſtimulus eos ad cor reduxerit, in eorum forte potentia, & armis confidentes, omnes & ſingulos Duces, Marchiones, Comites, & alios quoſcunq; tam Seculares, quam Eccleſiaſticos etiam forenſes, de facto dicto Henrico Regi obedientes, ſub ejuſdem Excommunicationis, ac perditionis bonorum ſuorum (quæ, ut infra dicitur, ſimiliter capientium fiant) pœnis, requirimus & monemus,

quatenus omni mora, & excuſatione poſtpoſita, eos, & eorum ſingulos, ac ipſorum milites & ſtipendiarios, tam equeſtres quam pedeſtres, alioſque quoſcumque, qui eis cum armis faverint, de Regno & Dominis prædictis, etiam vi armorum, ſi opus fuerit, expellant: ac quod Henricus Rex, & ejus complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, mandatis noſtris non obtemperantes prædicti, de Civitatibus, Terris, Caſtris, Villis, Oppidis, Fortalitiis, aut aliis locis Regni & Dominii prædictorum ſe non intromittant, procurent: eis ſub omnibus & ſingulis pœnis prædictis inhibentes, ne in favorem Henrici, ejuſque complicum, fautorum, adhærentium, conſultorum, & ſequacium aliorumq; monitorum prædictorum, mandatis noſtris non obtemperantium, arma cujuſlibet generis offenſiva, vel defenſiva, Machinas quoq; bellicas, ſeu tormenta (artellarias nuncupata) ſumant aut teneant, ſeu illis utantur, aut armatos aliquos præter conſuetam familiam parent, aut ab Henrico Rege, complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus, & ſequacibus, vel aliis in Regis ipſius favorem paratos, quomodolibet, quavis occaſione vel cauſa, per ſe vel alium ſeu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte teneant, vel receptent, aut dicto Henrico Regi, ſeu illius complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus, & ſequacibus prædictis, conſilium, auxilium, vel quomodolibet ex quavis cauſa, vel quovis quæſito colore ſive ingenio, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expreſſe, per ſe vel alium ſeu alios præmiſſis, vel aliquo præmiſſorum præſtent, ſeu præſtari faciant quoquomodo.

15. Præterea ad dictum Henricum Regem facilius ad ſanitatem, & præfatæ Sedis obedientiam reducendum, omnes & ſingulos Chriſtianos Principes, quacunq; etiam Imperiali & Regali dignitate fulgentes, per viſcera miſericordiæ Dei noſtri (cujus cauſa agitur) hortamur & in Domino requirimus, eis nihilominus, qui Imperatore & Rege inferiores fuerint, quos propter excellentiam dignitatis à cenſuris excipimus, ſub Excommunicationis pœna mandantes, ne Henrico Regi ejuſq; complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus, & ſequacibus, vel eorum alicui, per ſe vel alium ſeu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expreſſe, etiam ſub prætextu confœderationum aut obligationum quocumque etiam juramento, aut quavis alia firmitate roboratarum, & ſæpius geminatarum, à quibus quidem obligationibus & juramentis omnibus, nos eos & eorum ſingulos eiſdem auctoritate & ſcientia ac plenitudine per præſentes abſolvimus, ipſaſque confœderationes & obligationes tam factas, quam in poſterum faciendas, quas tamen (in quantum Henricus Rex & complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces prædicti circa præmiſſa, vel eorum aliquod ſe directe vel indirecte juvare poſſent) ſub eadem pœna fieri prohibemus, nullius roboris vel momenti, nullaſque, irritas, caſſas, inanes, ac pro infectis habendas fore decernimus & declaramus, conſilium, auxilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præſtent, quinimo ſi qui illis, aut eorum alicui ad præſens quomodolibet aſſiſtant, ab ipſis omnino & cum affectu recedant. Quod ſi non fecerint poſtquam præſentes publicatæ & executioni demandatæ fuerint, & dicti termini lapſi fuerint, omnes & ſingulas civitates, terras, oppida, caſtra, villas, & alia loca eis ſubjecta, ſimili Eccleſiaſtico Interdicto ſupponimus, volentes ipſum Interdictum donec ipſi Principes à Conſilio, auxilio, & favore Henrico Regi & complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus & ſequacibus prædictis præſtando deſtiterint, perdurare.

16. In-

16. Inſuper tam Principes prædictos, quam quoſcumq; alios, etiam ad ſtipendia quorumcumq; Chriſti fidelium militantes, & alias quaſcumq; perſonas, tam per mare, quam per terras, armigeros habentes, ſimiliter hortamur & requirimus, & nihilominus eis in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ mandantes, quatenus contra Henricum Regem, complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces prædictos, dum in erroribus prædictis, ac adverſus Sedem prædictam, rebellione permanſerint, armis inſurgant, eoſq; & eorum ſingulos perſequantur, ac ad unitatem Eccleſiæ, & obedientiam dictæ Sedis redire cogant & compellant; & tam eos quam ipſorum ſubditos & vaſſallos, ac civitatum, terrarum, caſtrorum, oppidorum, villarum, & locorum ſuorum incolas, & habitatores, alioſque omnes & ſingulas perſonas ſupradictis mandatis noſtris, ut præfertur, non obtemperantes, & quæ præfatum Henricum Regem, poſtquam cenſuras, & pœnas prædictas incurrerit, in Dominum quomodolibet, etiam de facto recognoverint, vel ei quovis modo obtemperare præſumpſerint, aut qui eum, ac complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, ſequaces ac alios non obtemperantes prædictos, ex Regno & Dominiis prædictis, ut præfertur, expellere noluerint, ubicunq; eos invenerint, eorumque bona, mobilia & immobilia, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, credita, res, & animalia, etiam extra territorium dicti Henrici Regis ubilibet conſiſtentia, capiant.

17. Nos enim eis bona, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, res, & animalia prædicta ſic capta, in proprios eorum uſus convertendi, eiſdem auctoritate, ſcientia, & poteſtatis plenitudine, plenariam licentiam, facultatem & auctoritatem concedimus, illa omnia ad eoſdem capientes plenarie pertinere, & ſpectare, & perſonas ex Regno & Dominiis prædictis originem trahentes, ſeu in illis domicilium habentes, aut quomodolibet habitantes, mandatis noſtris prædictis non obtemperantes, ubicunq; eos capi contigerit, capientium ſervos fieri decernentes: præſenteſque literas quoad hoc ad omnes alios cujuſcunq; dignitatis, gradus, ſtatus, ordinis, vel conditionis fuerint, qui ipſi Henrico Regi, vel ejus complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus, & ſequacibus, aut aliis monitionibus, & mandatis noſtris hujuſmodi quoad commercium non obtemperantibus, vel eorum alicui victualia, arma, vel pecunias ſubminiſtrare, aut cum eis commercium habere, ſen auxilium, conſilium, vel favorem, per ſe vel alium, ſeu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis modo contra tenorem præſentium præſtare præſumſerint, extendentes.

18. Et ut præmiſſa facilius iis quos concernunt innoteſcant, univerſis & ſingulis Patriarchis, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, & Patriarchalium Metropolitan, & aliarum Cathedralium, & Collegiatarum Eccleſiarum Prælatis, Capitulis, aliiſq; perſonis Eccleſiaſticis, Sæcularibus ac quorumvis ordinum Regularibus, necnon omnibus & ſingulis, etiam mendicantium ordinum Profeſſoribus, exemptis & non exemptis, ubilibet conſtitutis, per eaſdem præſentes ſub Excommunicationis & privationis Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, ac aliorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, graduum quoque & officiorum, necnon privilegiorum, & indultorum quorumcunq; etiam à Sede prædicta quomodolibet emanatorum pœnis ipſo facto incurrendis, præcipimus & mandamus, quatenus ipſi ac eorum ſinguli, ſi, & poſtquam vigore præſentium deſuper requiſiti fuerint, infra tres dies immediate ſequentes, præfatum Henricum Regem, omneſq; alios

alios & ſingulos, qui ſupradictas cenſuras & pœnas incurrerint, in eorum Eccleſiis, Dominicis & aliis feſtivis diebus, dum major inibi populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, cum Crucis vexillo, pulſatis campanis, & accenſis, ac demum extinctis, & in terram projectis, & conculcatis candelis, & aliis in ſimilibus ſervari ſolitis cæremoniis ſervatis, Excommunicatos publice nuncient, & ab aliis nuntiari, ac ab omnibus arctius evitari faciant & mandent, necnon ſub ſupradictis cenſuris & pœnis, præſentes literas, vel earum tranſumptum, ſub forma infraſcripta confectum, infra terminum trium dierum, poſtquam, ut præfertur, requiſiti fuerint, in Eccleſiis, Monaſteriis, Conventibus, & aliis eorum locis, publicari & affigi faciant.

19. Volentes, omnes & ſingulos cujuſcunq; ſtatus, gradus, conditionis, præeminentiæ, dignitatis, aut excellentiæ fuerint, qui quo minus præſentes literæ vel earum tranſumpta, copiæ, ſeu exemplaria, in ſuis civitatibus, terris, caſtris, oppidis, villis, & locis legi & affigi, ac publicari poſſint, per ſe, vel alium, ſeu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte impediverint, eaſdem cenſuras & pœnas, ipſo facto incurrere. Et cum fraus & dolus nemini debeant patrocinari, ne quiſquam ex his, qui alicui regimini & adminiſtrationi deputati ſunt, infra tempus ſui regiminis ſeu adminiſtrationis prædictas ſententias, cenſuras & pœnas ſuſtineat, quaſi poſt dictum tempus ſententiis, cenſuris & pœnis prædictis amplius ligatus non exiſtat, quemcunque qui dum in regimine, & adminiſtratione exiſtens, monitioni & mandato noſtris, quoad præmiſſa vel aliquid eorum obtemperare noluerit, etiam depoſito regimine, & adminiſtratione hujuſmodi, niſi paruerit, eiſdem cenſuris & pœnis ſubjacere decernimus.

20. Et ne Henricus Rex ejuſq; complices, & fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, aliiq; quos præmiſſa concernunt, ignorantiam earundem præſentium literarum, & in eis contentorum prætendere valeant, literas ipſas (in quibus omnes & ſingulos, tam juris, quam facti, etiam ſolemnitatum, & proceſſuum, citationumq; omiſſarum defectus, etiam ſi tales ſint, de quibus ſpecialis, & expreſſa mentio facienda eſſet, propter notorietatem facti, auctoritate, ſcientia, & poteſtatis plenitudine, ſimilibus, ſupplemus) in Baſilicæ Principis Apoſtolorum, & Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ de urbe, & in partibus in Collegiatæ B. Mariæ Burgen. Tornacen. & Parochialis de Dunikerke oppidorum Morinenſis diœceſis, Eccleſiarum valvis affigi, & publicari mandamus: Decernentes quod earundem literarum publicatio ſic facta, Henricum Regem, ejuſque complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, omneſq; alios, & ſingulos quos literæ ipſæ quomodolibet concernunt, perinde eos arctent, acſi literæ ipſæ eis perſonaliter lectæ, & intimatæ fuiſſent, cum non ſit veriſimile, quod ea, quæ tam patenter fiunt, debeant apud eos incognita remanere.

21. Cæterum quia difficile foret præſentes literas ad ſingula quæque loca, ad quæ neceſſarium eſſet deferri, ſingula volumus & dicta auctoritate decernimus, quod earum tranſumptis manu publici Notarii confectis, vel in alma urbe impreſſis, ac ſigillo alicujus perſonæ in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtitutæ munitis, ubiq; eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ originalibus adhiberetur, ſi eſſent exhibitæ vel oſtenſæ.

22. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ monitionis, aggravationis, reaggravationis, declarationis, percuſſionis, ſuppoſitionis, inhabilitationis, abſolutionis, liberationis, requiſitionis, inhibitionis,

tionis, hortationis, exceptionis, prohibitionis, conceſſionis, extenſionis, ſuppletionis, mandatorum, voluntatis, & decretorum, infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præſumpſerit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum, Anno Incarnationis Dominí 1535. 3 Kal. Sept. Pont. noſtri Anno 1.

Sequitur ſuſpenſio Executionis dictæ Bullæ, & tandem ejus revocatio, & Executio.

Paulus *Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

CUm Redemptor noſter ideo illum qui ipſum negaverat, Petrum, viz. Univerſæ Eccleſiæ præficere voluerit, ut in ſua culpa diſceret aliis eſſe miſerendum, non immerito Romanus Pontifex qui ipſius Petri in dignitate Succeſſor exiſtit, debet etiam in Officio exercendæ miſericordiæ ipſius eſſe Succeſſor. Sed cum in eum dirigitur miſericordia, qui ex hoc ſit inſolentior, & obſtinatior, alioſq; ſecum trahit in perditionem, debet ipſe Romanus Pontifex, poſtpoſita in eum miſericordia, omnem ſeveritatem adhibere, quo membrum illud putridum ita à corpore ſeparetur, ut reliqua membra abſq; metu contagionis ſalva remaneant, præſertim cum pluribus curis adhibitis, & multo tempore in hoc conſumpto, morbum quotidie magis invaleſcere, ipſa experientia comprobat.

1. Alias cum nobis relatum fuiſſet, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, præter ea quæ Matrimonium de facto, & contra prohibitionem Eccleſiæ temerarie contractum concernebant, quaſdam leges, ſeu generales conſtitutiones ſubditos ſuos ad hæreſim, & ſchiſma trahentes ediderat, & bonæ memoriæ Joann. tit. Sancti Vitalis Preſbyterum Cardinalem Roffen. publice damnari & capite puniri, ac alios quamplures Prælatos, necnon alias perſonas Eccleſiaſt. Hæreſi & Schiſmati hujuſmodi adhærere nolentes, carceribus mancipari fecerat; Nos, licet illi qui talia nobis retulerant tales eſſent, ut nullo modo de veritate ſuorum dictorum ambigendum eſſet, cupientes tamen reſpectu ipſius Henrici Regis, quem antequam in has inſanias incideret, peculiari quadam charitate proſequebamur, prædicta falſa reperiri, de eis informationem ulteriorem habere procuravimus, & invenientes clamorem ad nos delatum verum eſſe, ne noſtro Officio deeſſemus, contra eum procedere decrevimus, juxta formam quarundam literarum noſtrarum, quarum tenor ſequitur. Et eſt talis, &c.

Omittitur inſertio, quia bulla ipſa eſt quæ præcedit.

2. Dum autem poſtea ad dictarum literarum executionem deveniendum eſſe ſtatuiſſemus, cum nobis per nonnullos Principes, & alias inſignes perſonas perſuaderetur, ut ab executione hujuſmodi per aliquantum

tum temporis ſuperſederemus, ſpe nobis data, quod interim ipſe Henricus Rex ad cor rediret & reſipiſceret; nos qui, ut hominum natura fert, facile credebamus quod deſiderabamus, dictam executionem ſuſpendimus, ſperantes (ut ſpes nobis data erat) ex ipſa ſuſpenſione, correctionem & reſipiſcentiam, non autem pertinaciam & obſtinationem, ac majorem delirationem, ut rei effectus edocuit, proventuram.

3. Cum itaq; reſipiſcentia & Correctio hujuſmodi quam tribus fere annis expectavimas, non ſolum poſtea ſequuta non ſit, ſed ipſe Henricus Rex quotidie magis ſe in ſua feritate, ac temeritate confirmans in nova etiam ſcelera proruperit, quippe cum non contentus vivorum Prælatorum & ſacerdotum crudeliſſima trucidatione, etiam in mortuos, & eos quidem quos in ſanctorum numerum relatos Univerſalis Eccleſia pluribus ſæculis venerata eſt, feritatem exercere non expavit, Divi enim Thomæ Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopi, cujus oſſa, quæ in dicto Regno Angliæ potiſſimum, ob innumera ab omnipotenti Deo illic perpetrata miracula, ſumma cum veneratione in arca aurea in Civitate Cantuarien. ſervabantur, poſtquam ipſum Divum Thomam, ad majorem Religionis contemptum, in judicium vocari, & tanquam contumacem damnari ac proditorem declarari fecerat, exhumari, & comburi, ac cineres in *ventum* ſpargi juſſit, omnem plane cunctarum gentium crudelitatem ſuperans, cum ne in bello quidem hoſtes victores ſævire in mortuorum cadavera ſoliti ſunt; adhæc omnia ex diverſorum Regum etiam Anglorum, & aliorum Principum liberalitate donaria, ipſi arcæ appenſa, quæ multa, & maximi pretii erant, ſibi uſurpavit; nec putans ex hoc ſatis injuriæ religionis intuliſſe, Monaſterium Divo illi Auguſtino, à quo Chriſtianam fidem Angli acceperunt, in dicta civitate dicatum, omnibus Theſauris, qui etiam multi & magni erant, ſpoliavit, & ſicut ſe in belluam tranſmutavit, ita etiam belluas quaſi ſocias ſuas honorare voluit, feras videlicet in dicto Monaſterio, expulſis Monachis, intromittendo, genus quidem ſceleris non modo Chriſti fidelibus, ſed etiam Turcis inauditum & abominandum.

4. Cum itaq; morbus iſte à nullo quantumvis peritiſſimo medico alia cura ſanari poſſit, quam putridi membri abſciſſione, nec valeret cura hujuſmodi, abſq; eo, quod nos apud Deum cauſam hanc noſtram efficimus, ulterius retardari, ad dictarum literarum (quas ad hoc ut Henricus Rex, ejuſque Complices, Fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, etiam ſuper exceſſibus per eum noviſſime, ut præfertur, perpetratis, intra terminum eis, quoad alia, per alias noſtras literas prædictas reſpective præfixas, ſe excuſare, alias pœnas ipſis literis contentas incurrant, extendimus & ampliamus) publicationem, & deinde, Deo duce, ad executionem procedere omnino ſtatuimus. Et quia à fide dignis accepimus, quod ſi ipſarum & præſentium literarum publicatio Diep Rothomagen. vel Boloniæ Ambianen. Diœc. Oppidis in Franciæ, aut Civitate Sancti Andreæ, ſeu in Oppido Calliſtren. Sancti Andreæ Diœc. in Scotiæ Regnis, vel in Thuamien. & Antiferten. Civitatibus, vel Diœc. Dominii Hiberniæ fiat, non ſolum tam facile, ut ſi in locis in dictis literis expreſſis fieret, ſed facilius ipſarum literarum tenor, ad Henrici, & aliorum quos concernunt, præſertim Anglorum, notitiam deveniret; Nos volentes in hoc opportune providere, motu, ſcientia, & poteſtatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, quod publicatio literarum ſuperius inſertarum, quarum inſertioni ſuperius factæ, ac ipſis Originalibus quoad

validitatem

validitatem publicationis, ſeu executionis præſentium, fidem adhiberi volumus, in duobus ex locis præſentibus literis expreſſis, alias juxta ſupra inſertarum, & præſentium literarum tenore facta, etiam ſi in locis extra Romanam Curiam in dictis præinſertis literis ſpecificatis hujuſmodi publicatio non fiat, perinde Henricum Regem, & alios quos concernunt præſertim Anglos afficiat, ac ſi Henrico Regi & aliis prædictis præſertim Anglis perſonaliter intimatæ fuiſſent.

5. Quodq; præſentium tranſumptis, juxta modum in præinſertis literis expreſſum factis, tam in judicio quam extra, eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ Originalibus adhiberetur, ſi forent exhibitæ, vel oſtenſæ.

6. Non obſtantibus Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, necnon omnibus illis, quæ in dictis literis voluimus non obſtare, cæteriſq; contrariis quibuſcunque.

7. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtri Decreti, & voluntatis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præſumpſerit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum.

Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1538. decimo ſexto Kal. Januarii, Pontificatus noſtri anno quinto.

X. *The judgement of ſome Biſhops concerning the King's Supremacy. An Original.*

THe words of St. *John* in his 20*th* Chap. *Sicut miſit me Pater, & ego mitto vos, &c.* hath no reſpect to a King's or a Princes Power, but only to ſhew how that the Miniſters of the Word of God, choſen and ſent for that intent, are the Meſſengers of Chriſt, to teach the Truth of his Goſpel, and to looſe and bind ſin, *&c.* as Chriſt was the Meſſenger of his Father. The words alſo of St. *Paul*, in the 20*th* Chap. of the *Acts*; *Attendite vobis & univerſo gregi, in qua vos Spiritus Sanctus poſuit Epiſcopos regere Eccleſiam Dei*, were ſpoken to the Biſhops and Prieſts, to be diligent Paſtors of the People, both to teach them diligently, and alſo to be circumſpect that falſe Preachers ſhould not ſeduce the People, as followeth immediately after in the ſame place. Other places of Scripture declear the highneſs and excellency of Chriſtian Princes Authority and Power; the which of a truth is moſt high, for he hath power and charge generally over all, as well Biſhops, and Prieſt, as other. The Biſhops and Prieſts have charge of Souls within their own Cures, power to miniſter Sacraments, and to teach the Word of God; to the which Word of God Chriſtian Princes knowledge themſelves ſubject; and in caſe the Biſhops be negligent, it is the Chriſtian Princes Office to ſee them do their duty.

Ex MSS. D. *Stillingfleet.*

T. Cantuarien.
Joannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmen.
Jo. Batwellen.
Thomas Elien.
Nicolaus Sarisburien.
Hugo Wygorn.
J. Roffen.

XI. *Injunctions to the Clergy made by* Cromwell.

Regiſt. *Cranmer.* IN the Name of God, Amen. By the Authority and Commiſſion of the excellent Prince *Henry*, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of *France*, Defenſor of the Faith; Lord of *Ireland*; and in Earth Supream Head, under Chriſt, of the Church of *England*. *I Thomas* Lord *Cromwel*, Privy-Seal, and Vice-gerent to the King's ſaid Highneſs, for all his Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical within this Realm, do, for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, encreaſe of Vertue, and diſcharge of the King's Majeſty, give and exhibit unto you theſe Injunctions following, to be kept, obſerved, and fulfilled, upon the pains hereafter declared.

Firſt; That ye ſhall truly obſerve and keep all and ſingular the King's Highneſs Injunctions, given unto you heretofore in my Name, by his Grace's Authority; not only upon the pains therein expreſſed, but alſo in your default after this ſecond monition continued, upon further puniſhment to be ſtraitly extended towards you by the King's Highneſs Arbitriment, or his Vice-gerent aforeſaid.

Item; That ye ſhall provide on this ſide the Feaſt of next coming, one Book of the whole Bible of the largeſt Volume in Engliſh, and the ſame ſet up in ſome convenient place within the ſaid Church that ye have Cure of, whereas your Pariſhioners may moſt commodiouſly reſort to the ſame and read it; the charge of which Book ſhall be ratably born between you the Parſon and the Pariſhioners aforeſaid, that is to ſay, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

Item; That you ſhall diſcourage no Man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the ſaid Bible, but ſhall expreſly provoke, ſtir, and exhort every Perſon to read the ſame, as that which is the very lively Word of God, that every Chriſtian Man is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be ſaved; admoniſhing them nevertheleſs to avoid all contention, altercation therein, and to uſe an honeſt ſobriety in the inquiſition of the true ſence of the ſame, and refer the explication of the obſcure places to Men of higher judgement in Scripture.

Item; That ye ſhall every *Sunday* and Holy-day through the Year, openly and plainly recite to your Pariſhioners, twice or thrice together, or oftner, if need require, one particle or ſentence of the *Pater Noſter*, or *Creed*, in Engliſh, to the intent they may learn the ſame by Heart; And ſo from day to day, to give them one little leſſon or ſentence of the ſame, till they have learned the whole *Pater Noſter* and *Creed*, in Engliſh, by rote. And as they be taught every ſentence of the ſame by rote, ye ſhall expound and declare the underſtanding of the ſame unto them, exhorting all Parents and Houſholders to teach their Children and Servants the ſame, as they are bound in Conſcience to do. And that done, ye ſhall declare unto them the *Ten Commandments*, one by one

one, every Sunday and Holy-day, till they be likewiſe perfect in the ſame.

Item; That ye ſhall in Confeſſions every *Lent* examine every Perſon that cometh to Confeſſion unto you, whether they can recite the Articles of our Faith, and the *Pater Noſter* in Engliſh, and hear them ſay the ſame particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, ye ſhall declare to the ſame, That every Chriſtian Perſon ought to know the ſame before they ſhould receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar; and moniſh them to learn the ſame more perfectly by the next year following, or elſe, like-as they ought not to preſume to come to God's Board without perfect knowledge of the ſame, and if they do, it is to the great peril of their ſouls; ſo ye ſhall declare unto them, that ye look for other Injunctions from the King's Highneſs by that time, to ſtay and repel all ſuch from God's Board as ſhall be found ignorant in the Premiſſes, whereof ye do thus admoniſh them, to the intent they ſhould both eſchew the peril of their Souls, and alſo the worldly rebuke that they might incur after by the ſame.

Item; That ye ſhall make, or cauſe to be made, in the ſaid Church, and every other Cure ye have, one Sermon every quarter of the year at leaſt, wherein ye ſhall purely and ſincerely declare the very Goſpel of Chriſt, and in the ſame exhort your Hearers to the Works of Charity, Mercy, and Faith, eſpecially preſcribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repoſe their truſt or affiance in any other Works deviſed by Mens fantaſies beſides Scripture: as in wandring to Pilgrimages, offering of Money, Candles, or Tapers, Images, or Reliques; or kiſſing or licking the ſame over, ſaying over a number of Beads, not underſtanded or minded on, or in ſuch-lick ſuperſtition; for the doing whereof, ye not only have no promiſe of reward in Scripture, but contrariwiſe great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to Idolatry and Superſtition, which of all other Offences God Almighty doth moſt deteſt and abhor, for that the ſame diminiſheth moſt his honour and glory.

Item; That ſuch feigned Images as ye know in any of your Cures to be ſo abuſed with Pilgrimages or Offerings of any thing made thereunto, ye ſhall, for avoiding of that moſt deteſtable offence of Idolatry, forthwith take down, and without delay; and ſhall ſuffer from henceforth no Candles, Tapers, or Images of Wax to be ſet afore any Image or Picture, but only the Light that commonly goeth a-croſs the Church by the Root-loft, the Light before the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Light about the Sepulchre; which for the adorning of the Church, and Divine Service, ye ſhall ſuffer to remain: ſtill admoniſhing your Pariſhioners, that Images ſerve for none other purpoſe, but as to be Books of unlearned Men, that ken no Letters, whereby they might be otherwiſe admoniſhed of the lives and converſation of them that the ſaid Images do repreſent; which Images if they abuſe, for any other intent than for ſuch remembrances, they commit Idolatry in the ſame, to the great danger of their Souls: And therefore the King's Highneſs graciouſly tendring the weal of his Subjects Souls, hath in part already, and more will

hereafter, travail for the abolishing of such Images as might be an occasion of so great an offence to God, and so great a danger to the Souls of his loving Subjects.

Item; That in all such Benefices, or Cures, as ye have, whereupon ye be not your self Resident, ye shall appoint such Curates in your stead, as can both by their ability, and also promptly execute these Injunctions, and do their duty; otherwise that ye are bounden in every behalf accordingly, and may profit them, no less with good Examples of living, than with declaration of the Word of God, or else their lack and defaults shall be imputed unto you, who shall straitly answer for the same if they do otherwise.

Item; That ye shall admit no Man to preach within any your Benefices or Cures, but such as shall appear unto you to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the King's Highness, or his Grace's Authority, by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or the Bishop of this Diocess; and such as shall be so licensed, ye shall gladly receive to declare the Word of God, without any resistance or contradiction.

Item; If ye have heretofore declared to your Parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of Pilgrimages, feigned Reliques, or Images, or any such superstition, that you shall now openly afore the same recant and reprove the same, shewing them (as the truth is) that ye did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but as one led and seduced by a common Error and Abuse crept into the Church, through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

Item; If ye do or shall know any Man within your Parish, or elsewhere, that is a Letter of the Word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these Injunctions; or a favourer of the Bishop of *Rome's* pretensed power, now by the Laws of this Realm justly rejected and extirped; ye shall detect and present the same to the King's Highness, or his honourable Council, or to his Vicegerent aforesaid, or the Justice of the Peace next adjoining.

Item; That you, and every Parson, Vicar, or Curate within this Diocess, shall for every Church keep one Book or Register, wherein he shall write the day and year of every Wedding, Christning, and Burying, made within your Parish for your time, and so every Man succeeding you likewise; and also there insert every Person's Name that shall be so wedded, christned, and buried; and for the safe keeping of the same Book, the Parish shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one sure Coffer with two Locks and Keys, whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the Wardens of every such Parish wherein the said Book shall be laid up; which Book ye shall every *Sunday* take forth, and in the presence of the said Wardens, or one of them, write and record in the same, all the Weddings, Christnings, and Buryings, made the whole Week afore; and that done, to lay up the Book in the said Coffer, as afore: And for every time that the same shall be omitted, the Party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said Church

Church 3 *s.* 4 *d.* to be employed on the reparation of the ſaid Church.

Item; That ye ſhall every quarter of a year read theſe and the other former Injunctions, given unto you by the Authority of the King's Highneſs, openly and deliberately before all your Pariſhioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admoniſhed of your duty, and your ſaid Pariſhioners the more incited to enſue the ſame for their part.

Item; Foraſmuch as by a Law eſtabliſhed, every Man is bound to pay the Tithes; no Man ſhall, by colour of duty, omitted by their Curates, detain their Tithes, and ſo redouble one wrong with another, or be his own Judge, but ſhall truly pay the ſame, as hath been accuſtomed, to their Parſons and Curates, without any reſtraint or diminution; and ſuch lack or default as they can juſtly find in their Parſons or Curates, to call for reformation thereof at their Ordinaries, and other Superiors hands; who, upon complaint, and due proof thereof, ſhall reform the ſame accordingly.

Item; That no Parſon ſhall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any Faſting-day that is commanded and indicted by the Church, nor of any Prayer, or of Divine Service, otherwiſe than is ſpecified in the ſaid Injunctions, until ſuch time as the ſame ſhall be ſo ordered and tranſported by the King's Highneſs's Authority; The Eves of ſuch Saints, whoſe Holy-dayes be abrogated, be only excepted, which ſhall be declared henceforth to be no Faſting-dayes; excepted, alſo the commemoration of *Thomas Becket*, ſome-time Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, which ſhall be clean omitted, and in the ſtead thereof, the Ferial Service uſed.

Item; That the knolling of the Avies after Service, and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the Biſhop of *Rome's* pardon, henceforth be leſt and omitted, leſt the People do hereafter truſt to have pardon for the ſaying of their Avies, between the ſaid knolling, as they have done in times paſt.

Item; Where in times paſt Men have uſed in divers places in their Proceſſions to ſing *Ora pro nobis* to ſo many Saints, that they had no time to ſing the good Suffrages following, as *Parce nobis Domine*, and *Libera nos Domine*, it muſt be taught and preached, that better it were to omit *Ora pro nobis*, and to ſing the other Suffrages.

All which and ſingular Injunctions I miniſter unto you and your Succeſſors, by the King's Highneſs Authority to me committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the ſame Authority to obſerve and keep upon pain of Deprivation, Sequeſtration of your Fruits, or ſuch other coercion as to the King's Highneſs, or his Vice-gerent for the time being, ſhall ſeem convenient.

Theſe are alſo in the Bp. of London's *Regiſter, Fol.* 29, 30. *with* Bonner's *Mandate to his Arch-Deacons for obſerving them*, 30 Sept. 1541. Anno Regn. 32.

XII. *Injunctions*

XII. *Injunctions given by* Thomas *Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *to the Parſons, Vicars, and other Curats in his Viſitation, kept* (ſede vacante) *within the Dioceſs of* Hereford, Anno Domini 1538.

I.

FIrſt; That ye, and every one of you, ſhall, with all your diligence and faithful obedience, obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, all and ſingular the King's Highneſs Injunctions, by his Graces Commiſſaries given in ſuch places as they in times paſt have viſited.

II.

Item; That ye, and every one of you ſhall have, by the firſt day of *Auguſt* next coming, as well a whole Bible in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, or at the leaſt a *New Teſtament* of both the ſame Language, as the Copies of the King's Highneſs Injunctions.

III.

Item; That ye ſhall every day ſtudy one Chapter of the ſaid Bible, or New Teſtament, conferring the *Latin* and *Engliſh* together, and to begin at the firſt part of the Book, and ſo to continue until the end of the ſame.

IV.

Item; That ye, or none of you, ſhall diſcourage any Lay-Man from the reading of the Bible in *Engliſh* or *Latin*, but encourage them to that, admoniſhing them that they ſo read it, for reformation of their own Life, and knowledge of their Duty; and that they be not bold or preſumptuous in judging of matters afore they have perfect knowledge.

V.

Item; That ye, both in your Preaching and ſecret Confeſſion, and all other works and doings, ſhall excite and move your Pariſhioners unto ſuch Works as are commanded expreſly of God, for the which God ſhall demand of them a ſtrict reckoning; and all other Works which Men do of their own Will or Devotion, to teach your Pariſhioners that they are not to be ſo highly eſteemed as the other; and that for the not doing of them God will not ask any accompt.

VI.

Item; That ye, nor none of you, ſuffer no Friar, or Religious Man, to have any Cure or Service within your Churches or Cures, except they be lawfully diſpenſed withal, or licenſed by the Ordinary.

VII.

Item; That ye, and every one of you, do not admit any young Man or Woman to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, which never received it before, until that he or ſhe openly in the Church, after Maſs, or evening Song, upon the Holy-day, do recite, in the vulgar Tongue, the *Pater Noſter*, the *Creed*, and the *Ten Commandments*.

VIII.

Item; That ye, and every one of you, ſhall two times in a quarter declare to your Pariſhioners the Band of Matrimony, and what great danger it is to all Men that uſeth their Bodies but with ſuch Perſons as they lawfully may by the Law of God. And to exhort in the ſaid Time

Times your Pariſhioners, that they make no privy Contracts, as they will avoid the extream pain of the Laws uſed within the King's Realm, by his Graces Authority.

XIII. *A Letter of* Cromwell's *to the Biſhop of* Landaff, *directing him how to proceed in the Reformation. An Original.*

AFter my right hearty Commendations to your Lordſhip, ye ſhall herewith receive the King's Highneſs Letters addreſſed unto you, to put you in remembrance of his Highneſs travels, and your duty touching order to be taken for Preaching, to the intent the People may be taught the Truth, and yet not charged at the beginning with over-many Novelties; the publication whereof, unleſs the ſame be tempered and qualified with much wiſdom, do rather breed Contention, Diviſion, and contrariety in Opinion in the unlearned Multitude, than either edifie, or remove from them, and out of their hearts, ſuch abuſes as, by the corrupt and unſavoury teaching of the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Diſciples, have crept in the ſame. The effect of which Letters albeit I doubt not, but as well for the honeſty of the Matter, as for your own diſcharge, ye will ſo conſider and put iu execution, as ſhall be to his Grace's ſatisfaction in that behalf: Yet foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed his Majeſty to appoint and conſtitute me in the room and place of his Supream and Principal Miniſter, in all Matters that may touch any thing his Clergy, or their doings, I thought it alſo my part, for the exoneration of my Duty towards his Highneſs, and the rather to anſwer to his Grace's Expectation, Opinion, and Truſt conceived in me, and in that amongſt other committed to my fidelity, to deſire and pray you, in ſuch ſubſtantial ſort and manner, to travel in the execution of the Contents of his Grace's ſaid Letters; namely, for avoiding of Contrariety in Preaching, of the pronunciation of Novelties, without wiſe and diſcreet qualification, and the repreſſion of the temerity of thoſe, that either privily, or apertly, directly or indirectly, would advance the pretended Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*; as I be not for my diſcharge enforced to complain further, and to declare what I have now written unto you for that purpoſe, and ſo to charge you with your own fault, and to deviſe ſuch remedy for the ſame, as ſhall appertain: deſiring your Lordſhip to accept my meaning herein, tending only to an honeſt, friendly, and Chriſtian Reformation, for avoidage of further inconvenience, and to think none unkindneſs, tho in this Matter, wherein it is almoſt more than time to ſpeak, I write frankly, compelled and enforced thereunto, both in reſpect of my private Duty, and otherwiſe, for my diſcharge; foraſmuch as it pleaſeth his Majeſty to uſe me in the lieu of a Counſellour, whoſe Office is as an Eye to the Prince, to foreſee, and in time to provide remedy for ſuch Abuſes, Enormities, and Inconveniences, as might elſe with a little ſufferance engender more evil in Publick Weal, than could be after recovered, with much labour, ſtudy, diligence,

Cotton Libr. *Cleop. E.* 4.

ligence, and travails. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From the *Rolls*, the *6th of January*.

Your Lordſhip's Friend,

Thomas Cromwell.

XIV. The Commiſſion by which *Bonner* held his Biſhoprick of the King.

Licentia Regia conceſſa Domino Epiſcopo ad exercendam Juriſdictionem Epiſcopalem.

Regiſt. *Bonner.* fol. *primo.*

HEnricus Octavus, Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, Dominus Hiberniæ, & in Terra Supremum Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Caput, Reverendo in Chriſto Patri Edmundo Londonenſi Epiſcopo Salutem. Quandoquidem omnis juriſdicendi Autoritas, atq; etiam juriſdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ Eccleſiaſtica dicitur quam Sæcularis, à Regia Poteſtate velut à Supremo Capite, & omnium infra Regnum noſtrum Magiſtratuum fonte & ſcaturigine, primitus emanavit, ſane illos qui juriſdictionem hujuſmodi antehac non niſi precario fungebantur, beneficium hujuſmodi ſic eis ex liberalitate Regia indultum gratis animis agnoſcere, idq; Regiæ Munificentiæ ſolummodo acceptum referre, eique, quotiens ejus Majeſtati videbitur, libenter concedere convenit. Quum itaq; nos perdilectum Commiſſarium noſtrum Thomam Cromwell Nobilis ordinis Garterii Militem, Dominum Cromwell & de Wymolden noſtri privati Sigilli Cuſtodem, noſtrumq; ad quaſcunq; cauſas Eccleſiaſticas noſtra Authoritate, uti Supremi Capitis dictæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, quomodolibet tractand. ſive ventiland. Vicem-gerentem, Vicarium Generalem & Officialem Principalem, per alias Literas Patentes ſigillo noſtro Majori communitas, conſtituerimus & præfecerimus. Quia tamen ipſe Thomas Cromwell noſtris & hujus Regni Angliæ tot & tam arduis negotiis adeo præpeditus exiſtit, quod ad omnem juriſdictionem nobis, uti Supremo Capiti hujuſmodi competentem, ubiq; locorum infra hoc Regnum noſtrum præfatum, in his quæ moram commode non patiuntur aut ſine noſtrorum ſubditorum injuria differri non poſſunt, in ſua perſona expediend. non ſufficiet, Nos tuis in hac parte ſupplicationibus humilibus inclinati, & noſtrorum ſubditorum commodis conſulere cupientes, Tibi vices noſtras ſub modo & forma inferius deſcriptis committendas fore, Teq; licentiandum eſſe decernimus, ad ordinandum igitur quoſcunq; infra Dioc. tuam London. ubicunq; oriundos, quos moribus & literatura prævio deligenti & rigoroſo examine idoneos fore compereris, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Presbyteratus ordines promovendum, præſentatoſque ad beneficia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunque infra Dioc. tuam London. conſtituta, ſi ad curam beneficiis hujuſmodi imminentem ſuſtinend. habiles reperti fuerunt & idonei, admittendum ac in & de iiſdem inſtituendum & inveſtigandum; Ac etian ſi res ita exigat deſtituendum,

tuendum, beneficiaq; Eccleſiaſtica quæcunq; ad tuam collationem ſive diſpoſitionem ſpectantia & pertinentia perſonis idoneis conferendum, atq; approbandum teſtamenta & ultimas voluntates quorumcunq; tuæ Diocæſeos, bona, jura, ſive credita non ultra ſummam centum librarum in bonis ſuis vitæ & mortis ſuarum temporibus habend. necnon adminiſtrationes quorumcunq; ſubditorum noſtrorum tuæ Dioc. ab inteſtato decedend. quorum bona, jura, ſive credita non ultra ſummam prædictam vitæ & mortis ſuarum temporibus ſeſe extendent, quatenus hujuſmodi teſtatorum approbatio atq; adminiſtrationis commiſſio ſive conceſſio per prædeceſſores tuos aut eorum alicujus reſpective Commiſſarios retroactis temporibus fiebat ac fieri & committi potuit, & non aliter committendum, Calculumq; ratiocinium & alia in ea parte expedienda cauſaſq; lites & negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendend. indeciſ. necnon alias ſive alia, quaſcunq; ſive quæcunq; ad forum Eccleſiaſticum pertinentia ad te aut tuos deputatos ſive deputand. per viam querelæ aut appellationis ſive ex offic. devolvend. ſive deducen. quæ extra legum noſtrarum & ſtatutorum Reg. noſtri offenſ. coram te aut tuis Deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam ſive alicujus Comiſſariorum per te vigore hujus Comiſſionis noſtræ deputandorum cognitionem devolvi aut deduci valeant & poſſint, examinand. & decidend. Ad viſitandum inſuper Capitulum Eccleſiæ tuæ Cathedral. London. civitatemq; London. necnon omnia & ſingula Monaſteria, Abbatias & Prioratus, Collegia & alia loca pia, tam Religioſa quam Hoſpitalia, quæcunq; clerumq; & populum dict. Dioc. London. quatenus Eccleſiæ, Monaſterii, Abbatiæ, per te ſive Prædeceſſores tuos London. Epiſcopos viſitatio hujuſmodi temporibus retroactis exerceri potuit, ac per te ſive per eoſdem de legibus & ſtatutis ac juribus Regni noſtri exerceri potuit & poteſt, & non aliter: Necnon ad inquirendum per te, vel alium ſeu alios ad id per te deputandum ſive deputandos, tam ex officio mero mixto quam promoto ſuper quorumcunq; exceſſibus, criminibus ſeu delictis quibuſcunq; ad forum Eccleſiaſticum ſpectantibus infra Dioc. London. ac delinquentes ſive criminoſos, juxta comperta per te in ea parte per Licita Juris remedia pro modo culpæ, prout natura & qualitas delicti popoſcerit, coercendum & puniendum, cæteraq; omnia & ſingula in Præmiſſis ſeu aliquo præmiſſorum, aut circa ea neceſſaria ſeu quomodolibet opportuna, ac alia quæcunq; Autoritatem & Juriſdictionem Epiſcopalem quoviſmodo reſpiciend. & concernend. præter & ultra ea quæ tibi ex Sacris Literis divinitus commiſſa eſſe dignoſcantur, vice, nomine, & Autoritate noſtris exequendum, Tibi, de cujus ſana doctrina, conſcientiæ puritate, vitæq; & morum integritate, ac in rebus gerendis fide & induſtria plurimum confidimus, vices noſtras cum poteſtate alium vel alios, Commiſſarium vel Commiſſarios, ad præmiſſa ſeu eorum aliqua ſurrogandi & ſubſtituendi, eoſdemq; ad placitum revocand. tenore præſentium committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus; Teq; licentiam per præſentes ad noſtri beneplaciti duntaxat duraturas cum cujuſlibet congruæ & Eccleſiaſticæ coercionis poteſtate quacunq; inhibitione in te datam præſentium emanata in aliquo non obſtante Tuam Conſcientiam coram Deo ſtrictiſſime onerantes, & ut ſummo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere, & coram nobis tuo cum periculo corporali reſpondere intendis: te admonentes ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangeliii normam pie & ſancte exercere ſtudeas, & ne quem ullo tempore unquam vel ad ſacros ordines promoveas, vel ad

curam animarum gerend. quovis modo admittas, niſi eos duntaxat quos ad tanti & tam venerabilis Officii functionem vitæ & morum integritas certiſſimis teſtimoniis approbata, literarum ſcientiæ & aliæ qualitates requiſitæ ad hoc habiles & idoneos clare & luculenter oſtenderint & declaraverint; Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumq; habemus morum omnium, & Maxime Chriſtianæ Religionis corruptelam a malis Paſtoribus in populum emanaſſe, ſic ut veram Chriſti Religionem, vitæq; & morum emendationem a bonis Paſtoribus iterum delectis & aſſumptis in integrum reſtitutum iri haud dubie ſperamus. In cujus rei teſtimonium præſentes Literas noſtras inde fieri, & Sigilli noſtri quo ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas utimur appenſione juſſimus Communiri. Dat. 12. die menſis Novemb. Anno Dom. 1539. & Regni noſtri Anno 31.

XV. *The King's Letters Patents for printing the Bible in* Engliſh.

Rot. Pat. 31. Hen. 8.

HEnry the Eighth, *&c.* To all and ſingular Printers and Sellers of Books within this our Realm, and all other Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, theſe our Lettters hearing or ſeeing, Greeting. We let you wit, That being deſirous to have our People at all times convenient, give themſelves to the attaining the knowledg of God's Word, whereby they will the better honour him, and obſerve and keep his Commandments; and alſo do their Duties better to us, being their Prince and Soveraign Lord: And conſidering that this our Zeal and Deſire cannot by any mean take ſo good effect, as by the granting to them the free and liberal uſe of the Bible in our own natural *Engliſh* Tongue: ſo unleſs it be foreſeen that the ſame paſs at the beginning by one Tranſlation to be peruſed and conſidered; The frailty of Men is ſuch, that the diverſity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold Inconveniences; as when wilful and heady Folk ſhall confer upon the diverſity of the ſaid Tranſlations. We have therefore appointed our right truſty and well-beloved Counſellor, the Lord *Cromwell*, Keeper of our Privy-Seal, to take for us, and in our Name, ſpecial care and charge, that no manner of Perſon, or Perſons, within this our Realm, ſhall enterpriſe, attempt, or ſet in hand to print any Bible in the *Engliſh* Tongue of any manner of Volumn, during the ſpace of five years next enſuing after the Date hereof, but only all ſuch as ſhall be deputed, aſſigned, and admitted by the ſaid Lord *Cromwell*.

The 13 *Novemb. Triceſimo primo Regni.*

XVI. The

XVI. *The* Attainder of *Thomas Cromwell.*

Item quædam alia petitio, formam cujuſdam actus attincturæ in ſe continens, exhibita eſt ſuæ Regiæ Majeſtati in Parliamento prædicto, cujus tenor ſequitur in hæc verba.

IN their moſt humble-wiſe ſhewing to your moſt Royal Majeſty, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all your moſt loving and obedient Subjects, the Commons in this your moſt high Court of Parliament aſſembled; That where your moſt Royal Majeſty, our Natural Sovereign Lord, is juſtly, and lawfully, really entituled to be our ſole Supream Head and Governour, of this your Realm of *England*, and of the Dominions of the ſame; to whom, and to none other under God, the Kingly Direction, Order, and Governance of your moſt loving and obedient Subjects, and People of this your Realm, only appertaineth and belongeth. And the which your moſt loving and obedient Subjects, your Highneſs prudently and quietly, without any manner of diſturbance by a long time moſt graciouſly hath preſerved, ſuſtained and defended: And your Highneſs, for the Quietneſs, Wealth, and Tranquility of your ſaid humble and obedient Subjects, hath made, and ordained, divers and many moſt godly, vertuous, and wholſome Laws; and for due execution of the ſame, hath not deſiſted to travel in your own moſt Royal Perſon, to ſupport and maintain, as well the Laws of Almighty God, as the Laws by your Highneſs made and ordained, by due and condign Execution of the ſame Laws upon the Tranſgreſſors offending contrary to the ſame: And your Majeſty hath always moſt vertuouſly ſtudied and laboured, by all ways, and all means, to and for the ſetting forth thereof, in ſuch wiſe as might be moſt to the Honour, Glory, and Pleaſure of Almighty God; and for the common accord and wealth of this your Realm, and other your Dominions: And for the true execution of the ſame, hath elected, choſen and made divers, as well of your Nobles as others, to be of your moſt Honourrble Council, as to the Honour of a Noble Prince appertaineth. And where your Majeſty hath had a ſpecial truſt and confidence in your ſaid moſt truſty Counſellors, that the ſame your Counſellors, and every of them, had minded and intended, and finally purpoſed to have followed and purſued your moſt Godly and Princely Purpoſe, as of truth the more number hath moſt faithfully done; Yet nevertheleſs *Thomas Cromwell*, now Earl of *Eſſex*, whom your Majeſty took and received into your truſty Service, the ſame *Thomas* then being a Man of very baſe and low degree, and for ſingular Favour, Truſt and Confidence, which your Majeſty bare and had in him, did not only erect and advance the ſame *Thomas* unto the ſtate of an Earl, and enriched him with manifold Gifts, as well of Goods, as of Lands and Offices, but alſo him, the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, did erect and make one of your moſt truſty Counſellors, as well concerning your Grace's Supream Juriſdictions Eccleſiaſtical, as your moſt high ſecret Affairs Temporal. Nevertheleſs your Majeſty now of late hath found, and tried, by a large number of Witneſſes, being your faithful Subjects, and Perſonages of great Honour,

Parliament Rolls. Act 60. *Anno Regni triceſimo ſecundo.*

Worſhip, and Diſcretion, the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, contrary to the ſingular truſt and confidence which your Majeſty had in him, to be the moſt falſe and corrupt Traitor, Deceiver, and Circumventor againſt your moſt Royal Perſon, and the Imperial Crown of this your Realm, that hath been known, ſeen, or heard of in all the time of your moſt noble Reign: Inſomuch that it is manifeſtly proved and declared, by the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes aforeſaid, That the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, uſurping upon your Kingly Eſtate, Power, Authority, and Office; without your Grace's Commandment or Aſſent, hath taken upon him to ſet at liberty divers Perſons being convicted and attainted of Miſpriſion of High Treaſon; and divers other being apprehended, and in Priſon, for Suſpection of High Treaſon; and over that, divers and many times, at ſundry places in this your Realm, for manifold Sums of Mony to him given, moſt traiterouſly hath taken upon him, by ſeveral Writings, to give and grant, as well unto Aliens, as to your Subjects, a great number of Licenſes for conveying and carrying of Mony, Corn, Grain, Beans, Beer, Leather, Tallow, Bells, Mettals, Horſes, and other Commodities of this your Realm, contrary to your Highneſs's moſt Godly and Gracious Proclamations made for the Common-Wealth of the People of this your Realm in that behalf, and in derogation of your Crown and Dignity. And the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, elated and full of Pride, contrary to his moſt bounden Duty, of his own Authority and Power, not regarding your Majeſty Royal; And further, taking upon him your Power, Sovereign Lord, in that behalf, divers and many times moſt traiterouſly hath conſtituted, deputed and aſſigned, many ſingular Perſons of your Subjects to be Commiſſioners in many, your great, urgent and weighty Cauſes and Affairs, executed and done in this your Realm, without the aſſent, knowledg, or conſent of your Highneſs. And further alſo, being a Perſon of as poor and low degree, as few be within this your Realm; pretending to have ſo great a ſtroak about you, our, and his natural Sovereign Liege Lord, that he letted not to ſay publickly, and declare, That he was ſure of you; which is deteſtable, and to be abhorred amongſt all good Subjects in any Chriſtian Realm, that any Subject ſhould enterprize or take upon him ſo to ſpeak of his Sovereign Liege Lord and King. And alſo of his own Authority and Power without your Highneſs's conſent, hath made, and granted, as well to Strangers as to your own Subjects, divers and many Paſs-ports, to paſs over the Seas, with Horſes, and great Sums of Money, without any ſearch. And over that, moſt Gracious Sovereign Lord, amongſt divers other his Treaſons, Deceits, and Falſhoods, the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, being a deteſtable Heretick, and being in himſelf utterly diſpoſed to ſet and ſow common Sedition and Variance among your true and loving Subjects, hath ſecretly ſet forth and diſperſed into all Shires, and other Territories of this your Realm, and other your Dominions, great numbers of falſe Erroneous Books, whereof many were printed and made beyond the Seas, and divers other within this Realm, compriſing and declaring, among many other Evils and Errors, manifeſt Matters to induce and lead your Subjects to diffidence, and refuſal of the true and ſincere Faith and Belief, which Chriſtian Religion bindeth all Chriſtian People to have, in the moſt Holy and Bleſſed Sacrament

Sacrament of the Altar, and other Articles of Chriſtian Religion, moſt graciouſly declared by your Majeſty, by Authority of Parliament: And certain Matters compriſed in ſome of the ſaid Books, hath cauſed to be tranſlated into our Maternal and Engliſh Tongue: And upon report made unto him by the Tranſlator thereof, that the Matter ſo tranſlated hath expreſly been againſt the ſaid moſt Bleſſed and Holy Sacrament; Yet the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, after he had read the ſame Tranſlation, moſt heretically hath affirmed the ſame material Hereſie ſo tranſlated, to be good; and further hath ſaid, that he found no fault therein; and over that, hath openly and obſtinately holden Opinion, and ſaid, That it was as lawful for every Chriſtian Man to be a Miniſter of the ſaid Sacrament, as well as a Prieſt. And where alſo your moſt Royal Majeſty, being a Prince of Vertue, Learning, and Juſtice, of ſingular Confidence and Truſt, did conſtitute and make the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, your Highneſs's Vicegerent within this your Realm of *England*; and by the ſame, gave unto him Authority and Power, not only to redreſs and reform all, and all manner of Errors, and Erroneous Opinions, inſurging and growing among your loving and obedient Subjects of this your Realm, and of the Dominions of the ſame, but alſo to order and direct all Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual Cauſes within your ſaid Realm and Dominions; the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, not regarding his Duty to Almighty God, and to your Highneſs, under the Seal of your Vicegerent, hath, without your Grace's aſſent or knowledg, licenſed and authorized divers Perſons, detected and ſuſpected of Hereſies, openly to teach and preach amongſt your moſt loving and obedient Subjects within this your Realm of *England*. And under the pretence and colour of the ſaid great Authorities and Cures, which your Majeſty hath committed unto him in the Premiſſes, hath not only, of his corrupt and damnable Will and Mind, actually, at ſome time, by his own Deed and Commandment, and at many other Times by his Letters expreſly written to divers worſhipful Perſons, being Sheriffs, in ſundry Shires of this your Realm, falſly ſuggeſting thereby your Graces Pleaſure ſo to have been, cauſed to be ſet at large many falſe Hereticks, ſome being there indicted, and ſome other being thereof apprehended, and in Ward: and commonly, upon complaints made by credible Perſons unto the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, of great and moſt deteſtable Hereſies committed and ſprung in many places of this your Realm, with declaration of the ſpecialities of the ſame Hereſies, and the Names of the Offenders therein, the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, by his crafty and ſubtil means and inventions, hath not only defended the ſame Hereticks from Puniſhment and Reformation; but being a fautor, maintainer, and ſupporter of Hereticks, divers times hath terribly rebuked divers of the ſaid credible Perſons being their Accuſers, and ſome others of them hath perſecuted and vexed by Impriſonment and otherwiſe. So that thereby many of your Grace's true and loving Subjects have been in much dread and fear, to detect or accuſe ſuch deteſtable known Hereticks; the particularities and ſpecialities of which ſaid abominable Hereſies, Errors, and Offences, committed and done by the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, being over-tedious, long, and of too great number here to be expreſſed, declared, or written. And to the intent to have thoſe damnable

damnable Errors and Hereſies, to be inculcated, impreſſed, and infixed in the Hearts of your Subjects, as well contrary to God's Laws, as to your Laws and Ordinances. Moſt Gracious Soveraign Lord, the ſame *Thomas Cromwel*, Earl of *Eſſex*, hath allured and drawn unto him by Retainours, many of your Subjects ſunderly inhabiting in every of your ſaid Shires and Territories, as well erroneouſly perſwading and declaring to them the Contents of the falſe erroneous Books, above-written to be good, true, and beſt ſtanding with the moſt Holy Word and Pleaſure of God; as other his falſe and heretical Opinions and Errors; whereby, and by his Confederacies therein, he hath cauſed many of your faithful Subjects to be greatly infected with Hereſies, and other Errors, contrary to the right Laws and Pleaſure of Almighty God. And the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, by the falſe and traiterous means above-written, ſuppoſing himſelf to be fully able, by force and ſtrength, to maintain and defend his ſaid abominable Treaſons, Hereſies, and Errors, not regarding his moſt bounden Duty to Almighty God, and his Laws, nor the natural Duty of Allegiance to your Majeſty, in the laſt day of *March* in the 30 year of your moſt gracious Reign, in the Pariſh of *St. Peter the Poor*, within your City of *London*, upon demonſtration and declaration then and there made unto him, that there were certain new Preachers, as *Robert Barnes* Clerk, and other, whereof part were committed to the Tower of *London*, for preaching and teaching of leud Learning againſt your Highneſs's Proclamations; the ſame *Thomas* affirming the ſame preaching to be good, moſt deteſtably, arrogantly, erroneouſly, wilfully, maliciouſly, and traiterouſly, expreſly againſt your Laws and Statutes, then and there did not let to declare, and ſay, theſe moſt traiterous and deteſtable words enſuing, amongſt other words of like matter and effect; that is to ſay, That *if the King would turn from it, yet I would not turn*; *And if the King did turn, and all his People, I would fight in the Field in mine own Perſon, with my Sword in my hand againſt him and all others*; and then, and there, moſt traiterouſly pulled out his Dagger, and held it on high, ſaying theſe words, *Or elſe this Dagger thruſt me to the heart, if I would not die in that Quarrel againſt them all: And I truſt, if I live one year or two, it ſhould not lie in the Kings Power to reſiſt or let it if he would.* And further, then and there ſwearing by a great Oath, traiterouſly affirmed the ſame his traiterous ſaying and pronounciation of words, ſaying, *I will do ſo indeed*, extending up his Arm, as though he had had a Sword in his hand; to the moſt perilous, grievous, and wicked Example of all other your loving, faithful and obedient Subjects in this your Realm, and to the peril of your moſt Royal Perſon. And moreover, our moſt gracious Soveraign Lord, the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, hath acquired and obtained into his poſſeſſion, by Oppreſſion, Bribery, Extort, Power, and falſe Promiſes made by him, to your Subjects of your Realm, innumerable Sums of Mony and Treaſure; and being ſo enriched, hath had your Nobles of your Realm in great diſdain, deriſion, and deteſtation, as by expreſs words by him moſt opprobriouſly ſpoken hath appeared. And being put in remembrance of others, of his eſtate, which your Highneſs hath called him unto, offending in like Treaſons, the laſt day of *January*, in the 31 year of your moſt noble Reign, at the Pariſh of *St. Martins in the Fields*, in the County of *Middleſex*, moſt arrogantly, willingly,

willingly, maliciouſly, and traiterouſly, ſaid, publiſhed, and declared, That *if the Lords would handle him ſo, that he would give them ſuch a Break-faſt as never was made in* England, *and that the proudeſt of them ſhould know*; to the great peril and danger, as well of your Majeſty, as of your Heirs and Succeſſors: For the which his moſt deteſtable and abominable Hereſies and Treaſons, and many other his like Offences and Treaſons over-long here to be rehearſed and declared. Be it Enacted, Ordained, and eſtabliſhed by your Majeſty, with the Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That the ſaid *Thomas Cromwel*, Earl of *Eſſex*, for his abominable and deteſtable Hereſies and Treaſons, by him moſt abominably, heretically, and traiterouſly practiſed, committed, and done, as well againſt Almighty God, as againſt your Majeſty, and this your ſaid Realm, ſhall be, and ſtand, by Authority of this preſent Parliament, convicted and attainted of Hereſie and High Treaſon, and be adjudged an abominable and deteſtable Heretick and Traitor; and ſhall have and ſuffer ſuch pains of Death, loſſes, and forfeitures of Goods, Debts, and Chattels, as in caſe of Hereſie and High Treaſon, or as in caſes of either of them, at the pleaſure of your moſt Royal Majeſty. And that the ſame *Thomas Cromwel*, Earl of *Eſſex*, ſhall, by Authority aboveſaid, loſe, and forfeit to your Highneſs, and to your Heirs and Succeſſors, all ſuch his Caſtles, Lordſhips, Mannors, Meſſuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Remainders, Services, Poſſeſſions, Offices, Rights, Conditions, and all other his Hereditaments, of what names, nature, or qualities ſoever they be, which he the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, or any other to his uſe had, or ought to have had, of any Eſtate of Inheritance, in Fee-Simple or Fee Tail, in Reverſion or Poſſeſſion, at the ſaid laſt day of *March*, in the ſaid thirtieth Year of your moſt Gracious Reign, or any time ſith or after, as in Caſes of High Treaſon. And that all the ſaid Caſtles, Lordſhips, Mannors, Lands, Meſſuages, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Remainders, Services, Poſſeſſions, Offices, and all other the Premiſſes forfeited, as is aboveſaid, ſhall be deemed, inveſted, and adjudged, in the Lawful, real, and actual poſſeſſion of your Highneſs, your Heirs, and Succeſſors for ever in the ſame, and in ſuch eſtate, manner, and form, as if the ſaid Caſtles, Lordſhips, Mannors, Meſſuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Remainders, Services, Poſſeſſions, Offices, and other the Premiſes, with their Appurtenances, and every of them, were ſpecially or particularly founden, by Office or Offices, Inquiſition or Inquiſitions, to be taken by any Eſcheator, or Eſcheators, or any other Commiſſioner or Commiſſioners, by virtue of any Commiſſion or Commiſſions to them or any of them, to be directed in any County or Counties, Shire or Shires, within this your Realm of *England*, where the ſaid Caſtles, and other the Premiſſes or any of them, been, or do lye, and returned into any of your Majeſties Courts. Saving to all and ſingular, Perſon and Perſons, Bodies politick and corporate, their Heirs and Succeſſors, and their Succeſſors and Aſſignes of every of them, other than the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and his Heirs, and all and every other Perſon and Perſons, claiming by the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, and to his uſe, all ſuch Right, Title, Entrie, Poſſeſſions, Intereſt, Reverſions, Remainders,

Leaſe,

Leaſe, Leaſes, Conditions, Fees, Offices, Rents, Annuities, Commons, and all other Commodities, Profits, and Hereditaments what ſoever they or any of them might, ſhould, or ought to have had, if this Act had never been had or made. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that this Act of Attainder, ne any Offence, ne other thing therein contained, extend not unto the Deanery of *Wells* in the County of *Summerſet*; nor to any Mannors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments thereunto belonging; nor be in any wiſe prejudicial or hurtful to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, nor to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. *Andrew* of *Wells*, nor to any of them, nor to any of their Succeſſors; but that the ſaid Biſhop, Dean, and Chapters, and their Succeſſors, and every of them, ſhall and may have, hold, uſe, occupy, and enjoy, all and ſingular their Titles, Rights, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, and Services, and all and ſingular other their Hereditaments, Commodities, and Profits, of what nature, kind, or quality, or condition ſoever they be, in as ample and large manner and form, as tho this Act of Attainder, or any Offence therein mentioned, had never been had, committed, nor made; and that from hence forth the Dean, and his Succeſſors, Deans of the ſaid Cathedral Church that hereafter ſhall be perfected, elected, and admitted to the ſame, Shall, by the Authority aforeſaid, be Dean of the ſaid Cathedral Church, fully and wholly incorporated with the Chapter of the ſame, in as ample, large, and like manner and form, to all intents and purpoſes, as the Deans before this time hath been and uſed to be, with the ſaid Chapter of the ſaid Cathedral Church of *Wells*. And that the ſame Dean and Chapter, and their Succeſſors, ſhall have, occupy, and enjoy, all and ſingular their ſuch Poſſeſſions, Manners, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, and Services, and all and ſingular their Hereditaments, of what nature, kind, name or names they be called or known. And ſhall be adjudged and deemed in actual and real poſſeſſion and ſeizin of, and in the ſame Premiſes, to all intents and purpoſes, according to their old Corporation, as tho this Act of Attainder, or any thing, clauſe, or matter therein contained had never been had, committed, nor made. This ſaid Act of Attainder, or any other Act, Proviſion, or any thing heretofore had or made to the contrary notwithſtanding. *Cui quidem petitioni cum proviſione prædict. perlect. & intellect. per dictum Dominum Regem ex Authoritate & conſenſu Parliamenti prædicti ſic Reſponſum eſt.*

Soit faict come il eſt deſiro.

XVI.

XVII. Cromwel's *Letter to the King concerning his Marriage with* Ann *of* Cleve. *An Original.*

To the King, my moſt Gracious Sovereign Lord his Royal Majeſty.

MOſt Merciful King, and moſt Gracious Sovereign Lord, may it pleaſe the ſame to be advertiſed, That the laſt time it pleaſed your beſign Goodneſs to ſend unto me the Right Honourable Lord Chancellor, the Right Honourable Duke of *Norff.* and the Lord Admiral, to examine, and alſo to declare unto me divers things from your Majeſty; among the which, one ſpecial thing they moved, and, thereupon they charged me, as I would anſwer before God at the dreadful day of Judgment, and alſo upon the extream danger and damnation of my Soul and Conſcience, to ſay what I knew in the Marriage, and concerning the Marriage, between your Highneſs and the Queen. To the which I anſwered as I knew, declaring unto them the Particulars, as nigh as I then could call to remembrance. Which when they had heard, they, in your Majeſties Name, and upon like charge as they had given me before, commanded me to write to your Highneſs the Truth, as much as I knew in that Matter; which now I do, and the very truth, as God ſhall ſave me, to the uttermoſt of my knowledg. Firſt; After your Majeſty heard of the Lady *Ann* of *Cleves* arrival at *Dover*, and that her Journeys were appointed towards *Greenwich*, and that ſhe ſhould be at *Rocheſter* on New-years Even at night, your Highneſs declared to me, that you would privily viſit her at *Rocheſter*, upon New-years day, adding theſe words, *To nouriſh love*; which accordingly your Grace did upon New-years-day, as is above-ſaid. And the next day, being *Friday*, your Grace returned to *Greenwich*, where I ſpake with your Grace, and demanded of your Majeſty, How ye liked the Lady *Ann*: your Highneſs anſwered, as me thought, heavily, and not pleaſantly, *Nothing ſo well as ſhe was ſpoken of*; ſaying further, *That if your Highneſs had known as much before as ye then knew, ſhe ſhould not have come within this Realm*; ſaying as by the way of lamentation, *What Remedy?* Unto the which I anſwered and ſaid, I know, none but was very ſorry therefore; and ſo God knoweth I was, for I thought it a hard beginning. The next day after the receipt of the ſaid Lady, and her entry made unto *Greenwich*, and after your Highneſs had brought her to her Chamber, I then waited upon your Highneſs into your Privy-Chamber; and being there, your Grace called me unto you, ſaying to me theſe words, or the like, *My Lord, is it not as I told you? ſay what they will, ſhe is nothing ſo fair as ſhe hath been reported; howbeit ſhe is well and ſeemly.* Whereunto I anſwered and ſaid, By my Faith, Sir, ye ſay truth; adding thereunto, that I thought ſhe had a Queenly manner; and nevertheleſs was ſorry that your Grace was no better content: And thereupon your Grace commanded me to call together your Council, which were theſe by name; The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and

Cotton Libr. *Otho* C. 10.

Suffolk, my Lord Admiral, and my Lord of *Dureſme*, and my ſelf to commune of theſe Matters, and to know what Commiſſions the Agents of *Cleves* had brought, as well touching the performance of the Covenants ſent before from hence to Dr. *Wotton*, to have been concluded in *Cleves*, as alſo in the declaration how the Matters ſtood for the Covenants of Marriage, between the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, and the ſaid Lady *Ann*. Whereupon *Oleſleger* and *Hogeſton* were called, and the Matters propoſed; whereby it plainly appeared, that they were much aſtoniſhed and abaſhed, and deſired that they might make anſwer in the next morning, which was *Sunday*: And upon the *Sunday* in the morning your ſaid Counſellors and they met together early, and there eft ſoons was propoſed unto them, as well touching the Commiſſion for the performance of the Treaty and Articles ſent to Mr. *Wotton*, as alſo touching the Contracts and Covenants of Marriage between the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, and the Lady *Ann*, and what terms they ſtood in. To which things ſo propoſed, they anſwered as Men much perplexed, That as touching Commiſſion, they had none to treat concerning the Articles ſent to Mr. *Wotton*. And as to the contract and covenants of Marriage they could ſay nothing, but that a Revocation was made, and that they were but Sponſals. And finally, after much reaſoning, they offered themſelves to remain Priſoners, until ſuch time as they ſhould have ſent unto them from *Cleves* the firſt Articles ratified under the Duke their Maſters Sign and Seal, and alſo the Copy of the Revocation made between the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son and the Lady *Ann*. Upon the which Anſwers, I was ſent to your Highneſs by my Lords of your Council, to declare to your Highneſs their Anſwer; and came to you, by the Privy Way, into your Privy Chamber, and declared unto the ſame all the circumſtances, wherewith your Grace was very much diſpleaſed, ſaying, *I am not well handled*; inſomuch that I might well perceive that your Highneſs was fully determined not to have gone through with the Marriage at that time, ſaying unto me theſe words, or the like in effect; *That if it were not that ſhe is come ſo far into my Realm, and the great Preparations that my States and People have made for her, and for fear of making a ruffle in the World; that is, to mean to drive her Brother into the hands of the Emperor, and the French King's hands, being now together, I would never have ne married her.* So that I might well perceive your Grace was neither content with the Perſon, ne yet with the Proceedings of the Agents; And at after-dinner, the ſaid *Sunday*, your Grace ſent for all your ſaid Counſellors in, repeating how your Highneſs was handled, as well touching the ſaid Articles, as alſo the ſaid Matter of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son. It might, and I doubt not, did appear unto them how loth your Highneſs was to have married at that time. And thereupon, and upon the Conſiderations aforeſaid, your Grace thought that it ſhould be well done that ſhe ſhould make a Proteſtation before your ſaid Counſellors and Notaries to be preſent, that ſhe was free from all Contracts; which was done accordingly. And thereupon I repairing to your Highneſs, declared how that ſhe had made her Proteſtation. Whereunto your Grace anſwered in effect theſe words, or much like; *Is there none other Remedy, but that I muſt needs, againſt my Will, put my Neck in the Yoke?* and ſo departed, leaving your Highneſs in a ſtudy or penſiveneſs. And yet your Grace determined the next morning

morning to go through; and in the morning, which was *Monday*, your Majesty preparing your self towards the Ceremonies; There was one Question, who should lead to the Church? And it was appointed that the Earl of *Essex* deceased, and an Earl that came with her, should lead her to the Church. And thereupon one came to your Highness, and said to you, That the Earl of *Essex* was not come; whereupon your Grace appointed me to be one that should lead her: And so I went into her Chamber, to the intent to have done your Commandment; and shortly after I came into her Chamber, the Earl of *Essex* was come: Whereupon I repaired back again into your Graces Privy Chamber, and shewed your Highness how he was come; and thereupon your Majesty advanced towards the Gallery out of your Privy Chamber; and your Grace being in and about the midst of your Chamber of Presence, called me unto you, saying these words, or the like in Sentence; *My Lord, if it were not to satisfy the World, and my Realm, I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing*; and therewith one brought your Grace Word that she was coming; and thereupon your Grace repaired into the Gallery towards the Closet, and there paused for her coming, being nothing content that she so long tarried, as I judged then. And so consequently she came, and your Grace afterwards proceeded to the Ceremonies; and they being finished, travelled the day as appertained, and the night after the custom. And in the morning on *Tuesday*, I repairing to your Majesty into your Privy-Chamber, finding your Grace not so pleasant as I trusted to have done, I was so bold to ask your Grace how you liked the Queen? Whereunto your Grace soberly answered, saying, *That I was not all Men, surely, as ye know, I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worse; for*, quoth your Highness, *I have felt her Belly, and her Breasts, and thereby, as I can judg, she should be no Maid; which strook me so to the Heart when I felt them, that I had neither will nor courage to proceed any farther in other Matters*; saying, *I have left her as good a Maid as I found her*: Which methought then ye spake displeasantly, which made me very sorry to hear; Your Highness also after *Candlemas*, and before *Shrovetide*, once or twice said, That *ye were in the same case with her as ye were afore, and that your Heart could never consent to meddle with her carnally*. Notwithstanding your Highness alledged that ye for the most part used to lay nightly, or every second night by her, and yet your Majesty ever said, *That she was as good a Maid for you, as ever her Mother bare her, for any thing ye had ministred to her*. Your Highness shewed to me also in *Lent* last passed, at such time as your Grace had some communication with her of my Lady *Mary*, how that she began to wax stubborn and wilful, ever lamenting your fate, and ever verifying that ye never had any carnal knowledg with her: And also after *Easter*, your Grace likewise, at divers times, and in the *Whitsun*-week, in your Grace's Privy-Chamber at *Greenwich*, exceedingly lamented your fate, and that your greatest grief was, That *ye should surely never have any more Children for the comfort of this Realm, if ye should so continue*; assuring me, *that before God ye thought she was never your lawful Wife*. At which time your Grace knoweth what answer I made; which was, that I would for my part do my utmost to comfort and deliver your Grace of your Afflictions; and how sorry I was both to see and hear your Grace, God knoweth. Your Grace divers times

ſithen *Whitſuntide*, ever alledging one thing, and alſo ſaying, That ye *had as much to do to move the conſent of your Heart and Mind as ever did Man, and that you took God to witneſs*; *but ever*, you ſaid, *the Obſtacle could never out of your Mind.* And, Gracious Prince, after that you had firſt ſeen her at *Rocheſter*, I never thought in my heart that ye were or would be contented with that Marriage. And Sir, I know now in what caſe I ſtand, in which is only the Mercy of God and your Grace; if I have not, to the uttermoſt of my remembrance, ſaid the Truth, and the whole Truth in this Matter, God never help me. I am ſure there is, as I think, no man in this your Realm that knew more in this than I did, your Highneſs only excepted. And I am ſure, my Lord Admiral calling to his remembrance, can ſhew your Highneſs, and be my Witneſs what I ſaid unto him after your Grace came from *Rocheſter*, yea, and after your Grace's Marriage: And alſo now of late, ſithence *Witſuntide*, and I doubt not but many and divers of my Lords of your Council, both before your Marriage, and ſithence, have right well perceived that your Majeſty hath not been well pleaſed with your Marriage. And as I ſhall anſwer to God, I never thought your Grace content, after you had once ſeen her at *Rocheſter*. And this is all that I know, moſt gracious and moſt merciful Sovereign Lord, beſeeching Almighty God, who ever hath in all your Cauſes counſelled, preſerved, opened, maintained, relieved, and defended your Highneſs; So he will now vouchſafe to counſel you, preſerve you, maintain you, remedy you, relieve and defend you, as may be moſt to your Honour, with Proſperity, Health, and Comfort of your Hearts deſire. For the which, and for the long Life, and proſperous Reign of your moſt Royal Majeſty, I ſhall, during my Life, and whiles I am here, pray to Almighty God, that he of his moſt abundant Goodneſs will help, aid, and comfort you, after your continuance of *Neſtor*'s Years: that that moſt noble Imp, the Prince's Grace, your moſt dear Son, may ſucceed you to Reign long, proſperouſly, and feliciouſly to God's pleaſure: beſeeching moſt humbly your Grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to conſider that I a moſt woful Priſoner, ready to take the Death, when it ſhall pleaſe God and your Majeſty; and yet the frail fleſh inciteth me continually to call to your Grace for Mercy and Grace for mine Offences; and thus Chriſt ſave, preſerve, and keep you.

Written at the *Tower* this *Wedneſday*, the laſt of *June*, with the heavy Heart, and trembling hand, of your Highneſs's moſt heavy and moſt miſerable Priſoner, and poor Slave,

Thomas Cromwell,

Moſt Gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.

XVIII. *The*

XVIII. *The King's own Declaration concerning it. An Original.*

FIrſt I depoſe and declare, That this hereafter written is meerly the verity intended, upon none ſiniſter affection, nor yet upon none hatred nor diſpleaſure, and herein I take God to witneſs. Now to the Matter I ſay and affirm; That when the firſt communication was had with me for the Marriage of the Lady *Ann* of *Cleves*, I was glad to hearken to it, truſting to have ſome aſſured Friend by it; I much doubting that time, both the Emperor, *France*, and the Biſhop of *Rome*; and alſo becauſe I heard ſo much, both of her excellent Beauty and virtuous Conditions. But when I ſaw her at *Rocheſter*, the firſt time that ever I ſaw her, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any Pact or Bond before with her till I ſaw her my ſelf; for then I aſſure you I liked her ſo ill, and ſo far contrary to that ſhe was praiſed, that I was woe that ever ſhe came into *England*; and delibe-rated with my ſelf, that if it were poſſible to find means to break off, I would never enter Yoke with her. Of which miſliking, both the great Maſter, the Admiral that now is, and the Maſter of the Horſes, can and will here record. Then after my Repair to *Greenwich*, the next day af-ter I think, and doubt not, but that the Lord of *Eſſex* well examined, can, and will, or hath declared what I then ſaid to him in that caſe; not doubting, but ſince he is a Perſon which knoweth himſelf condemned to dye by Act of Parliament, will not damn his Soul, but truly declare the Truth, not only at the time ſpoken by me, but alſo continually till the day of Marriage; and alſo many times after, whereby my lack of conſent, I doubt not, doth or ſhall well appear; And alſo lack enough of the Will and Power to conſummate the ſame; wherein both he, my Phyſitians, the Lord Privy Seal that now is, *Hennage* and *Denny* can, and I doubt not will teſtifie according to truth, which is, That I never for Love to the Woman conſented to marry; nor yet if ſhe brought Maiden-head with her, took any from her by true Carnal Copulation. This is my brief, true, and perfect Declaration. *Cotton* Libr. *Otho.* C. 10.

XIX. *The Judgment of the Convocation for annulling of the Marriage with* Ann *of* Cleve.

TEnor vero Literarum Teſtimonialium hujuſmodi ſequitur, & eſt talis. Excellentiſſimo in Chriſto Principi, &c. Thomas Cantuarien. & Edwardus Eboracen. Archiepiſcopi, ceteriq; Epiſcopi & reliquus veſtri Regni Angliæ Clerus Autoritate Literarum Commiſſionalium Veſtræ Majeſtatis, Congregati ac Synodum univerſalem repræſentantes, cum obſequio, reverentia & honore debitis, ſalutem & felicitatem. Cum nos humilimi & Majeſtatis Veſtræ devotiſſimi ſubditi, Convocati & Congregati ſumus virtute Commiſſionis Veſtræ magno ſigillo Veſtro ſigillat. Regiſt. *Cranmer.*

ſigillat. dat. 6 Julii Anno fœliciſſimi Regni Veſtri triceſimo ſecundo, quam accepimus in hæc quæ ſequuntur verba.

Henricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. Archiepiſcopis Cantuarien. & Eborac. ac cæteris Regni noſtri Angliæ Epiſcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, & univerſo Clero, ſalutem. Egerunt apud nos Regni noſtri proceres & populus, ut cum nuper quædam emerſerint, quæ ut illi putant ad nos Regniq; noſtri ſucceſſionem pertineant, inter quæ præcipua eſt, cauſa & conditio Matrimonii quod cum Illuſtri & Nobili Fœmina Domina Anna Clevenſi propter externam quidem conjugii ſpeciem, perplexum alioqui etiam multis ac variis modis ambiguum videtur; Nos ad ejuſdem Matrimonii diſquiſitionem ita procedere dignaremur, ut opinionem Veſtram qui in Eccleſia noſtra Anglicana ſcientiam Verbi Dei & Doctrinam profitemini exquiramus, vobiſq; diſcutiendum Autoritatem ita demandemus, ut ſi animis Veſtris fuerit perſuaſum Matrimonium cum præfata Domina Anna minime conſiſtere aut cohærere debere; nos ad Matrimonium contrahend. cum alia liberos eſſe, Veſtro, Patrum ac reliquæ deinde Eccleſiæ ſuffragio pronuncietur & confirmetur. Nos autem qui Veſtrum in reliquis Eccleſiæ hujus Anglicanæ negotiis gravioribus quæ Eccleſiaſticam Oeconomiam & Religionem ſpectant judicium amplecti ſolemus, ad veritatis explicandæ teſtimonium omnino neceſſarium rati ſumus Cauſæ hujuſmodi Matrimonialis ſeriem & circumſtantias vobis exponi & communicari curare, ut quod vos per Dei Leges licere decreveritis, id demum totius Eccleſiæ noſtræ Autoritate innixi licite facere & exequi audeamus. Vos itaq; Convocari & in Synodum Univerſalem noſtra Autoritate convenire volentes, vobis conjunctim & diviſim committimus atq; mandamus ut inſpecta hujus negotii veritate, ac ſolum Deum præ oculis habentes, quod verum, quod juſtum, quod honeſtum, quod ſanctum eſt, id nobis de communi Concilio ſcripto annuncio renuncietis & de communi conſenſu licere definiatis: Nempe hoc unum a vobis noſtro jure poſtulamus, ut tanquam fida & proba Eccleſiæ membra cauſæ huic Eccleſiaſticæ, quæ maxima eſt, in juſtitia & veritate adeſſe velitis & eam maturrime juxta Commiſſionem vobis in hac parte factam abſolvere & expedire. In cujus rei Teſtimonium has Literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmon. ſexto die Julii, Anno Regni noſtri triceſſimo ſecundo. Nos tenorem & effectum Veſtræ Commiſſionis per omnia ſequentes, poſtquam matura deliberatione perpendimus & conſideravimus omnes Matrimonii prætenſi inter Veſtram Majeſtatem Illuſtriſſimam & Nobilem fœminam Dominam Annam Clevenſem circumſtantias, nobis multis modis expoſitas, cognitas & perſpectas, tandem ad definitionem & determinationem ſequentem, quam communi omnium conſenſu juſtorumq; animorum noſtrorum judicio ac recto conſcientiæ dictamine protulimus, proceſſimus, in hunc modum & (quod tenor Veſtræ Commiſſionis exigit) Veſtræ Nobiliſſimæ Majeſtati in hoc præſenti ſcripto referend. duximus, & ſignificamus prout ſequitur.

Primum itaq; comperimus & conſideravimus Matrimonium inter Majeſtatem Veſtram & Nobilem fœminam Dominam Annam Clevenſem prætenſam præcontracto quodam ſive ſponſaliorum, ſive Matrimonii, inter dictam Dominam Annam & Marchionem Lotharingiæ concluſo ambiguum, plane impeditum & perplexum reddi; Animadvertimus enim quod quamvis Veſtra Majeſtas in prima hujus Matrimonii prætenſi tractatione

tractatione præcontractus prædicti, & de quo tum ſermo multus habebatur, diſcuſſionem & declarationem ante ſolemnizandum cum dicta Domina Anna Matrimonium tanta inſtantia exegerit, ut pro conditione contrahendi deinde Matrimonii fuiſſe merito exiſtimari poſſit, qua conditione defacta nihil ageretur; atq; hæc cum ita ſe haberent tamen neq; ante ſolemnizationem illa de præcontractu ambiguitas expedita & declarata eſt, cum id ipſum tum temporis Majeſtas Veſtra denuo expoſceret & efflagitaret, cui clara jam & expedita eſſe omnia falſo renunciabatur, neq; poſtea quicquam efficax ut promiſſum ab Oratoribus fuerat, huc tranſmiſſum eſt, quo ſcrupulus ille ex præcontractu natus eximeretur, tolleretur aut amoveretur, adeo quidem ut prætenſum Matrimonium inter Majeſtatem Veſtram & Dominam Annam prædictam non modo ex conditionis defectu corruerit, ſed ſi nulla conditio hujuſmodi omnino fuiſſet, certe quidem Matrimonium hujuſmodi prætenſum ex ſola præcontractus hujuſmodi cauſa non explicata in ſuſpenſo manſerit, in eum etiam caſum nullius vigoris omnino ac valoris pronunciandum, quo præcontractum illum verbis de præſenti factum fuiſſe conſtiterit, id quod multis de cauſis eſt veriſimilius & merito ſuſpectum haberi poteſt.

Conſideravimus præterea ex his quæ allegata, affirmata & probata nobis fuerunt, quod prætenſum Matrimonium inter Majeſtatem veſtram & Dominam Annam prædictam internum, purum, perfectum & integrum conſenſum non habuit: Imo contra quemadmodum inter ipſa tractationis initia, cum de hoc Matrimonio ageretur, plurimus illecebrarum fucus adhibitus eſt, & magnus laudationum acervus ſupra fidem cumulatus, ut hic perduceretur & obtruderetur ignota, ita ſolemnizationis actus qui inſtabat a Majeſtate Veſtra animo reluctante & diſſentiente exortus eſt, cauſis maximis & graviſſimis urgentibus & prementibus quæ animum invitum & alienum perpellere merito poſſent.

Conſideravimus etiam carnalem Copulam inter Majeſtatem Veſtram & prædictam Dominam Annam minime ſecutam eſſe, nec cum ea juſto impedimento intercedente conſequi deinde poſſe. Quæ omnia ex his quas audivimus probationibus, vera & certa eſſe exiſtimamus. Poſtremo illud quoq; Conſideramus, quod & nobis ab aliis propoſitum etiam nos verum eſſe fatemur, agnoſcimus & approbamus viz. ut ſi Majeſtas Veſtra (modo ne fiat divinæ juſſioni præjudicium) in libertate contrahendi Matrimonii cum alia eſſe declaretur, maxime totius Regni beneficio id futurum. Cum quidem Regni fœlicitas omnis & conſervatio, tum in Regia Veſtra perſona ad Dei honorem & divinarum legum executionem conſervandam conſiſtit, tum in vitandis etiam ſiniſtris omnibus opinionibus & ſcandalis quæ de Majeſtatis Veſtræ progenie poſt natam nobis ex prætenſo Matrimonio ſobolem ſuborirentur, ſi præcontractus ille de quo diximus, & cujus declaratio nulla ſecuta eſt, prædictæ Dominæ Annæ objiceretur. His itaq; de cauſis & conſiderationibus aliiſq; multis non neceſſariis quæ exprimantur, cum ſeparatim ſingulis, tum conjunctim omnibus conſideratis & perpenſis, Nos Archiepiſcopi & Epiſcopi, cum Decanis, Archidiaconis, & reliquo hujus Regni Clero nunc congregato, circumſtantias facti ejuſq; veritatem ut antedictum eſt conſiderantes, tum vero quid Eccleſia in hujuſmodi caſibus & poſſit facere & ſæpenumero antehac fecerit perpendentes, tenore præſentium declaramus & definimus, Majeſtatem Veſtram prædicto Matrimonio prætenſo, utpote nullo & invalido, non alligari, ſed alio deſuper judicio non expectato

Eccleſiæ

Eccleſiæ ſuæ Autoritate fretam poſſe arbitrio ſuo ad contrahend. & conſummand. Matrimonium cum quavis fœmina, divino jure vobiſcum contrahere non prohibita, procedere, prætenſo illo cum Domina Anna prædicta Matrimonio non obſtante.

Similiter Dominam Annam prædictam non obſtante Matrimonio prætenſo cum Majeſtate Veſtra, quod nullo pacto obſtare debere Decernimus, poſſe arbitrio ſuo cum quavis alia perſona divino jure non prohibita Matrimonium contrahere. Hæc Nos Clerum & doctam Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ partem repræſentantes, tum vera, juſta, honeſta, & ſancta eſſe Affirmamus, tum eiſdem qui perfectiſſime, integerrime, & efficaciſſimæ ad omnem intentionem, propoſitum & effectum a nobis exigi poteſt, Conſentimus & Aſſentimur per præſentes. In quorum omnium & ſingulorum teſtimonium hæc ſcripta manuum noſtrarum ſubſcriptione, communimus, utriuſq; etiam Archiepiſcopi ſigillo appoſito. Dat. Weſtmon. nono die menſis Julii, Anno Dom. 1540.

XX. Ann *of* Cleve's *Letter to her Brother*

BROTHER,

Cotton Libr. *Otho.* C. 10. BEcauſe I had rather ye knew the Truth by mine Advertiſement, than for want thereof ye ſhould be deceived by vain Reports, I write theſe preſent Letters unto you, by which ye ſhall underſtand, That being advertiſed how the Nobles and Commons of this Realm deſired the King's Highneſs here to commit the examination of the Matter of Marriage, between me and his Majeſty, to the determination of the Clergy: I did the more willingly conſent thereunto, and ſince the determination made, have alſo allowed, approved, and agreed unto the ſame, wherein I have more reſpect, as becometh me, to Truth and good Pleaſure, than any worldly Affection that might move me to the contrary. I account God pleaſed with that is done, and know my ſelf to have ſuffered no wrong or injury; but being my Body preſerved in the integrity which I brought into this Realm, and I truly diſcharged from all band of Conſent, I find the King's Highneſs, whom I cannot juſtly have as my Husband, to be nevertheleſs as a moſt kind, loving, and friendly Father and Brother, and to uſe me as honourably, and with as much humanity and liberality as you, I my ſelf, or any of our Kin or Allies could wiſh or deſire; wherein I am, for my own part, ſo well content and ſatisfied, that I much deſire my Mother, You, and other mine Allies ſo to underſtand it, accept, and take it; and ſo to uſe your ſelf towards this Noble and Vertuous Prince, as he may have cauſe to continue his friendſhip towards you, which on his behalf ſhall nothing be impaired or altered for this Matter; for ſo hath it pleaſed his Highneſs to ſignify unto me, that like as he will ſhew me always a moſt fatherly and brotherly kindneſs, and has ſo provided for me; ſo will he remain with you, and other, according to ſuch terms as have paſſed in the ſame knot of Amity which betwen you hath been concluded, this Matter notwithſtanding, in ſuch wiſe as neither I, ne you, or any of our Friends ſhall have juſt cauſe of Miſcontentment. Thus much I have thought

thought neceſſary to write unto you, leſt for want of true knowledg ye might otherwiſe take this Matter than ye ought, and in other ſort care for me than ye ſhould have cauſe. Only I require this of you, That ye ſo uſe your ſelf, as for your untowardneſs in this Matter, I fare not the worſe; whereunto I truſt you will have regard.

XXI. *The Reſolutions of ſeveral Biſhops and Divines, of ſome Queſtions concerning the* Sacraments; *by which it will appear with what maturity and care they proceeded in the Reformation, taken from the Originals, under their own hands. Only in copying them, I judged it might be more acceptable to the Reader to ſee every Mans anſwer ſet down after every Queſtion; and therefore they are publiſhed in this method.* Ex M. SS. D. *Stillfleet.*

The firſt Queſtion.

What a Sacrament is by the Scripture?

Anſwers.

THe Scripture ſheweth not what a Sacrament is, nevertheleſs where in the Latin Text we have *Sacramentum*, there in the Greek we have *Myſterium*; and ſo by the Scripture, *Sacramentum* may be called *Myſterium, id eſt, res occulta ſive arcana.* *Canterbury*

To the firſt; In Scripture we neither find definition nor deſcription of a Sacrament. *York.*

Without prejudice to the Truth, and ſaving always more better Judgment, *Cum facultate etiam melius deliberandi in hæc parte.* *London.*

To the firſt Queſtion; I think that the Scriptures do uſe this word *Sacrament*, in divers places, according to the Matter it treateth upon, *Tobie* 12. *Rev.* 1. *Wiſd.* 2. 6, 12. *Dan.* 2. *Eph.* 1. 3, 5. *Col.* 1. 1 *Tim.* 10. *Rev.* 17. as alſo it doth divers other words: Yet, what a *Sacrament* is by definition, or deſcription of Scripture, I cannot find it explicated openly. Likewiſe as I cannot find the definition or deſcription of the *Trinity*, nor yet ſuch like things. Marry, what other Men can find, being daily and of long ſeaſon exerciſed in Scripture, I cannot tell, referring therefore this thing to their better knowledg.

I think that where this word *Sactamentum* is found in the Scripture in the Latin Tranſlation, there in the Greek is found this word Μυστήριον, that is to ſay, a Myſtery, or a ſecret Thing. *Rocheſter.*

What the word *Sacrament* betokeneth, or what is the definition, deſcription, or notification thereof, I have found no ſuch plainly ſet out by Scripture. But this I find, that it ſhould appear by the ſame Scripture, that the Latin word *Sacramentum*, and the Greek word *Myſterium*, *Carlile.*

be in manner always uſed for one thing; as much as to ſay as, *Abſconditum, Occultatum, vel in occulto.*

Dr. *Robertſon.* . *Thomas Robertſon.* Ad Quæſtiones.
Ad primam Reſpondeo, vocem Sacramenti, mihi in Sacris Literis non reperiri in hæc ſignificatione, niſi quatenus ad Matrimonium applicatur a Paulo, ubi tamen Græce habetur Myſterium: & proinde ex meris Scripturis expreſſe definiri non poſſe.

Dr. *Cox.* I find not in Scripture, the definition of a *Sacrament*, nor what a *Sacrament* is.

Dr. *Day.* I find no definition in Scripture of this word *Sacramentum*; howbeit whereſoever it is found in Scripture, the ſame is in the Greek *Myſterium*, which ſignifieth a ſecret, or hid Thing.

Dr. *Ogelthorp.* Non habetur in Scripturis, quid Sacramentum proprie ſit, niſi quod ſubinde Myſterium dicitur: varia enim, & in Scripturis, & in Eccleſiaſticis Scriptoribus reperitur ejus nominis ſignificatio; ideoque definiri non poteſt.

Dr. *Redmayn.* I find no definition of this word *Sacrament* in the Scripture; nor likewiſe of this word *Gratia*, or *Lex*, with innumerable more; and yet what they ſignifie, it is known; ſo the ſignification of this word *Sacrament* is plain, it is nothing elſe but a ſecret hid Thing, or any Myſtery.

Dr. *Edgworth.* Like as *Angelus*, *Cœlum*, *Terra*, be ſpoken of in Scripture, yet none of them defined: ſo altho *Sacramentum* be ſpoken of in Scripture, yet it hath no definition there, but is taken divers ways, and in divers ſignifications.

Dr. *Symmons.* This word *Sacrament* in Scripture is not defined.

Dr. *Treſham.* I ſay this word *Sacrament*, taken in his common ſignification, betokeneth a Myſtery, and hid, or a ſecret thing: But if ye underſtand it in his proper ſignification, as we uſe to apply it only to the ſeven Sacraments, the Scripture ſheweth not what a Sacrament is. And yet leſt any man might be offended, thinking, that becauſe the Scripture ſheweth not what a Sacrament is, therefore the ſame is a light thing, or little to be eſteemed: Here may be remembred, that there are ſome weighty and godly things, being alſo of our Belief, which the Scripture ſheweth not expreſly what they are. As for Example; We believe the Son is conſubſtantial to the Father: *Item*; that the Father is unbegotten, yet the Scripture ſheweth not what is conſubſtantial, nor what is unbegotten, neither maketh any mention of the words. Likewiſe it is true, Baptiſm is a Sacrament, Pennance is a Sacrament, *&c.* yet the Scripture ſheweth not what a Sacrament is.

Edwardus

Edwardus Leyghton.

Reſponſions unto the Queſtions.

To the firſt Queſtion, I ſay; That in Holy Scripture I never found, and I think there is no Man that will find a definition or deſcription of this word *Sacramentum*; which is as much to ſay in Engliſh, as a Myſtery, a ſecret, or a hid thing. Dr. *Leyghton.*

I do read no definition of this word *Sacramentum* in Scripture; but ſometimes it is uſed in Scripture, to ſignify a thing ſecret or hid. Dr. *Coren.*

In primo articulo conveniunt omnes, non ſatis conſtare ex Scriptura, quid ſit Sacramentum; Pleriq; tamen dicunt Græce appellari, Myſterium, (i. e.) a ſecret or a hid Thing. *Conveniunt.*

In the Anſwer unto the firſt Queſtion, They do all agree, that it is not evident by Scripture, what a *Sacrament* is, but *Myſterium*, that is, a ſecret, or a hid Thing. *Agreement.*

2. Queſtion.

What a Sacrament is by the Ancient Authors?

Anſwers.

THe Ancient Doctors call a Sacrament, *Sacræ rei ſignum, viz. viſibile Verbum, Symbolum, atque pactio qua ſumus conſtricti.* *Canterbury*

To the ſecond; Of St *Auguſtine*'s words, this Deſcription following of a *Sacrament* may be gathered; *Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis gratiæ, viſibilis Forma.* And this thing, that is ſuch viſible form or ſign of inviſible Grace in Sacraments, we find in Scripture, altho we find not the word *Sacrament*, ſaving only in the Sacrament of Matrimony. *York.*

To the ſecond; I find in Authors this Declaration, *Sacramentum eſt ſacræ rei ſignum.* Alſo, *Inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma.* Alſo, *Viſibilis Forma inviſibilis Gratiæ imaginem gerens & cauſa exiſtens.* And of the verity and goodneſs of this Deſcription or Declaration, I refer me to the Divines, better acquainted with this Matter than I am. *London.*

I think that this word *Sacrament*, as it is taken of the Old Authors, hath divers and ſundry ſignifications, for ſometime it is extended to all holy ſigns, ſometimes to all Myſteries, ſometimes to all Allegories, *&c.* *Rocheſter.*

Thomas Waldenſis, who writeth a ſolemn Work *de Sacramentis*, cauſeth me to ſay, that this word, *Sacramentum in communi*, is defined of the Ancient Authors; who after that he had ſhewed how that *Wycliff*, and before him *Berengarius* hath ſaid, that *Auguſtine* defineth *Sacramentum* thus; *Sacramentum eſt ſacrum ſignum*; and *Signum* in this wiſe, *Carlile.*

De Doctrina Christiana. *Signum est res præter speciem quam sensibus ingerit aliquid aliud ex se faciens in cogitationem venire.* He himself, with Ancient Authors, as he saith, defineth it thus; *Sacramentum est invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis Forma, vel, Sacramentum est Sacræ rei Signum*: Both these Descriptions (saith he) be of the Ancient Fathers.

Dr. *Robertson.* Sacramentum a vetustioribus, quemadmodum fert Hugo de S. Victore & Thomas Aquinas, nondum reperiri definitum, nisi quod Augustinus, interdum vocet Sacramenta, Sacra signa aut signacula, interdum similitudines earum rerum, quarum sunt Sacramenta. Et Rabanus, Sacramentum dicitur, quod sub tegumento rerum corporalium, virtus Divina secretius salutem eorundem Sacramentorum operatur, unde & a secretis virtutibus vel Sacris, Sacramenta dicuntur.

Dr. *Cox.* The Ancient Authors commonly say, That a Sacrament is, *Sacræ rei Signum*, or *Sacrosanctum Signaculum*; but they do not utterly and properly define what it is.

Dr. *Day.* The Ancient Doctors take this word, *Sacramentum*, diversly, and apply it to many things.

Dr. *Oglethorpe.* Ex Augustino & aliis colligitur, Sacramentum posse dici, Sacræ rei Signum, vel, invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma, quanquam hæc posterior definitio non conveniat omnibus Sacramentis, scil. tantum septem istis usitatis; sed nec his quoq; ex æquo, cum non æqualem conferant gratiam.

Dr. *Redmayn.* Generally it is taken to signify every secret Mystery, and *Sacramenta* be called, *Sacrarum, rerum signa*, or, *Sacra signacula*: And as this word *Sacrament* particularly is attributed to the chief Sacraments of the Church, this definition of a Sacrament may be gathered of St. *August. Invisibilis Gratiæ visibilis Forma.* And also that a Sacrament is a mystical or secret Work which consisteth *ex Verbo & elemento.* And *Cyprian* saith, *Verborum solennitas & Sacri invocatio nominis, & signa institutionibus Apostolicis Sacerdotum Ministeriis Attributa, visibile celebrant Sacramentum, rem vero ipsam Spiritus Sanctus format & efficit.*

Dr. *Edgeworth* By the Ancient Authors, *Sacramentum* hath many significations, sometimes it is called a secret Counsel. *Tob.* 12. *Sacramentum Regis abscondere bonum est. Nebuchadnezar's* Dream was called *Sacramentum*, Dan. 2. The Mystery of Christ's Incarnation, and of our Redemption is so called, *Ephes.* 3. and 1 *Tim.* 3. so that every secret Thing having some privy sense or signification, is called *Sacramentum*, generally extending the Vocable: Notwithstanding in one signification, *Sacramentum*, accordeth properly to them that be commonly called the *Seven Sacraments*; and hath this definition taken of St. *August.* and others, *Invisibilis gratiæ visibilis Forma, ut ipsius imaginem gerat & quodammodo causa existat.*

Dr. *Symmons.* The Ancient Authors of Divinity use this word *Sacrament* in divers significations, for they call it *Mysterium*; and so the Scripture useth it

it in many places, as 1 *Tim.* 3. *Tobie* 12. *Wiſd.* 2. *Dan.*2. *Eph.* 1. & 3. The word *Sacrament* is alſo uſed for a Figure or a ſign of the Old Teſtament, ſignifying *Chriſt*, as the *Paſchal Lamb*, and the *Brazen Serpent*, and divers other holy ſigns. It is alſo taken of the Holy Authors, to be an Holy ſign, which maketh to the ſanctification of the ſoul, given to God againſt ſin for our ſalvation, as it may be gathered of them; for this word *Sacrament* is called by them *Sacrum Signum*; but I have not read any expreſs definition common to all Sacraments.

This word *Sacrament*, in the Ancient Authors, is oft-times uſed in this general ſignification, and ſo (as is before ſaid) it is a Myſtery, or ſecret Thing; and ſometimes the ſame word is uſed as appliable only unto the ſeven Sacraments; and is thus deſcribed, A viſible Form of an inviſible Grace; and thus alſo, a thing by the which, under the covering of viſible Things, the godly Power doth work our health. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the ſecond I ſay; That *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, is one of the moſt Ancient Authors that I ever could perceive, took upon him to define or deſcribe a *Sacrament*: Howbeit, I ſuppoſe, that this common deſcription which the Schoolmen uſe, after the Maſter of the Sentences, *viz. Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis ſeu ſenſibilis Forma*, may be gathered of St. *Auſtin*, and divers other Ancient Authors words in many places of their Works. Dr. *Leyghton.*

I do find no definition plainly ſet forth in Old Authors; notwithſtanding this definition, *Inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma*, may be gathered out of St. *Auguſtine.* Dr. *Coren.*

In ſecundo Articulo conveniunt omnes, Sacramentum eſſe ſacræ rei ſignum. Treſham, Oglethorpus, & Edgworth, dicunt hanc definitionem, Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis gratiæ viſibilis Forma, his ſeptem convenire. Thurlebeus ait, non convenire omnibus ſeptem, & æque plurибus poſſe attribui atq; ſeptem. *Con.*

In the ſecond they put many deſcriptions of a *Sacrament*, as the ſign of a holy Thing, a viſible Word, *&c.* But upon this one definition, a Sacrament is a viſible Form of inviſible Grace, they do not all agree: for Doctors, *Edgworth*, *Treſham*, and *Oglethorp* ſay, That *it is applicable only and properly unto the word* Sacrament, *as it ſignifieth the ſeven Sacraments uſually received.* My Lord Elect of *Weſtminſter* ſaith, That *it agreeth not unto all the Seven, nor yet more ſpecially unto the Seven, than unto any other.* *Agreem.*

3. Queſtion.

3. Queſtion.

How many Sacraments there be by the Scripture?

Anſwers.

Canterbury THe Scripture ſheweth not how many Sacraments there be, but *Incarnatio Chriſti* and *Matrimonium*, be called in the Scripture *Myſteria*, and therefore we may call them by the Scripture *Sacramenta*. But one *Sacramentum* the Scripture maketh mention of, which is hard to be revealed fully, as would to God it were, and that is *Myſterium Iniquitatis*, or *Myſterium Meretricis magnæ & Beſtiæ.*

York. To the third; In Scripture we find no preciſe number of Sacraments.

London. To the third; I find not ſet forth the expreſs number, with expreſs declaration of this many and no more; nor yet of theſe expreſſly by Scripture which we uſe, eſpecially under the name of *Sacraments*, ſaving only of Matrimony.

Rocheſter. I think that in the Scripture be innumerable Sacraments, for all Myſteries, all Ceremonies, all the Facts of Chriſt, the whole ſtory of the *Jews*, and the Revelations of the *Apocalypſe*, may be named Sacraments.

Carlile. The certain number of Sacraments, or Myſteries, contained within Scripture, cannot be well expreſſed or aſſigned; for Scripture containeth more than infallibly may be rehearſed.

Dr. *Robertſon.* De iſtis ſeptem, quæ uſitate vocamus Sacramenta, nullum invenio nomine Sacramenti appellari, niſi Matrimonium. Matrimonium eſſe Sacramentum, probat Eckius, Homi 73. & conferre gratiam, ibid.

Dr. *Cox.* There be divers Sacraments by the Scripture, as in *Tobie* 12. *Sacramentum Regis*, the King's ſecret. Alſo *Nebuchadnezzar's* Dream, *Dan.* 2. is called, *Sacramentum. Incarnatio Chriſti, Sacramentum*, Epheſ. 3. *Matrimonium, Sacramentum.*

Dr. *Day.* Taking for Sacraments any thing, that this word, *Sacramentum*, doth ſignify, there be in Scripture a great number of Sacraments more than ſeven.

Dr. *Ogleſthorpe.* Non habetur determinatus Sacramentorum numerus in Scripturis, ſunt enim innumera fere illic, quæ paſſim vocantur Sacramenta; cum omnis allegoria, omneq; Myſterium, dicatur Sacramentum. Quin & ſomnia, ac ſecreta, ſubinde Sacramenta vocantur. Tobie 2. Sacramentum Regis abſcondere bonum eſt; & Dan. 2. Imploremus miſericordias Dei Cœli ſuper Sacramento iſto, & ſomnio. Paulus etiam Epiſt. 2. vocat Myſterium Incarnationis Chriſti Sacramentum: Et in Apoc. 1. vocat Sacramentum ſeptem Stellarum. Ac hoc præcipue obſervandum venit, nullum

nullum a ſeptem Sacramentis receptis, hoc nomine appellari, prætor ſolum Matrimonium.

As many as there be Myſteries, which be innumerable; but by Scripture, I think, the ſeven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the name. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Speaking of Sacraments generally, they be innumerable ſpoken of in Scripture; but properly to ſpeak of Sacraments, there be but ſeven that may be ſo called, of which Matrimony is expreſly called *Sacramentum*, Epheſ. 5. and as I think, in the Germane and proper ſignification of a Sacrament; ſo that the indiviſible knot of the Man and his Wife in one Body, by the Sacrament of Matrimony, is the matter of this Sacrament; upon which, as on the literal verity the Apoſtle foundeth this allegorical ſaying, *Ego autem dico in Chriſto, & in Eccleſia*; for the myſtical ſenſe preſuppoſeth a verity in the Letter on which that is taken. Six more there be to which the definition doth agree, as manifeſtly doth appear by the Scriptures, with the expoſition of the ancient Authors. Dr. *Edgworth.*

In the Scripture there is no certain number of Sacraments. Dr. *Symmons.*

I find no more of the ſeven, called expreſly Sacraments, but only Matrimony, but extending the name of Sacrament in his moſt general acception; there are in Scripture a great number of Sacraments, whereof the Apoſtle ſaith, *Si noverint Myſteria omnia*, &c. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the third; I ſay, that I find not in Scripture any of theſe ſeven which we commonly call Sacraments, called *Sacramentum*, but only *Matrimonium*. But I find divers and many other things called Sacraments in Scripture, as in the 12 of *Tobie*, *Sacramentum Regis abſcondere bonum eſt. Item Apoc.* 17. *Dicamus tibi Sacramentum. Item*, 1 *Tim.* 3. *Magnum eſt pietatis Sacramentum*, &c. Dr. *Leyghton.*

I cannot tell how many Sacraments be, by Scripture, for they be above one hundred. Dr. *Coren.*

In tertio conveniunt ſatis: non eſſe certum numerum Sacramentorum per Scripturas. Redmaynus addit, But by Scripture I think the ſeven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the Name. *Idem ſentit Edgworth, & ſeptem tantum. Matrimonium in Scripturis haberi ſub nomine ſacramenti pleriq; dicunt.* *Con.*

In the third they do agree, That there is no certain number of Sacraments by Scripture, but even as many as there be Myſteries; and none of theſe ſeven called Sacraments, but only Matrimony in Scripture. *Agreem.*

4. Queſtion,

4. Queſtion.

How many Sacraments there be by the ancient Authors?

Anſwers.

Canterbury BY the Ancient Authors there be many Sacraments more than ſeven, for all the Figures which ſignify Chriſt to come, or teſtify that he is come, be called Sacraments, as all the Figures of the Old Law, and in the New Law; *Euchariſtia, Baptiſmus, Paſcha, Dies Dominicus, lotio Pedum, ſignum Crucis, Chriſma, Matrimonium, Ordo, Sabbatum, Impoſitio manuum, Oleum, Conſecratio Olei, Lac, Mel, Aqua, Vinum, Sal, Ignis, Cinis, adapertio Aurium, veſtis candida*, and all the Parables of Chriſt, with the Propheſies of the *Apocalyps*, and ſuch others, be called by the Doctors, *Sacramenta.*

York. To the fourth; There is no preciſe number of Sacraments mentioned by the Ancient Authors, taking the word *Sacrament*, in his moſt general ſignification.

London. To the fourth; I find that St. *Auſtine* ſpeaketh, *de Baptiſmo, de Euchariſtia, de Mrtrimonio, de Ordinatione Clericorum, de Sacramento chriſmatis & Unctionis*: Alſo I find in the ſaid St. *Auſtine*, that in the Old Law there were many Sacraments, and in the New Law few.

Rocheſter. I think that in the Doctors be found many more Sacraments than ſeven, *viz. Panis Catechumenorum, ſignum Crucis, Oleum, Lac, Sal, Mel, &c.*

Carlile. That Scripture containeth, by the ſame Holy Ghoſt which is Author thereof, the Holy Doctors, and Ancient Fathers expoundeth; So that where in Scripture the number of Sacraments is uncertain, it cannot be among them certain.

Dr. *Robertſon.* Apud Auguſtinum lego Sacramentum Nuptiarum, Sacramentum Baptiſmi, Sacramentum Euchariſtiæ, quod & altaris ſive panis vocat; Sacramentum Ordinationis; Sacramentum Chriſmatis, quod datur per manus impoſitionem Baptizatis; Sacramentum Unctionis.

Dr. *Cox.* I find in the Ancient Authors, that *Baptiſm* is called *Sacramentum, Euchariſtia Sacramentum, Matrimonium Sacramentum, Ordo Sacramentum, Chriſma Sacramentum, Impoſitio Manuum per Baptiſmum Sacramentum, Dilectio Sacramentum, Lotio pedum Sacramentum, Oleum, Mel, Lac, Sacramenta*; and many others.

Dr. *Day.* There be a great ſort of Sacraments found in the Doctors, after the acception above-ſaid, more than ſeven.

Dr. *Ogelthorpe.* Apud Scriptores Eccleſiaſticos reperiuntur multo plura Sacramenta quam hæc ſeptem.

Taking

Taking this word Sacrament univerſally for Myſteries, or all ſecret Tokens, there be more Sacraments than can be reckoned; but the ſeven by old Authors may ſpecially obtain the name. *Lotio pedum* is ſpoken of in old Authors, as a ſpecial Sacrament uſed then in the Church, and as it appeareth, having a great ground in the Scripture; and I think it were better to renew that again, and ſo to have eight Sacraments, rather than to diminiſh the number of the ſeven now uſed. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Even like as to the next Queſtion before. Dr. *Edgworth.*

The ancient Authors acknowledg many more than ſeven; for they call in their Writings, all Rites and Ceremonies, Sacraments. Dr. *Symmons.*

Generally, as many as Myſteries, ſpecially ſeven, and no more of like nature to them; for although I find not expreſs mention where Penance is called a Sacrament, yet I think it may be deduced and proved by *Cyprian*, in his Sermon *de paſſione Chriſti*, in theſe words; *Deniq; quicunq; ſiunt Sacramentorum Miniſtri, per operationem authoritas in figura Crucis omnibus Sacramentis largitur effectum, & cuncta peragit nobis quod omnibus nominibus eminet a Sacramentorum vicariis invocatum: at licet indigni ſint qui accipiunt, Sacramentorum tamen reverentia & propinquiorem ad Deum parat acceſſum, & ubi redierint ad cor conſtat ablutionis donum, & reddit effectus munerum, nec alias quæri aut repeti neceſſe eſt ſalutiferum Sacramentum*; in theſe words, *redit effectus munerum*; and, *nec alias repeti neceſſe eſt ſalutiferum Sacramentum*, muſt needs be underſtood Penance, and alſo that Penance is a Sacrament: For as our firſt acceſs to God is by the Sacrament *Baptiſm*, which *Cyprian* there following called *Ablutionem primam*; ſo if we fall by deadly ſin, we cannot *repetere* God again, but by Penance; which repeting (*i. e.*) Penance, *Cyprian* calleth *Salutiferum Sacramentum*. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the fourth, I ſay; That I find in Ancienter Authors every one of theſe ſeven, which we call commonly Sacraments, called *Sacramentum*; as in *Auſtin* every one of them is called *Sacramentum* but only Penance; which *Cyprian* calleth *Sacramentum*. Alſo I find in the ancienter Authors divers other things (beſides the ſeven) called Sacraments, as *Lotio Pedum* in *Cyprian*, &c. Dr. *Leyghton.*

More Sacraments be found in old Authors than Seven. Dr. *Coren.*

In quarto conveniunt, plura eſſe Sacramenta quam ſeptem apud Authores: *Redman addit*; But the ſeven, by old Authors, may ſpecially obtain the name. *Idem putat Edgworth*, and *Treſham. Lotio Pedum*, he thinketh were better to be renewed, and ſo made eight Sacraments, than the number of the ſeven to be diminiſhed. *Treſhamus citat Cyprianum in Serm. de Paſſione Chriſti pro pœnitentia, quod dicatur Sacramentum, cum alii fere omnes nuſquam appellari aiunt Sacramentum apud Authores, & hic locus aperte agit de Baptiſmo, quod vocat donum ablutionis, & Sacramentum Salutiferum.* Con.

Agreem. In the fourth they agree, That there is no determinate number of Sacraments ſpoken of in the old Authors; but that my Lord of *York*, and *Edgworth*, *Treſham*, *Redman*, *Crayford*, and *Simmons*, ſay, That thoſe ſeven by old Authors, may ſpecially obtain the name of Sacraments. The Biſhop of St. *Davids* ſaith, That there be but four Sacraments in the old Doctors moſt chiefly ſpoken of, and they be *Baptiſm*, the Sacrament of the *Altar*, *Matrimony*, and *Penance*.

5. Queſtion.

Whether this word Sacrament, *be and ought to be attributed to the ſeven only? And whether the ſeven Sacraments be found in any of the old Authors?*

Anſwers.

Canterbury I Know no cauſe why this word *Sacrament* ſhould be attributed to the ſeven only; for the old Authors never preſcribed any certain number of Sacraments, nor in all their Books I never read theſe two words joined together, *viz. ſeptem Sacramenta.*

York. To the fifth; To the firſt part of this Queſtion, this word *Sacrament* is uſed and applied in Scripture, to ſome things that be none of the ſeven Sacraments. To the ſecond part; The ſeven Sacraments be found in ſome of the ancient Authors.

London. To the fifth, I anſwer; That this word *Sacrament*, in our Language commonly hath been attributed to the ſeven cuſtomably called Sacraments, not for that yet, that the word Sacrament cannot be applied to any more, but for that the ſeven have been ſpecially of very long and ancient ſeaſon received, continued and taken for things of ſuch ſort.

Rocheſter. I think that the name of a Sacrament is, and may be attributed to more than ſeven, and that all the ſeven Sacraments be found in the old Authors, tho all peradventure be not found in one Author. But I have not read Penance called by the name of a Sacrament in any of them.

Carlile. Certain it is, that this word Sacrament, neither is nor ought to be attributed to ſeven only, for both Scripture and ancient Authors otherwiſe applieth it; but yet nothing letteth, but that this word Sacrament may moſt eſpecially, and in a certain due preheminence, be applied to the ſeven Sacraments, of moſt ancient name and uſage among Chriſtian Men. And that the ancient Authors have ſo uſed and applied it, affirmeth the ſaid *Thomas Walden*, convincing *Wycliffe* and *Berengarius*, who enforced the contrary; from *Cyprian*, and alſo *Auguſtine*, with other holy Doctors, they may ſo well be gathered.

Dr. *Robertſon.* Vocabulum, Sacramenti, in Sacris Literis, nulli Sacramentorum quod ſciam tribuitur, niſi Matrimonio: a vetuſtis Scriptoribus tribuitur Ceremoniis & umbris legis, Incarnationi Chriſti, figuris, allegoriis, & feſtivitatibus:

vitatibus: Apud Paulum legitur divinitatis, voluntatis divinæ, & pietatis Sacramentum. Cæterum loquendo de Sacramentis his, quæ sunt invisibilis gratiæ collatæ in Ecclesia Christi visibilia signa, opinor non plura quam septem inveniri, hisq; magis proprie quam reliquis, sub hac ratione, tribui nomen Sacramenti.

This word Sacrament is not, nor ought not to be attributed to these seven only. Those that we call seven Sacraments, be found in old Authors, altho some of them be seldom found called by this name Sacrament. Dr. *Cox.*

This word, *Sacramentum*, neither is, nor ought to be so attributed unto these seven, but that it is, and may be attributed to many more things, and so the Ancienter Doctors use it. The seven Sacraments be found in Ancient Doctors under the name of Sacrament, saving that I remember not that I have read in them *Pennance* called a Sacrament. Dr. *Day.*

Nomen commune est multis aliis rebus, quam septem istis usitatis Sacramentis. Septem Sacramenta, seorsim & sparsim reperiuntur in veterum monumentis. Dr. *Oglethorp.*

To the seven specially and principally, and in general to innumerable more. But I cannot tell whether in any Old Author might be found these two words, *seven Sacraments*, or this number limited; but every one of the seven Sacraments, one by one, be found in the Old Authors. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Sacramentum, in his proper signification, is and ought to be attributed to the seven only; and they be all seven found in the Authors. Dr. *Edgworth.*

This word, Sacrament, is not only to be attributed to the seven, but that the seven Sacraments especially conferreth Grace, the Old Authors especially accounteth them by the number of seven; and these seven are found in Authors and Scriptures, altho they be not found by the name of *seven*. Dr. *Symmons.*

I say, this word Sacrament is attributed to the seven; and that the seven Sacraments are found in the Ancient Authors. Dr. *Tresham.*

To the fifth I say, first, (as before) that this word *Sacramentum*, is not applied or attributed in Holy Scripture to any of the seven, but only to *Matrimony*. But it is attributed in Scripture, and Ancient Authors to many other things besides these. Howbeit, taking this word, *Sacramentum*, for a sensible sign of the invisible Grace of God given unto Christian People, as the Schoolmen, and many late Writers take it; I think that the seven commonly called Sacraments, are to be called only and most properly Sacraments. Dr. *Leyghton.*

This word Sacrament, may well be attributed to the seven; and so it is found in Old Authors, saving that I do not read expresly in old Doctors, *Pennance* to be under the name of a Sacrament, unless it be in *Chrysostome*, in the Exposition *ad Hebræ. Homil.* 20. *sect.* 1. *cap.* 10. *in principio.* Dr. *Coren.*

Non. Con. Inquinto præter Herfordenſ. Roffenſ. Dayium. Oglethorpum, Meneveníſ. & Coxum putant omnes nomen Sacramenti præcipue his ſeptem convenire. Symons addit. *The ſeven Sacraments ſpecially confer Grace*: Eboracenſ. Curren, Treſham, Symons, aiunt ſeptem Sacramenta inveniri apud veteres, quanquam Curren & Symons mox videntur iterum negare.

Diſſent. In the fifth; The Biſhops of *Hereford* and St. *Davids*, Dr. *Day*, Dr. *Cox*, ſay, That this word, Sacrament, in the Old Authors, is not attributed unto the ſeven only, and ought not to be attributed. The Biſhop of *Carliſle* alledging *Waldenſis*. Doctors, *Curren*, *Edgworth*, *Symons*, *Treſham* ſay, That it is and may be attributed, And Dr. *Curren*, and Mr. *Symmons*, ſeem to vary againſt themſelves each in their own Anſwers; for Dr. *Curren* ſaith, That this word *Sacrament* is attributed unto the ſeven in the old Doctors, and yet he cannot find that it is attributed unto *Pennance*. Dr. *Symons* ſaith, That the Old Authors account them by the number of ſeven; and yet he ſaith, That they be not found there by the name of *ſeven*.

2. Queſtion.

Whether the determinate number of ſeven Sacraments be a Doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the old Authors, and ſo to be taught?

Anſwers.

Canterbury THe determinate number of ſeven Sacraments is no Doctrine of the Scripture, nor of the Old Authors.

York. To the ſixth; The Scripture maketh no mention of the Sacraments determined to ſeven preciſely; but the Scripture maketh mention of ſeven Sacraments, which be uſed in Chriſt's Church, and grounded partly in Scripture; and no more be in uſe of the ſaid Church but ſeven ſo grounded; and ſome of the Ancient Doctors make mention of ſeven, and of no more than ſeven, as uſed in Chriſts Church ſo grounded; wherefore a Doctrine may be had of ſeven Sacraments preciſely uſed in Chriſt's Church, and grounded in Scripture.

London. To the ſixth; I think it be a Doctrine ſet forth by the Ancient Fathers, one from another, taking their matter and ground out of Scripture, as they underſtood it; tho Scripture, for all that, doth not give unto all the ſeven, the ſpecial names by which now they are called, nor yet openly call them by the name of Sacrament, except only (as is before-ſaid) the Sacrament of *Matrimony*.

Rocheſter. Albeit the ſeven Sacraments be in effect found both in the Scripture, and in the Old Authors, and may therefore be ſo taught; yet I have not read this preciſe and determinate number of ſeven Sacra-

Sacraments, neither in the Scripture, nor in the ancient Writers.

By what is here before-ſaid, I think it doth well appear, that both the Scripture of God, and holy Expoſitors of the ſame, would have the ſeven Sacraments both taught, and in due form exhibited to all Chriſtian People, as it ſhall alſo better appear by what followeth. *Carlile.*

In Scriptura tantum unum ex iſtis ſeptem Sacramentum vocari invenio, nimirum Matrimonium: apud veteres reperiuntur omnia hæc ſeptem, a nullo tamen, quod ſciam, nomine 7. Sacramentorum celebrari, niſi quod Eraſ. ait 7. a veteribus recenſeri: Auguſt. loquens de Sacramentis ad Januarium Ep. 118. ait numerum ſeptenarium tribui Eccleſiæ proprie inſtar univerſitatis; Item objectum fuiſſe Huſſo in Concilio Conſtantienti quod infideliter ſenſerit de 7. Sacramentis. De perfectione Num. Septenarii, vide Auguſt. lib. 1. de Civ. cap. 31. Dr. *Robertſon.*

This determinate number of ſeven Sacraments, is no Doctrine of Scripture, nor of the Old Authors, nor ought not to be taught as ſuch a determinate number by Scripture and Old Authors. Dr. *Cox.*

Neither the Scripture, nor the Ancient Authors, do recite the determinate number of the ſeven Sacraments; but the Doctrine of the ſeven Sacraments is grounded in Scripture, and taught by the ancient Authors, albeit not altogether. Dr. *Day.*

Septenarius Sacramentorum numerus, Doctrina eſt recentium Theologorum; quam illi partim ex Scriptura, partim ex veterum ſcriptis, argute in ſacrum hunc (ut aiunt) numerum, collegerunt. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

I think, as I find by old Authors, the ancient Church uſed all theſe ſeven Sacraments; and ſo I think it good to be taught. Dr. *Redmayn.*

The determinate number of ſeven Sacraments, is not taught in any one Proceſs of the Scripture, nor of any one of the old Authors of purpoſe ſpeaking of them altogether, or in one Proceſs, as far as I can remember; albeit they all ſeven be there, and there ſpoken of in Scripture manifeſtly, and ſo have the old Authors left them in ſundry places of their Writings; and ſo it ought to be taught. Dr. *Edgworth.*

Foraſmuch as the Scripture teacheth theſe ſeven, and ſheweth ſpecial Graces given by the ſame, the which are not ſo given by others, called *Sacraments*, the old Authors perceiving the ſpecial Graces, have accounted them in a certain number, and ſo have been uſed by Doctors to be called *ſeven*, and without inconvenience may ſo be taught. Dr. *Symmons.*

I ſay, The determinate number of ſeven is not expreſly mentioned in the Scripture, like as the determinate number of the ſeven Petitions of the Prayer is not expreſly mentioned; and as I think the ſeven Petitions to have their ground in Scripture, even ſo do I think of the ſeven Sacraments, to be grounded in Scripture. Dr. *Treſham.*

To

Dr. *Leyghton.* To the sixth I say as before, That the old Authors call each of these seven, Sacraments; but be it, I cannot remember that ever I read the determinate, precise, and express number of seven Sacraments in any of the ancient Authors, nor in Scripture. Howbeit we may find in Scripture, and the old Authors, also mention made, and the Doctrine of each of these seven, commonly called *Sacraments.*

Dr. *Coren.* The determinate number of seven, is a Doctrine to be taught, for every one of them be contained in Scripture, tho they have not the number of seven set forth there, no more than the Petitions of the *Pater Noster* be called seven, nor the Articles of the *Creed* be called twelve.

Con. Priori parti Quæstionis negative Respondent. Herfordens. Menevens. Roffens. Dayus, Dunelmens. Oglethorpus, Thurleby: Posteriori parti, quod sit Doctrina conveniens respondent affirmative Eboracen. Roffen. Carliolen. Londinen. Dayus, Edgworth, Redmayn, Symmons, Curren: Londinen. & Redmanus non respondent priori parti Quæstionis, nec Oglethorpus, Tresham, Robinsonus Posteriori. Eboracen. Londin. Symmons, Curren, volunte Scripturis peti Doctrinam septem Sacramentorum.

Agreem. In the sixth, touching the determinate number of the seven Sacraments, the Bishop of *Duresme*, *Hereford*, St. *Davids*, and *Rochester*, the Elect of *Westminster*, Dr. *Day*, and Dr. *Oglethorpe* say, *This prescribed number of Sacraments is not found in the old Authors.* The Bishop of *York*, Drs. *Curren*, *Tresham*, and *Symmons*, say the contrary. Concerning the second part, Whether it be a Doctrine to be taught? The Bishops of *Hereford*, St. *Davids*, and Dr. *Cox*, *Think it ought not to be so taught as such a determinate number by Scripture.* The Bishops of *York*, *London*, *Carliste*; Drs. *Day*, *Curren*, *Tresham*, *Symmons*, *Crayford*, *Think it a Doctrine meet to be taught:* And some of them say, That *it is founded on Scripture.*

7. Question.

What is found in Scripture of the Matter, Nature, Effect, and Vertue of such as we call the seven Sacraments; so as altho the Name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wise spoken of?

Answers.

Canterbury. I Find not in the Scripture, the Matter, Nature, and Effect of all these which we call the seven Sacraments, but only of certain of them, as of *Baptism*, in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our sin by the Blood of Christ: of *Eucharistia*, in which we be concorporated unto Christ, and made lively Members of his Body, nourished and

and fed to the Everlasting Life, if we receive it as we ought to do, and else it is to us rather Death than Life. Of *Pennance* also I find in the Scripture, whereby sinners after Baptism returning wholly unto God, be accepted again unto Gods Favour and Mercy. But the Scripture speaketh not of *pennance*, as we call it a Sacrament, consisting in three parts, *Contrition*, *Confession*, and *Satisfaction*; but the Scripture taketh *Pennance* for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, making no mention of private Confession of all deadly sins to a Priest, nor of Ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined by him. Of *Matrimony* also I find very much in Scripture, and among other things, that it is a Mean whereby God doth use the infirmity of our Concupiscence to the setting forth of his Glory, and encrease of the World, thereby sanctifying the Act of Carnal Conjunction between the Man and the Wife to that use; yea, altho one Party be an Infidel: and in this, *Matrimony* is also a promise of salvation, if the Parents bring up their Children in the Faith, Love, and Fear of God. Of the Matter, Nature, and Effect of the other three, that is to say, *Confirmation*, *Order*, and extream *Unction*, I read nothing in the Scripture, as they be taken for Sacraments.

To the seventh; Of *Baptism*, we find in Scripture the Justification by the Word of Christ; we find also that the Matter of *Baptism* is Water, the Effect and Virtue is Remission of sins. Of *Confirmation*, we find that the Apostles did confirm those that were baptized, by laying their hands upon them, and that the Effect then was the coming of the Holy Ghost into them, upon whom the Apostles laid their hands, in a visible sign of the gift of divers Languages, and therewith of ghostly strength to confess Christ, following upon the same. Of the Sacrament of the *Altar*, we find the Institution by Christ, and the Matter thereof, bread and Wine, the Effect, Increase of Grace. Of the Sacrament of *Pennance*, we find the Institution in the Gospel, the Effect, Reconciliation of the sinner, and the union of him to the Mystical Body of Christ. Of the Sacrament of *Matrimony*, we find the Institution both in the Old and New Testament, and the Effect thereof, Remedy against Concupiscence and Discharge of sin, which otherwise should be in the Office of Generation. Of the Sacrament of *Order*, we find, that our Saviour gave to his Apostles power to baptize, to bind and to loose sinners, to remit sins, and to receive them, to teach and preach his Word, and to consecrate his most precious Body and Blood, which be the highest Offices of Order; and the effect thereof Grace, we find in Scripture. Of extream *Unction*, we find in the Epistle of the Holy Apostle St. *James*, and of the Effects of the same. *York.*

To the seventh, I find, that St. *Austin* is of this sentence, That *where the Sacraments of the old Law did promise Grace and Comfort, the Sacraments of the New Law do give it indeed.* And moreover he saith, That *the Sacraments of the New Law are*, factu faciliora, pauciora, salubriora, & fœliciora, *more easier, more fewer, more wholsomer, and more happy.* *London.*

The

Rochester. The Scripture teacheth of *Baptism*, the Sacrament of the *Altar*, *Matrimony* and *Pennance* manifestly: There be also in the Scripture manifest Examples of Confirmation, *viz.* That it was done after Baptism by the Apostles, *per Manuum Impositionem.* The Scripture teacheth also of *Order*, that it was done, *per Manuum Impositionem cum oratione & jejunio.* Of the Unction of sick Men, the Epistle of St. *James* teacheth manifestly.

Carlile. I think verily, That of the Substance, Effect, and Vertue of these seven usual Sacraments, that are to be taken and esteemed above others, we have plainly and expresly by Holy Scripture. Of *Baptism*, That whosoever believeth in Christ, and is Christened, shall be saved; and except that one be born again of Water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot come within the Kingdom of God. Of *Matrimony*, we have in Scripture, both by name, and in effect, in the Old and New Testament, both by Christ and his Apostle *Paul.* Of the Sacrament of the *Altar*, I find plainly, expresly, both in the Holy Gospels, and other places of Scripture. Of *Pennance* in like manner. Of *Confirmation* we have in Scripture, that when the *Samaritans*, by the preaching of *Philip*, had received the Word of God, and were Christened, the Apostles hearing of the same, sent *Peter* and *John* unto them; who when they came thither, they prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost: then they laid their hands upon them, and so they received the Holy Ghost; *This*, said *Bede*, *is the Office and Duty only of Bishops.* And *this manner and form*, (saith St. *Hierom*) *as it is written in the* Acts, *the Church hath kept, That the Bishop should go abroad to call for the Grace of the Holy Ghost, and lay his hands upon them, who had been Christened by Priests and Deacons.* Of the Sacrament of *Orders*, we have, That Christ made his Apostles the Teachers of the Law, and Ministers of his Sacraments, that they should duly do it, and make and ordain others likewise to do it after them. And so the Apostles ordained *Matthias* to be one of their number. St. *Paul* made and ordained *Timothy* and *Titus*, with others likewise. Of the Sacrament of *Extream Unction*, we have manifestly in the Gospel of *Mark*, and Epistle of St *James.*

Dr. *Robertson.* Materia Sacramentorum est Verbum & Elementum, virtus quam Deus per illa digne sumentibus conferat gratiam, juxta suam promissionem, nimirum quod sint Sacra Signacula, non tantum signantia, sed etiam significantia. Unde opinor constari hanc Sacramentorum vim esse in Sacris Literis.

Dr. *Cox.* I find in Scripture, of such things as we use to call *Sacraments.* First, Of *Baptism* manifestly. Of *Eucharistia* manifestly. Of *Pennance* manifestly. Of *Matrimony* manifestly. Of *Ordering*, *per manus Impositionem & Orationem* manifestly. It is also manifest, that the Apostles laid their hands upon them that were Christened. Of the *Unction* of the sick with Prayer manifestly.

Dr. *Day.* Albeit the seven Sacraments be not found in Scripture expressed by name, yet the thing it self, that is, the Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue of

of them is found there. Of *Baptiſm* in divers places; of the moſt Holy Communion; of Matrimony; of Abſolution; of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, how they were ordained *per Manuum Impoſitionem cum Oratione*; Of laying the Apoſtles Hands on them that were Chriſtened, which is a part of Confirmation; of Unction of them that were ſick, with Prayer joined withal.

Natura, vis, effectus, ac uniuſcujuſq; Sacramenti proprietas, ſeorſim in Scriptura reperitur, ut veteres eam interpretati ſunt. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

As it appeareth in the Articles which be drawn of the ſaid ſeven Sacraments. Dr. *Redmayn.*

In Scripture we find of the Form of the Sacraments, as the words *Sacramental*; and the Matter, as the *Element*, *Oil*, *Chriſm*; and the Patient receiving the Sacrament; and of Grace and encreaſe of Vertue given by them, as the Effects. Dr. *Edgeworth*

The things are contained in Scripture, as *Baptiſm*, *Confirmation*, *Euchariſtia*, *Pœnitentia*, *Extrema Unctio*, *Ordo*, altho they have not there this name *Sacramentum* as Matrimony hath; and every one of them hath his Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue. Dr. *Symmons.*

I think the Thing, the Matter, the Nature, the Effect, and Vertue of them all be in the Scripture, and all there inſtituted by Gods Authority; for I think that no one Man, neither the whole Church hath power to inſtitute a Sacrament, but that ſuch Inſtitution pertaineth only to God. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the ſeventh, I ſay, That we may evidently find in Scripture, the ſubſtance of every one of the ſeven Sacraments, the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of the ſame; as of *Baptiſm*, *Confirmation*, *Pennance*, *Matrimony*, and ſo forth of the reſt. Dr. *Leyghton.*

Of the Matter, Nature, Vertue, and Effect, of ſuch as we call *Sacraments*, Scripture maketh mention: Of *Baptiſm* manifeſtly; of the moſt *Holy Communion* manifeſtly; of *Abſolution* manifeſtly; of *Matrimony* manifeſtly; of *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *Deacons*, Scripture ſpeaketh manifeſtly, for they were ordered, *per Impoſitiones Manuum Presbyterii cum Oratione & Jejunio.* Dr. *Coren.*

Conveniunt præter Menevenſ. naturam ſeptem Sacramentorum nobis tradi in Scripturis. Eboracenſ. effectus ſingulorum enumerat, item Carliolenſ. *Con.*

Londinenſ. non reſpondet Queſtioni. Treſhamus ait ideo ê Scripturis tradi nobis Sacramenta, quoniam tota Eccleſia non habet Authoritatem Inſtituendi Sacramenta. *Agreem.*

In the ſeventh they do agree, ſaving this, That the Biſhop of St. *Davids* ſays, That *the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of theſe ſeven Sacraments, only Baptiſm, the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, Pennance, are con-*

Rochester. The Scripture teacheth of *Baptism*, the Sacrament of the *Altar*, *Matrimony* and *Pennance* manifestly: There be also in the Scripture manifest Examples of Confirmation, *viz.* That it was done after Baptism by the Apostles, *per Manuum Impositionem.* The Scripture teacheth also of *Order*, that it was done, *per Manuum Impositionem cum oratione & jejunio.* Of the Unction of sick Men, the Epistle of St. *James* teacheth manifestly.

Carlile. I think verily, That of the Substance, Effect, and Vertue of these seven usual Sacraments, that are to be taken and esteemed above others, we have plainly and expressly by Holy Scripture. Of *Baptism*, That whosoever believeth in Christ, and is Christened, shall be saved; and except that one be born again of Water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot come within the Kingdom of God. Of *Matrimony*, we have in Scripture, both by name, and in effect, in the Old and New Testament, both by Christ and his Apostle *Paul.* Of the Sacrament of the *Altar*, I find plainly, expressly, both in the Holy Gospels, and other places of Scripture. Of *Pennance* in like manner. Of *Confirmation* we have in Scripture, that when the *Samaritans*, by the preaching of *Philip*, had received the Word of God, and were Christened, the Apostles hearing of the same, sent *Peter* and *John* unto them; who when they came thither, they prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost: then they laid their hands upon them, and so they received the Holy Ghost; *This*, said *Bede*, *is the Office and Duty only of Bishops.* And *this manner and form*, (saith St. *Hierom*) *as it is written in the Acts, the Church hath kept, That the Bishop should go abroad to call for the Grace of the Holy Ghost, and lay his hands upon them, who had been Christened by Priests and Deacons.* Of the Sacrament of *Orders*, we have, That Christ made his Apostles the Teachers of the Law, and Ministers of his Sacraments, that they should duly do it, and make and ordain others likewise to do it after them. And so the Apostles ordained *Matthias* to be one of their number. St. *Paul* made and ordained *Timothy* and *Titus*, with others likewise. Of the Sacrament of *Extream Unction*, we have manifestly in the Gospel of *Mark*, and Epistle of St *James.*

Dr: *Robertson.* Materia Sacramentorum est Verbum & Elementum, virtus quam Deus per illa digne sumentibus conferat gratiam, juxta suam promissionem, nimirum quod sint Sacra Signacula, non tantum signantia, sed etiam significantia. Unde opinor constari hanc Sacramentorum vim esse in Sacris Literis.

Dr. *Cox.* I find in Scripture, of such things as we use to call *Sacraments.* First, Of *Baptism* manifestly. Of *Eucharistia* manifestly. Of *Pennance* manifestly. Of *Matrimony* manifestly. Of *Ordering, per manus Impositionem & Orationem* manifestly. It is also manifest, that the Apostles laid their hands upon them that were Christened. Of the *Unction* of the sick with Prayer manifestly.

Dr. *Day.* Albeit the seven Sacraments be not found in Scripture expressed by name, yet the thing it self, that is, the Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue of

of them is found there. Of *Baptiſm* in divers places; of the moſt Holy Communion; of Matrimony; of Abſolution; of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, how they were ordained *per Manuum Impoſitionem cum Oratione*; Of laying the Apoſtles Hands on them that were Chriſtened, which is a part of Confirmation; of Unction of them that were ſick, with Prayer joined withal.

Natura, vis, effectus, ac uniuſcujuſq; Sacramenti proprietas, ſeorſim in Scriptura reperitur, ut veteres eam interpretati ſunt. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

As it appeareth in the Articles which be drawn of the ſaid ſeven Sacraments. Dr. *Redmayn.*

In Scripture we find of the Form of the Sacraments, as the words *Sacramental*; and the Matter, as the *Element*, *Oil*, *Chriſm*; and the Patient receiving the Sacrament; and of Grace and encreaſe of Vertue given by them, as the Effects. Dr. *Edgeworth*

The things are contained in Scripture, as *Baptiſm*, *Confirmation*, *Euchariſtia*, *Pœnitentia*, *Extrema Unctio*, *Ordo*, altho they have not there this name *Sacramentum* as Matrimony hath; and every one of them hath his Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue. Dr. *Symmons.*

I think the Thing, the Matter, the Nature, the Effect, and Vertue of them all be in the Scripture, and all there inſtituted by Gods Authority; for I think that no one Man, neither the whole Church hath power to inſtitute a Sacrament, but that ſuch Inſtitution pertaineth only to God. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the ſeventh, I ſay, That we may evidently find in Scripture, the ſubſtance of every one of the ſeven Sacraments, the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of the ſame; as of *Baptiſm*, *Confirmation*, *Pennance*, *Matrimony*, and ſo forth of the reſt. Dr. *Leyghton.*

Of the Matter, Nature, Vertue, and Effect, of ſuch as we call *Sacraments*, Scripture maketh mention: Of *Baptiſm* manifeſtly; of the moſt *Holy Communion* manifeſtly; of *Abſolution* manifeſtly; of *Matrimony* manifeſtly; of *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *Deacons*, Scripture ſpeaketh manifeſtly, for they were ordered, *per Impoſitiones Manuum Presbyterii cum Oratione & Jejunio.* Dr. *Coren.*

Conveniunt præter Menevenſ. naturam ſeptem Sacramentorum nobis tradi in Scripturis. Eboracenſ. effectus ſingulorum enumerat, item Carliolenſ. *Con.*

Londinenſ. non reſpondet Queſtioni. Treſhamus ait ideo ê Scripturis tradi nobis Sacramenta, quoniam tota Eccleſia non habet Authoritatem Inſtituendi Sacramenta. *Agreem.*

In the ſeventh they do agree, ſaving this, That the Biſhop of St. *Davids* ſays, That *the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of theſe ſeven Sacraments, only Baptiſm, the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, Pennance, are contained*

tained in the Scripture. The other ſay, That *the Nature and the Vertue of all the ſeven, be contained in the Scripture.*

8. Queſtion.

Whether Confirmation, cum Chriſmate, *of them that be Baptized, be found in Scripture?*

Anſwers.

Canterbury OF *Confirmation* with *Chriſm*, without which it is counted no Sacrament, there is no mention in the Scripture.

York. To the eighth; We find Confirmation, *cum Impoſitione Manuum* in Scripture, as before; *cum Chriſmate* we find not in the Scripture, but yet we find Chriſmation with Oil uſed even from the time of the Apoſtles, and ſo taken as a Tradition Apoſtolick.

London. To the eighth; I find in Scripture in many places, *de impoſitione Manuum*, which I think (conſidering the uſage commonly and ſo long withal uſed) to be Confirmation; and that with Chriſm, to ſupply the viſible appearance of the Holy Ghoſt, which Holy Ghoſt was ſo viſibly ſeen in the Primitive Church; nevertheleſs for the perfect declaration of the verity hereof, I refer it to the judgment of Men of higher knowledg in this Faculty.

Rocheſter. Altho Confirmation be found in the Scripture, by Example, as I ſaid before, yet there is nothing written *de Chriſmate.*

Carlile. The Impoſition of Hands, the Holy Doctors take for the ſame which we call Confirmation, done upon them which were chriſtened before, whereof is written in the *Acts*. And as for *Chriſma*, it ſhould ſeem by *Cyprian*, both as touching the confection and uſage thereof, that it hath a great ground to be derived out of Scripture, tho it be not manifeſtly therein ſpoken of.

Dr. *Robertſon.* Res & Effectus Confirmationis continentur in Scriptura, nempe, Impoſitio Manuum per Apoſtolos Baptizatis, per quam dabatur Spiritus Sanctus. De Chriſmate nihil illic legimus, quia per id tempus Spiritus Sanctus ſigno viſibili deſcenderit in Baptizatos. Quod ubi fieri deſierit, Eccleſia Chriſmate ſigni externi loco uti cœpit.

Dr. *Cox.* I find not in Scripture that the Apoſtles laying their Hands upon them that were baptized, did anoint them *Chriſmate.*

Dr. *Day.* Confirmation *cum Chriſmate* I read not in Scripture, but *Impoſitionem Manuum ſuper Baptizatos*, I find there is, which ancient Authors call *Confirmation*; and Inunction with *Chriſma* hath been uſed from the Primitive Church.

De

De impoſitione manuum cum Oratione, expreſſa mentio eſt in Scripturis, quæ nunc uſitato nomine, a Doctoribus dicitur, Confirmatio. Sacrum Chriſma, Traditio eſt Apoſtolica, ut ex veteribus liquet. Dr. *Ogleſthorpe.*

The Queſtion is not ſimple, but as if it were asked, Whether *Euchariſtia in infermentato*, be in the Scripture, or *baptiſmus cum ſale*. Impoſition of the Apoſtles hands, in which was conferred the Holy Ghoſt for Confirmation of them who were baptized, is found in Scripture. *Chriſma* is a Tradition deduced from the Apoſtles, as may be gathered by Scripture, and by the Old Authors, and the Myſtery thereof is not to be deſpiſed. Dr. *Redmayn.*

This Sacrament is one, *unitate integritatis*, as ſome others be: Therefore it hath two parts; of which one, that is, *Impoſitio Manuum*, is taken, *Heb.* 6. & *Act.* 8. The other part, that is, *Chriſme*, is taken of the Tradition of the Fathers, and ſo uſed from the Primitive Church. *Vid. Cyp. Epiſt. lib.* 1. *Ep.* 12. Dr. *Edgworth.*

Confirmation is found in Scripture, and Confirmation *cum Chriſmate* is gathered from the Old Authors. Dr. *Symmons.*

I ſay, Confirmation is found in Scripture, but this additament, *cum Chriſmate*, is not of the Scripture, yet it is a very ancient Tradition, as appeareth by *Cyp. de Unct. Chriſm.* Dr. *Treſham.*

To the eighth Queſtion, I ſay, That Confirmation of them that be baptized, is found in Scripture, but *cum Chriſmate* it is not found in Scripture, but it was uſed *cum Chriſmate* in the Church ſoon after the Apoſtles Time, as it may evidently appear by the cited Authors. Dr. *Leyghton.*

The laving of the Biſhops hands upon them that be chriſtened, which is a part of Confirmation, is plainly in Scripture; and the Unction with *Chriſme*, which is another part, hath been obſerved from the Primitive Church, and is called of St. *Auſtin*, *Sacramentum Chriſmatis*. Unction of the Sick with Oil, and the Prayer is grounded expreſly in Scripture. Dr. *Coren.*

Conveniunt omnes Confirmationem cum Chriſmate non haberi in Scripturis. Eboracenſ. Treſham, Coren, Day, Ogelthorpe, Edgworth, Leighton, Simmons, Redman, Robinſonus, Confirmationem in Scripturis eſſe contendunt; cæterum Chriſma eſſe traditionem Apoſtolicam: addit Robertſonus, & ubi fieri deſierat miraculum Conſecrandi Spiritus Sancti, Eccleſia Chriſmate ſigni externi loco uti cæpit; Convenit illi Londinenſ.
Carliolenſ. putat uſum Chriſmatis ex Scripturis peti poſſe; Putant omnes tum in hoc Articulo, tum ſuperiori, Impoſitionem Manuum eſſe Confirmationem. *Con.*

In the eighth they do agree all, except it be the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, That *Confirmatio cum Chriſmate* is not found in Scripture, but only *Confirmatio cum Manuum Impoſitione*. And that alſo my Lord of St. *Davids* denieth *Agreem.*

denieth to be in Scripture, as we call it a *Sacrament*. My Lord of *Carliſle* ſaith, That *Chriſma, as touching the confection and uſage thereof, hath a ground to be derived out of Scripture.* The other ſay, That *it is but a Tradition.*

9. Queſtion.

Whether the Apoſtles lacking a higher Power, as in not having a Chriſtian King among them, made Biſhops by that neceſſity, or by Authority given by God?

Anſwers.

Canterbury ALL Chriſtian Princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole Cure of all their Subjects, as well concerning the Adminiſtration of God's Word, for the cure of Souls, as concerning the Miniſtration of things Political and Civil Governance: And in both theſe Miniſtrations, they muſt have ſundry Miniſters under them to ſupply that, which is appointed to their ſeveral Offices. The Civil Miniſters under the King's Majeſty, in this Realm of *England*, be thoſe whom it ſhall pleaſe his Highneſs for the time to put in Authority under him: As for Example; The Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Great Maſter, Lord Privy-Seal, Lord Admiral, Majors, Sheriffs, *&c.* The Miniſters of God's Word, under his Majeſty, be the Biſhops, Parſons, Vicars, and ſuch other Prieſts as be appointed by his Highneſs to that Miniſtration: As for Example, the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Parſon of *Winwick*, &c. All the ſaid Officers and Miniſters, as well of that ſort as the other, be appointed, aſſigned, and elected, and in every place, by the Laws and Orders of Kings and Princes. In the admiſſion of many of theſe Officers, be divers comely Ceremonies and Solemnities uſed, which be not of neceſſity, but only for a good order and ſeemly faſhion; for if ſuch Offices and Miniſtrations were committed without ſuch ſolemnity, they were nevertheleſs truly committed: And there is no more Promiſe of God, that Grace is given in the committing of the Eccleſiaſtical Office, than it is in the committing of the Civil Office. In the Apoſtles time, when there was no Chriſtian Princes, by whoſe Authority Miniſters of God's Word might be appointed, nor ſins by the ſword corrected, there was no Remedy then for the correction of Vice, or appointing of Miniſters, but only the conſent of Chriſtian Multitudes among themſelves, by an uniform conſent, to follow the advice and perſwaſion of ſuch Perſons whom God had moſt endued with the Spirit of Counſel and Wiſdom: And at that time, foraſmuch as the Chriſtian People had no Sword, nor Governour amongſt them, they were conſtrained of neceſſity to take ſuch Curats and Prieſts, as either they knew themſelves to be meet thereunto, or elſe as were commended unto them by others that were ſo replete with the Spirit of God, with ſuch knowledg in the profeſſion of Chriſt, ſuch Wiſdom, ſuch Converſation and Counſel,

ſel, that they ought even of very Conſcience to give credit unto them, and to accept ſuch as by them were preſented: and ſo ſometimes the Apoſtles and others, unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, ſent or appointed Miniſters of God's Word; ſometimes the people did chuſe ſuch as they thought meet thereunto; and when any were appointed or ſent by the Apoſtles or others, the people of their own voluntary Will with thanks did accept them: not for the Supremity, Empire, or Dominion, that the Apoſtles had over them to command, as their Princes and Maſters, but as good people ready to obey the Advice of good Counſellors, and to accept any thing that was neceſſary for their edification and benefit.

To the ninth; We find in Scripture, that the Apoſtles uſed the power to make Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons; which power may be grounded upon theſe words; *Sicut miſit me vivens Pater, ſic ego mitto vos, &c.* And we verily think, that they durſt not have uſed ſo high power, unleſs they had had Authority from Chriſt; but that their power to ordain Biſhops, Prieſts, or Deacons, by Impoſition of Hands, requireth any other Authority, than Authority of God, we neither read in Scripture, nor out of Scripture. *York.*

To the ninth; I think the Apoſtles made Biſhops by the Law of God, becauſe, *Acts* 22. it is ſaid, *In quo vos Spiritus Sanctus poſuit:* Nevertheleſs, I think if Chriſtian Princes had been then, they ſhould have named by Right, and appointed the ſaid Biſhops to their Rooms and Places. *London.*

I think that the Apoſtles made Biſhops by Authority given them from God. *Rocheſter.*

That Chriſt made his Apoſtles, Prieſts, and Biſhops, and that he gave them power to make others like, it ſeemeth to be the very Trade of Scripture. *Carlile.*

Opinor Apoſtolos Authoritate Divina creaſſe Epiſcopos & Presbyteros, ubi Publicus Magiſtratus permittit. Dr. *Roberiſon.*

Altho the Apoſtles had no authority to force any Man to be Prieſt, yet (they moved by the Holy Ghoſt) had authority of God to exhort and induce Men to ſet forth God's Honour, and ſo to make them Prieſts. Dr. *Cox.*

The Apoſtles made, that is to ſay, ordained Biſhops by authority given them by God; Joh. 20. *Sicut miſit me vivens Pater, ita & ego mitto vos. Item Joan. ult. & Act.* 20. and 1 *Tim.* 4. *Paulus ordinavit Timotheum & Titum, & præſcribit quales illi debeant ordinare.* 1 *Tim.* 1. *Tit.* 1. Dr. *Day.*

Apoſtli autoritate & mandato Dei, ordinabant ac inſtituebant Epiſcopos, petita ac obtenta prius facultate a Principe ac Magiſtratu (ut opinor) qui tum præerat. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

Chriſt

Dr. *Redmayn.* Christ gave his Apostles authority to make other Bishops and Ministers in his Church, as he had received authority of the Father to make them Bishops; but if any Christian Prince had then been, the Apostles had been, and ought to have been obedient Subjects, and would nothing have attempted, but under the permission and assent of their Earthly Governors: yet was it meet that they which were special and most Elect Servants of our Saviour Christ, and were sent by him to convert the World; and having most abundantly the Holy Ghost in them, should have special ordering of such Ministry as pertained to the planting and encreasing of the Faith; whereunto I doubt not, but a Christian Prince, of his godly Mind, would most lovingly have condescended. And it is to be considered, that in this Question, with other like, this word, *making of a Bishop, or Priest*, may be taken two ways: for understanding the Word, to ordain or Consecrate, so it is a thing which pertaineth to the Apostles and their Successors only; but if by this word (*Making*) be understood the appointing or naming to the Office; so, it pertaineth specially to the Supream Heads and Governours of the Church, which be Princes.

Dr. *Edgworth.* The Apostles made Bishops and Priests by authority given them of God, and not for lack of any higher power: Notwithstanding where there is a christened King or Prince, the Election, Deputation and Assignation of them, that shall be Priests or Bishops, belongeth to the King or Prince, so that he may forbid any Bishop within his Kingdom, that he give no Orders, for Considerations moving him, and may assign him a time when he shall give Orders, and to whom: Example of King *David*, 1 Chron. 24. dividing the *Levites* into 24 Orders, deputing over every Order one chief Bishop, prescribing an Ordinal and Rule how they should do their Duties, their Courses; and what Sacrifices, Rights, and Ceremonies, they should use every day, as the day and time required. And his Son, King *Solomon*, diligently executed, and commanded the same Usages to be observed in the Temple, after he had erected and finished it, 2 *Chron.* 8.

Dr. *Symmons.* The Apstles made Bishops and Priests, by authority given them of God.

Dr. *Tresham.* I say, That the Apstles had authority of God to make Bishops; yet if there had been a Christian King in any place where they made Bishops, they would, and ought, to have desired authority also of him, for the executing of such their godly Acts, which no Christian King would have denied.

Dr. *Leyghton.* To the ninth, I say, That the Apostles (as I suppose) made Bishops by authority given unto them of Christ: Howbeit I think they would and should have required the Christian Princes consent and license thereto, if there had been any Christian Kings or Princes.

Dr. *Coren.* The Apostles made Bishops and Priests by authority given them of God: Notwithstanding if there had been a Christian King at that time, it

it had been their Duties, to have had his Licenſe and Permiſſion to do the ſame.

Omnes Conveniunt Apoſtolos Divinitus accepiſſe Poteſtatem creandi Epiſcopos; Eboracenſ. addit, non opus fuiſſe alia authoritate Apoſtolis quam divina: Sic Thirleby & Edgworth, Redmanus diſtinguit de Inſtitutione Presbyteri, Ordinationem & Conſecrationem tribuit tantum Apoſtolicis & eorum Succeſſoribus, nominationem & electionem Magiſtratibus: Sic Londinenſ. Leightonus, Redman, Treſham, Curren, aiunt petendam fuiſſe Poteſtatem a Magiſtratu Chriſtiano, ſi tum fuiſſet. Robertſonus non reſpondet Quæſtioni, concedit enim datam eſſe Apoſtolis Poteſtatem creandi Epiſcopos ubi Magiſtratus permittit. Oglethorpus putat eos impetraſſe poteſtatem a principibus: Carliolenſ. Roffenſ. Dayus, non reſpondent ultimæ Parti. *Con.*

In the ninth, touching the Authority of the Apoſtles in making Prieſts, the Biſhop of *York*, the Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Edgworth*, ſay, That *the Apoſtles made Prieſts by their own Power, given them by God, and that they had no need of any other Power.* The Biſhop of St. *Davids* ſaith, That *becauſe they lacked a Chriſtian Prince, by that neceſſity they Ordained other Biſhops.* Dr. *Leighton*, *Curren*, *Treſham*, and *Redmayn*, ſuppoſe, That *they ought to have asked licenſe of their Chriſtian Governors, if then there had been any.* *Agreem.*

10. Queſtion,

Whether Biſhops or Prieſts were firſt? and if the Prieſts were firſt, then the Prieſt made the Biſhop.

Anſwers.

THe Biſhops and Prieſts were at one time, and were no two things, but both one Office in the beginning of Chriſt's Religion. *Canterbury*

To the tenth; We think that the Apoſtles were Prieſts before they were Biſhops; and that the Divine Power which made them Prieſts, made them alſo Biſhops; and altho their Ordination was not by all ſuch Courſe as the Church now uſeth, yet that they had both Viſible and Inviſible Sanctification, we may gather of the Goſpel, where it is written, *Sicut miſit me Pater vivens, & ego mitto vos: & cum hæc dixit, inſufflavit in eos & dixit, accipite Spiritum Sanctum: Quorum remiſeritis, &c.* And we may well think, that then they were made Biſhops, when they had not only a Flock, but alſo Shepherds appointed to them to overlook, and a Governance committed to them by the Holy Ghoſt to overſee both; for the name of a Biſhop, is not properly a name of Order, but a name of Office, ſignifying an Overſeer. And altho the inferior Shepherds have alſo Cure to overſee their Flock, yet foraſmuch as the Biſhops *York.*

Biſhops Charge is alſo to overſee the Shepherds, the name of Overſeer is given to the Biſhops, and not to the other; and as they be in degree higher, ſo in their Conſecration we find difference even from the Primitive Church.

London. To the tenth; I think the Biſhops were firſt, and yet I think it is not of importance, whether the Prieſt then made the Biſhop, or elſe the Biſhop the Prieſt; conſidering (after the Sentence of St. *Jerome*) *that in the beginning of the Church there was none (or if it were, very ſmall) difference between a Biſhop and a Prieſt, eſpecially touching the ſignification.*

Rocheſter. I find in Scripture, that Chriſt being both a Prieſt and a Biſhop, ordained his Apoſtles, who were both Prieſts and Biſhops; and the ſame Apoſtles did afterwards ordain Biſhops, and commanded them to ordain others.

Carlile. Chriſt made his Apoſtles Exorciſts, as it appeareth in the 10. *Mat.* Deacons, Prieſts, and Biſhops, as partly there, and after, in the 20 of St. *John*, *Quorum Remiſeritis, &c.* and where he ſaid, *Hoc facite in meam Commemorationem.* In the *Acts*, *Cæterorum nemo audebat ſe conjungere illis.* So that they were all theſe together; and ſo being according to the Ordinance of Chriſt, who had made after them 72 other Prieſts, as it appeareth in the *10th* of St. *Luke*, they made and ordaind alſo others the ſeven principal Deacons, as it is ſhewed in the *6th* of the *Acts*; where it is ſaid, That they praying laid their hands upon them. In the 13 of the *Acts*, certain there named at the commandment of the Holy Ghoſt, ſevered *Saul* and *Barnabas* to that God had taken them, Faſting, Praying, and laying their hands upon them; the which *Saul*, *Ananias* the Diſciple had baptized, laying his hand upon him, that he might be repleniſhed with the Holy Ghoſt. And *Paul* ſo made, ordained *Timothy* and *Tite*, willing them to do likewiſe as he had done, and appointed to be done from City to City. *James* was ordained the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, by *Peter*, *John*, and *James*. So that Example otherwiſe we read not.

Dr. *Rolertſon.* Incertus ſum utri fuere priores, at ſi Apoſtoli in prima profectione Ordinati erant, apparet Epiſcopos fuiſſe priores, nempe Apoſtolos, nam poſtea deſignavit Chriſtus alios ſeptuaginta duos. Nec opinor abſurdum eſſe, ut Sacerdos Epiſcopum Conſecret, ſi Epiſcopus haberi non poteſt.

Dr. *Cox.* Although by Scripture (as St. *Hierome* ſaith) Prieſts and Biſhops be one, and therefore the one not before the other: Yet Biſhops, as they be now, were after Prieſts, and therefore made of Prieſts.

Dr. *Day.* The Apoſtles were both Biſhops and Prieſts, and they made Biſhops and Prieſts, as *Titus* and *Timotheus* made Prieſts. *Epiſcopatum ejus accipiat alter*, Act. 1. *Presbyteros qui in vobis ſunt, obſecro & ego Compresbyter*, 1 Pet. 5. And in the beginning of the Church, as well that word *Epiſcopus* as *Presbyter*, was common and attributed both to Biſhops and Prieſts.

Utrique

Utrique primi a Deo facti, Apoſtoli, Epiſcopi; Septuaginta diſcipuli (ut conjectura ducor) Sacerdotes. Unde veriſimile eſt Epiſcopos præceſſiſſe, Apoſtoli enim prius vocati erant. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

They be of like beginning, and at the beginning were both one, as St. *Hierome* and other old Authors ſhew by the Scripture, wherefore one made another indifferently. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Chriſt our Chief-Prieſt and Biſhop, made his Apoſtles Prieſts and Biſhops all at once; and they did likewiſe make others, ſome Prieſts, and ſome Biſhops; and that the Prieſts in the Primitive Church made Biſhops, I chink no inconvenience; (as *Jerome* ſaith) in an *Epiſt. ad Evagrium.* Even like as Souldiers ſhould chuſe one among themſelves to be their Captain: So did Prieſts chuſe one of themſelves to be their Biſhop, for conſideration of his learning, gravity, and good living, *&c.* and alſo for to avoid Schiſms among themſelves by them, that ſome might not draw the people one way, and others another way, if they lacked one Head among them. Dr. *Edgworth.*

Chriſt was and is the great High Biſhop, and made all his Apoſtles Biſhops; and they made Biſhops and Prieſts after him, and ſo hath it evermore continued hitherto. Dr. *Symmons.*

I ſay, Chriſt made the Apoſtles firſt Prieſts; and then Biſhops, and they by this Authority made both Prieſts and Biſhops, but where there had been a Chriſtian Prince, they would have deſired his Authority to the ſame. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the tenth.—— Dr. *Leyghton.*

The Apoſtles were made of Chriſt Biſhops and Prieſts, both at the firſt; and after them, *Septuaginta duo Diſcipuli*, were made Prieſts. Dr. *Coren*

Menevenſ: Thirleby, Redmanus, Coxus, aſſerunt in initio eoſdem fuiſſe Epiſcopos & Presbyteros. Londinenſ. Carliolenſ. Symmons, putant Apoſtolos fuiſſe inſtitutos Epiſcopos a Chriſto, & eos poſtea inſtituiſſe alios Epiſcopos & Presbyteros, & 72 Presbyteros poſtea fuiſſe Ordinatos: Sic Oglethorpus, Eboracenſ. & Treſham aiunt Apoſtolos primo fuiſſe Presbyteros, deinde Epiſcopos, cum aliorum Presbyterorum credita eſſet illis cura. Robertſonus incertus eſt utri fuere priores, non abſurdum tamen eſſe opinatur, ut Sacerdos conſecret Epiſcopum, ſi Epiſcopus haberi non poteſt. Sic Londinenſ. Edgworth, Dayus, putant etiam Epiſcopos, ut vulgo de Epiſcopis loquimur, fuiſſe ante Presbyteros. Leightonus nihil Reſpondet. *Con.*

In the tenth; Where it is asked, Whether Biſhops or Prieſts were firſt? The Biſhop of St. *Davids*, my Lord Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Redman*, ſay, That *at the beginning they were all one.* The Biſhops of *Agreem.*

York, *London*, *Rocheſter*, *Carliſle*; Drs. *Day*, *Treſham*, *Symmons*, *Oglethorp*, be in other contrary Opinions. The Biſhop of *York*, and Doctor *Treſham*, think, *That the Apoſtles firſt were Prieſts, and after were made Biſhops, when the overſeeing of other Prieſts was committed to them.* My Lords of *Dureſme*, *London*, *Carliſle*, *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Symmons* and *Craſford*, think, *That the Apoſtles firſt were Biſhops, and they after made other Biſhops and Prieſts.* Dr. *Coren* and *Oglethorp*, ſay, *That the Apoſtles were made Biſhops, and the 72 were after made Prieſts.* Dr. *Day* thinks, *That Biſhops as they be now-a-days called, were before Prieſts.* My Lord of *London*, Drs. *Edgworth* and *Robertſon*, think *it no inconvenience, if a Prieſt made a Biſhop in that time.*

11. Queſtion.

Whether a Biſhop hath Authority to make a Prieſt by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other but only a Biſhop may make a Prieſt?

Anſwers.

Canterbury A Biſhop may make a Prieſt by the Scripture, and ſo may Princes and Governors alſo, and that by the Authority of God committed to them, and the People alſo by their Election; for as we read that Biſhops have done it, ſo Chriſtian Emperors and Princes uſually have done it, and the people before Chriſtian Princes were, commonly did Elect their Biſhops and Prieſts.

York. To the eleventh; That a Biſhop may make a Prieſt, may be deduced of Scripture; for ſo much as they have all Authority neceſſary for the ordering of Chriſt's Church, derived from the Apoſtles, who made Biſhops and Prieſts, and not without Authority, as we have ſaid before to the ninth Queſtion; and that any other than Biſhops or Prieſts may make a Prieſt, we neither find in Scripture, nor out of Scripture.

London. To the eleventh, I think, That a Biſhop duly appointed hath Authority, by Scripture, to make a Biſhop, and alſo a Prieſt: becauſe Chriſt being a Biſhop did ſo make himſelf; and becauſe alive, his Apoſtles did the like.

Rocheſter. The Scripture ſheweth by example, that a Biſhop hath Authority to make a Prieſt; albeit no Biſhop being ſubject to a Chriſtian Prince, may either give Orders to Excommunicate, or uſe any manner of Juriſdiction, or any part of his Authority, without Commiſſion from the King who is Supream Head of that Church whereof he is a Member; but that any other Man may do it beſides a Biſhop, I find no example, either in Scripture, or in Doctors.

Carlile. By what is ſaid before, it appeareth, that a Biſhop by Scripture may make Deacons and Prieſts, and that we have no example otherwiſe.

Opinor

Opinor Epiſcopum habere Authoritatem creandi Sacerdotem, modo id Magiſtratus publici permiſſu fiat. An vero ab alio quam Epiſcopo id rite fieri poſſit, haud ſcio, quamvis ab alio factum non memini me legiſſe. Ordin. conferr. gratiam, vid. Eck. Homil. 60. Dr. *Robertſon.*

Biſhops have Authority, as is aforeſaid, of the Apoſtles, in the tenth Queſtion, to make Prieſts, except in caſes of great neceſſity. Dr. *Cox.*

Biſhops have authority by Scripture, to ordain Biſhops and Prieſts; Joh. 20. *Hujus rei gratia reliqui te Cretæ ut conſtituas oppidatim Presbyteros*, Tit. 1. Act. 14. Dr. *Day.*

Autoritas ordinandi Presbyteros data eſt Epiſcopis per verbum, multiſq; aliis quos lego. Dr. *Ogleſthorpe.*

To the firſt part, I anſwer, Yea; for ſo it appeareth *Tit.* 1. and 1 *Tim.* 5. with other places of Scripture. But whether any other but only a Biſhop may make a Prieſt, I have not read, but by ſingular priviledg of God, as when *Moſes* (whom divers Authors ſay was not a Prieſt) made *Aaron* a Prieſt. Truth it is, that the Office of a Godly Prince is to overſee the Church, and the Miniſters thereof; and to cauſe them do their duty, and alſo to appoint them ſpecial Charges and Offices in the Church, as may be moſt for the Glory of God, and edifying of the People: and thus we read of the good Kings in the Old Teſtament, *David*, *Joas*, *Ezekias*, *Joſias*. But as for *Making*, that is to ſay, Ordaining and Conſecrating of Prieſts, I think it ſpecially belongeth to the Office of a Biſhop, as far as can be ſhewed by Scripture, or any Example, as I ſuppoſe from the beginning. Dr. *Redmayn.*

A Biſhop hath authority by Scripture to make a Prieſt, and that any other ever made a Prieſt ſince Chriſt's time I read not. Albeit *Moſes* who was not anointed Prieſt, made *Aaron* Prieſt and Biſhop, by a ſpecial Commiſſion or Revelation from God, without which he would never ſo have done. Dr. *Edgeworth*

A Biſhop placed by the Higher Powers, and admitted to miniſter, may make a Prieſt; and I have not read of any other that ever made Prieſts. Dr. *Symmons.*

I ſay, a Biſhop hath authority by Scripture to make a Prieſt, and other than a Biſhop, hath not power therein, but only in caſe of neceſſity. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the eleventh; I ſuppoſe that a Biſhop hath authority of God, as his Miniſter, by Scripture to make a Prieſt; bnt he ought not to admit any Man to be Prieſt, and conſecrate him, or to appoint him unto any miniſtry in the Church, without the Princes Licenſe and Conſent, in a Chriſtian Region. And that any other Man hath authority to make a Prieſt by Scripture, I have not read, nor any example thereof. Dr. *Leyghton.*

Dr. *Coren.* A Biſhop being licenſed by his Prince and ſupream Governour, hath authority to make a Prieſt by the Law of God. I do not read that any Prieſt hath been oedered by any other than a Biſhop.

Con. Ad primam partem Quæſtionis reſpondent omnes & convenit omnibus præter Menevenſ. Epiſcopum habere autoritatem inſtituendi Presbyteros. Roffenſ. Leighton, Curren, Robertſonus, addunt, Modo Magiſtratus id permittat. Ad ſecundam partem Reſpondent Coxus & Treſham in neceſſitate concedi poteſtatem Ordinandi aliis. Eboracen. videtur omnino denegare aliis hanc autoritatem Redmayn, Symmons, Robertſon, Leighton, Thirleby, Curren, Roffen. Edgworth, Oglethorp, Carliolen. nuſquam legerunt alios uſos fuiſſe hac poteſtate, quanquam (privilegio quodam) data ſit Moyſi, ut Redmanus arbitratur & Edgworth. Nihil reſpondent ad ſecundam partem Quæſtionis Londinenſis & Dayus.

Agreem. In the eleventh; To the former part of the Queſtion, the Biſhop of St. *Davids* doth anſwer, That *Biſhops have no Authority to make Prieſts without they be authorized of the Chriſtian Prince.* The others, all of them do ſay, That *they be authorized of God.* Yet ſome of them, as the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Robertſon*, add, That *they cannot uſe this Authority without their Chriſtian Prince doth permit them.* To the ſecond part the Anſwer of the Biſhop of St. *Davids* is, That *Laymen have other-whiles made Prieſts.* So doth Dr. *Edgworth* and *Redman* ſay, *That* Moſes, *by a Priviledg given him of God, made* Aaron *his Brother Prieſt.* Dr. *Treſham*, *Crayford*, and *Cox* ſay, That *Laymen may make Prieſts in time of Neceſſity.* The Biſhops of *York*, *Dureſme*, *Rocheſter*, *Carliſle*, Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Symmons*, ſeem to deny this thing; for they ſay, *They find not, nor read not any ſuch example.*

12. Queſtion.

Whether in the New Teſtament *be required any Conſecration of a Biſhop and Prieſt, or only appointing to the Office be ſufficient?*

Anſwers.

Canterbury IN the *New Teſtament*, he that is appointed to be a Biſhop, or a Prieſt, needeth not Conſecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is ſufficient.

York. To the twelfth Queſtion; The Apoſtles ordained Prieſts by Impoſition of the Hand with Faſting and Prayer; and ſo following their ſteps we muſt needs think, that all the foreſaid things be neceſſarily to be uſed by their Succeſſors: and therefore we do alſo think, that Appointment only without viſible Conſecration and Invocation for the aſſiſtance and power of the Holy Ghoſt, is neither convenient nor ſufficient; for without

without the ſaid Invocation, it beſeemeth no Man to appoint to our Lord Miniſters, as of his own Authority: whereof we have example in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; where we find, that when they were gathered to chuſe one in the place of *Judas*, they appointed two of the Diſciples, and commended the Election to our Lord, that he would chuſe which of them it pleaſed him, ſaying and praying, *Lord, thou that knoweſt the hearts of all Men, ſhew whether of theſe two thou doſt chuſe to ſucceed in the place of* Judas. And to this purpoſe in the *Acts*, we read *Dixit Spiritus Sanctus ſegregate mihi Barnabam, &c.* And again, *Quos poſuit Spiritus Sanctus regere Eccleſiam Dei.* And it appeareth alſo that in the *Old Teſtament*, in the ordering of Prieſts, there was both Viſible and Inviſible Sanctification; and therefore in the *New Teſtament*, where the Prieſthood is above compariſon higher than in the *Old*, we may not think that only Appointment ſufficeth without Sanctification, either Viſible or Inviſible.

To the twelfth; I think Conſecration of a Biſhop and Prieſt be required, for that in the Old Law (being yet but a ſhadow and figure of the New) the Conſecration was required, as appears *Levit.* 8. yet the truth of this I leave to thoſe of higher Judgments. *London.*

The Scripture ſpeaketh, *de Impoſitione Manus & de Oratione:* and of other manner of Conſecrations, I find no mention in the *New Teſtament* expreſly; but the Old Authors make mention alſo of Inunctions. *Rocheſter.*

Upon this Text of *Paul* to *Timothy*; *Noli negligere gratium quæ in te eſt, quæ data eſt tibi per Prophetam cum Impoſitione Manuum Presbyterii*; St. *Anſelm* ſaith, This *Grace to be the Gift of the Biſhops Office, to the which God of his meer goodneſs had called and preferred him. The Propheſy* (he ſaith) *was the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, by the which he knew what he had to do therein. The Impoſition of the hands is that by the which he was ordained and received that Office: And therefore* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *God is my Witneſs, that I have diſcharged my ſelf, ſhowing you as I ought to have done Now look you we Lupon it whom that ye take to Orders, leſt ye loſe your ſelf thereby. Let Biſhops therefore, who* (as ſaith St. *Hierome*) *hath power to make Prieſts, conſider well under what Law the order of Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution is bounden; and let them not think thoſe words of the Apoſtle to be his, but rather the words of Chriſt himſelf.* *Carlile.*

Opinor requiri Conſecrationem quandam, hoc eſt, impoſitionem manuum, Orationem, Jejunium, &c. tamen nuſquam hoc munere fungi poſſe, niſi, ubi Magiſtratus inviter, jubeat, aut permittat. Dr. *Robertſon.*

By Scripture there is no Conſecration of Biſhops and Prieſts required, but only the appointing to the Office of a Prieſt, *cum Impoſitione Manuum.* Dr. *Cox.*

Conſecration of Biſhops and Prieſts I read not in the *New Teſtament*, but *Ordinatio per Manuum Impoſitionem cum Oratione* is read there, as in the places above; and the only appointment, as I think, is not ſufficient. Dr. *Day.*

Præter

Dr. *Oglethorpe* Præter vocationem, ceu designationem externam, quæ vel a Principe fit, vel a populo per electionem & suffragia, requiritur Ordinatio alia per manuum impositionem, idque per Verbum Dei.

Dr. *Redmayn.* Besides the appointing to the Office, it appeareth that in the Primitive Church, the Apostles used certain Consecration of the Ministers of the Church, by imposition of hands and Prayer, *Acts* 6. and with Fasting, *Acts* 14, *&c.* The Office of Priesthood is too dangerous to set upon, when one is but appointed only: Therefore for the confirmation of their Faith, who take in hand such charge, and for the obtaining of farther Grace requisite in the same, Consecration was ordained by the Holy Ghost, and hath been always used from the beginning.

Dr. *Edgworth.* Deputation to the Office, is not sufficient to make a Priest or a Bishop, as appeareth by *David* and *Solomon*, who deputed the 24 abovementioned to their Offices, yet they made none of them Priests, nor any other.

Dr. *Symmons* The appointing to the Office *per Manuum Impositionem*, is in Scripture, and the Consecration of them hath of long time continued in the Church.

Dr. *Tresham.* There is a certain kind of Consecration required, which is Imposition of the Bishops hands with Prayer, and the appointing only is not sufficient.

Dr. *Leyghton.* To the twelfth; I suppose that there is a Consecration required, as by Imposition of Hands; for so we be taught by the ensample of the Apostles.

Dr. *Coren.* In the *New Testament* is required to the making of a Bishop, *Impositio Manuum cum Oratione*, which I take for Consecration, and Appointment unto the Office is not sufficient; for King *David*, 1 *Chron.* 24. did appoint 24 to be Bishops, who after were consecrated; so that both the Appoinment and the Consecration be requisite.

Con. Respondent Eboracens. Londinens. Carliolens. Leighton, Tresham, Robersonus, Edgworth, Curren, Dayus, Oglethorp, Consecrationem esse requisitam. Redmanus ait eam receptam esse ab Apostolis, atque a Spiritu Sancto institutam ad conferendam gratiam. Dayus, Roffens. Symmons, aiunt Sacerdotium conferri per manuum impositionem, idq; ê Scripturis; Consecrationem vero diu receptam in Ecclesia: Coxus Institutionem cum manuum impositione sufficere, neq; per Scripturam requiri Consecrationem. Robertsonus, addit supra alios nusquam hoc munere fungi posse quempiam, nisi ubi Magistratus invitet, jubeat aut permittat.

Agreem. In the twelfth Question, where it is asked, Whether in the *New Testament* be required any Consecration of a Bishop, or only appointing to the Office be sufficient? The Bishop of St. *Davids* saith, That *only the Appointing*. Dr. *Cox*, That *only Appointing*, cum Manuum Impositione,

is

is ſufficient without Conſecration. The Biſhops of *York*, *London*, *Dureſm*, *Carliſle*, Drs. *Day*, *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Treſham*, *Edgworth*, *Ogletborp*, ſay, That *Conſecration is requiſite.* Dr. *Redmayn* ſaith, That *Conſecration hath been received from the Apoſtles Time, and inſtitute of the Holy Ghoſt to confer Grace.* My Lord of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Day*, and *Symmons*, ſay, That *Prieſthood is given* per manuum impoſitionem, *and that by Scripture; and that Conſecration hath of long time been received in the Church.*

13. Queſtion.

Whether (if it fortuned a Chriſtian Prince Learned, to conquer certain Dominions of Infidels, having none but temporal learned Men with him) if it be defended by God's Law, that he and they ſhould Preach and Teach the word of God there, or no? And alſo make and conſtitute Prieſts, or no?

Anſwers.

IT is not againſt God's Law, but contrary they ought indeed ſo to do; and there be Hiſtories that witneſſeth, that ſome Chriſtian Princes, and other Laymen unconſecrate have done the ſame. *Canterbury*

To the thirteenth; To the firſt part of this Queſtion touching Teaching and Preaching the Word of God in caſe of ſuch need; we think that Laymen not ordered, not only may, but muſt preach Chriſt and his Faith to Infidels, as they ſhall ſee opportunity to do the ſame, and muſt endeavour themſelves to win the Miſcreants to the Kingdom of God, if that they can; for as the Wiſe Man ſaith, *God hath given charge to every Man of his Neighbour*; and the Scripture of God *chargeth every Man to do all the good that he can to all Men*: And ſurely this is the higheſt Alms to draw Men from the Devil the Uſurper, and bring them to God the very owner. Wherefore in this caſe every Man and Woman may be an Evangeliſt, and of this alſo we have example. But touching the ſecond part, for caſe of Neceſſity; As we neither find Scripture, nor Example, that will bear, that any Man, being himſelf no Prieſt, may make, that is to ſay, may give the Order of Prieſthood to another, and Authority therewith to miniſter in the ſaid Order, and to uſe ſuch Powers and Offices, as appertaineth to Prieſthood grounded in the Goſpel. So we find in ſuch caſe of need, what hath been done in one of the Ancient Writers; altho this Authority to Ordain, after form afore-mentioned, be not to Laymen expreſly prohibited in Scripture; yet ſuch a prohibition is implied, in that there is no ſuch Authority given to them, either in Scripture or otherways; for ſo much as no Man may uſe this or any other Authority which cometh from the Holy Ghoſt, unleſs he hath either Commiſſion grounded in Scripture, or elſe Authority by Tradition, and ancient uſe of Chriſt's Church univerſally received over all. *York.*

To

London. To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; I think that neceſſity herein, might either be a ſufficient Rule and Warrant to determine and order ſuch Caſes, conſidering that *tempore neceſſitatis mulier baptizat, & Lacius idem facit, & audit confeſſionem*: or elſe that God would inſpire in the Princes Heart, to provide the beſt and moſt handſome Remedy therein: And hard were it peradventure to find ſuch great neceſſity, but either in the Train of the ſaid Prince, or in the Regions adjoining thereunto, there might be had ſome Prieſts for the ſaid purpoſes; or finally, That the Prince himſelf, godlily inſpired in that behalf, might, for ſo good purpoſes and intents, ſet forth the Act indeed, referring yet this thing to the better judgment of others.

Rocheſter. To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; I never read theſe caſes, neither in Scripture, nor in the Doctors, and therefore I cannot anſwer unto them by Learning, but think this to be a good Anſwer for all ſuch Queſtions, *viz. Neceſſitas non habet Legem.*

Carlile. It is to be thought, that Chriſt may call, as it pleaſeth him, inwardly, outwardly, or by both together: So that if no Prieſt might be had, it cannot be thought, but that a Chriſtian Prince, with others learned, inwardly moved and called, might moſt charitably and godlily proſecute that ſame their Calling in the moſt acceptable Work, which is to bring people from the Devil to God, from Infidelity to true Faith, by whatſoever means God ſhall inſpire.

Dr. *Robertſon.* In hoc caſu exiſtimarem accerſendos Verbi & Sacramentorum Miniſtros, ſi qui forent vicini; quin ſi nulli invenirentur, Principem illum Chriſtianum haberemus pro Apoſtolo, tanquam miſſum a Deo, licet externo Sacramento non eſſet commendatus, quum Deus Sacramentis ſuis non ſit alligatus.

Dr. *Cox.* To the Thirteenth, and Fourteenth following; it is not againſt God's Law, that the Prince, and his learned temporal Men, may Preach and Teach, and in theſe caſes of extream Neceſſity, make and inſtitute Miniſters.

Dr. *Day.* In this caſe (as I think) the Prince and other temporal learned Men with him, may by God's Law, Teach and Preach the Word of God, and Baptize; and alſo (the ſame Neceſſity ſtanding) elect and appoint Men to thoſe Offices.

Dr. *Oglethorp.* In ſumma neceſſitate Baptizare & prædicare poſſunt & debent, hæc etenim duo, neceſſaria ſunt media ad ſalutem; at ordinare (ut conjectura ducor) non debent, ſed aliunde Sacrificos accerſire, quos ſi habere nequeant, Deus ipſe (cujus negotium agitur,) vel oraculo admonebit, quid faciendum erit, vel neceſſitas ipſa (quæ ſibi ipſi eſt Lex) modum Ordinandi ſuggeret ac ſuppeditabit.

Dr. *Redmayn.* I think they might, in ſuch caſe of Neceſſity; for in this caſe the Laymen made the whole Church there, and the Authority of preaching and miniſtring the Sacraments, is given immediately to the Church; and the

the Church may appoint Miniſters, as is thought convenient. There be two Stories good to be conſidered for this Queſtion, which be written in the 10*th* Book of the *Hiſtory Eccleſiaſtick*; the one of *Frumentius*, who preached in *India*, and was after made Prieſt and Biſhop by *Athanaſius*. And the other Story is of the King of the *Iberians*, of whom *Ruffine* the Writer of the Story ſaith thus: *Et nondum initiatus Sacris ſit ſuæ gentis Apoſtolus.* Yet nevertheleſs it is written there, That *an Ambaſſade was ſent to* Conſtantine *the Emperor, that he would ſend them Prieſts for the further eſtabliſhment of the Faith there.*

The Prince and his temporal learned Men, might and ought, in that neceſſity, to inſtruct the People in the Faith of Chriſt, and to baptize them, *ut idem rex ſit, & ſuæ gentis Apoſtolus*, and theſe be ſufficient for the Salvation of his Subjects. But as concerning other Sacraments, he ought to abide and look for a ſpecial Commiſſion from Almighty God, as *Moſes* had, or elſe to ſend unto other Regions where Prieſts or Biſhops may be had, and elſe not to meddle. Examples in *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 10. *cap.* 1. *de Frumentio. & cap.* 2. *de Ancilla captiva quæ convertit gentem Hiberorum cujus captivæ monitis ad Imperatorem Conſtantinum totius gentis legatio mittitur, res geſta exponitur, Sacerdotes mittere exorantur qui cæptum erga ſe Dei munus implerent, &c.* Dr. *Edgworth.*

I think that in ſuch a neceſſity, a learned Chriſtian Prince, and alſo temporal Men learned, be bound to preach and miniſter either Sacraments, ſo that the ſame Miniſters be orderly aſſigned by the High Power, and the Congregation. Dr. *Symons.*

I ſay, to the firſt part, That ſuch a King, and his temporal learned Men, not only might, but were alſo bound to preach God's Word in this caſe. And as to the ſecond part, I ſay, That if there could no Biſhop be had to Inſtitute, the Prince might in that of neceſſity do it. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the thirteenth; I ſuppoſe the Affirmative thereof to be true; *Quamvis poteſtas clavium reſidet præcipue in Eccleſia.* Dr. *Leyghton.*

In ſuch a caſe, I do believe that God would illuminate the Prince; ſo that either he himſelf ſhould be made a Biſhop, by internal working of God (as *Paul* was) or ſome of his Subjects, or elſe God would ſend him Biſhops from other parts. And as for preaching of the Word of God, the Prince might do it himſelf, and other of his learned Subjects, altho they were no Prieſts. Dr. *Coren.*

In prima parte Quæſtionis Conveniunt omnes, etiam Laicos, tali rerum ſtatu, non ſolum poſſe ſed debere docere. Menevenſ. Thirlebeus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Treſham, Redmaynus, Robertſonus, etiam poteſtatem Miniſtrandi Sacramenta, & Ordinandi Miniſtros, concedunt illis. Eboracenſ. hanc prorſus poteſtatem denegat. Coren credit Principem Divinitus illuminandum & conſecrandum fore in Epiſcopum interne, aut aliquem ex ſuis, Pauli exemplo. Simile habet Herefordenſis & Carliolenſis. *Con.*

Dayus nihil reſpondet de Ordinandis Presbyteris in hac neceſſitate.

Agreem. In the thirteenth; Concerning the firſt part, Whether Laymen may Preach and Teach God's Word? They do all agree, in ſuch a caſe, *That not only they may, but they ought to teach.* But in the ſecond part, touching the Conſtituting of Prieſts of Laymen, my Lord of *York*, and Doctor *Edgworth*, doth not agree with the other; they ſay, That *Laymen in no wiſe can make Prieſts, or have ſuch Authority.* The Biſhops of *Dureſme*, St. *Davids*, *Weſtminſter*, Drs. *Treſham*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, *Crayford*, *Symmons*, *Redmayn*, *Robertſon*, ſay, *That Laymen in ſuch caſe have Authority to miniſter the Sacraments, and to make Prieſts.* My Lords of *London*, *Carliſle*, and *Hereford*, and Dr. *Coren*, think, *That God in ſuch a caſe would give the Prince Authority, call him inwardly, and illuminate him or ſome of his, as he did* St. Paul.

14. Queſtion.

Whether it be forefended by God's Law that (if it ſo fortune that all the Biſhops and Prieſts of a Region were dead, and that the Word of God ſhould remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm, *and others unminiſtred) that the King of that Region ſhould make Biſhops and Preiſts to ſupply the ſame, or no?*

Anſwers.

Canterbury IT is not forbidden by God's Law.

York. To the fourteenth; In this caſe, as we have ſaid in the next Article afore, Teaching of the Word of God may be uſed by any that can and would uſe it, to the Glory of God; and in this caſe alſo the Sacrament of Baptiſm may be miniſtred by thoſe that be no Prieſts; which things altho we have not of Scripture, yet the univerſal Tradition, and Practice of the Church, doth teach us: And peradventure contract of Matrimony might alſo be made, the Solemnization thereof being only ordained by Law poſitive, and not by any ground, either of Scripture, or of Tradition; altho for very urgent cauſes, the ſaid Solemnization is to be obſerved when it may be obſerved; but that the Princes may not Make, that is, may not Order Prieſts nor Biſhops, not before Ordered to miniſter the other Sacraments, the miniſtry whereof in Scripture is committed only to the Apoſtles, and from them derived to their Succeſſors, even from the Primitive Church, hitherto, and by none other uſed, we have anſwered in the thirteenth Article.

London. *Ut ſupra*, Quæſt. 13—

Rocheſter. *Ut ſupra*, Quæſt. 13.—

Not

Not only it is given of God to Supream Governours, Kings and Princes immediate under them, to ſee, cauſe, and compel all their Subjects, Biſhopt, Prieſts, with all others, to do truly and uprightly their bounden Duties to God, and to them, each one according to his Calling: but alſo if it were ſo, that any-where ſuch lacked to do and fulfil that God would have done, right well they might, by the inward moving and calling of God, ſupply the ſame. *Carlile.*

Huic Quæſtioni idem Reſpondendum, quod priori, arbitror. Dr. *Robertſon.*

Ut ſupra, Queſt. 13.— Dr. *Cox.*

To this caſe, as to the firſt, I anſwer; That if there could no Biſhops be had to order new Prieſts there, by the Princes aſſignation and appointment; then the Prince himſelf might ordain and conſtitute with the conſent of the Congregation, both Prieſts and Miniſters, to Preach and Baptize, and to do other Functions in the Church. Dr. *Day.*

Si ab aliis Regionibus Sacerdotes haberi non poterint, opinor ipſum principem deputare poſſe etiam Laicos ad hoc Sacrum Officium; ſed omnia prius tentanda eſſent, ut ſupra. Dr. *Oglethorp.*

To this, I think, may be anſwered, as to the laſt Queſtion before; howbeit the ſureſt way, I think, were to ſend for ſome Miniſters of the Church dwelling in the next Regions, if they might be conveniently had. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Likewiſe as to the next Queſtion afore. Dr. *Edgworth.*

If the King be alſo a Biſhop, as it is poſſible, he may appoint Biſhops and Prieſts to miniſter to his People; but hitherto I have not read that ever any Chriſtian King, made Biſhop or Prieſt. Dr. *Symmons.*

I make the ſame anſwer, as to the 13*th* Queſtion is made. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the fourteenth; I ſuppoſe the Affirmative to be true, in caſe that there can no Biſhops nor Prieſts be had forth of other Countries, conveniently. Dr. *Leyghton.*

In this caſe I make anſwer as before, That God will never ſuffer his Servants to lack that thing that is neceſſary; for there ſhould, either from other parts, Prieſts and Biſhops be called thither, or elſe God would call inwardly ſome of them that be in that Region to be Biſhops and Prieſts. Dr. *Coren.*

Fatentur ut prius omnes, Laicos poſſe Docere. Eboracenſ. Symmons, Oglethorp negant poſſe Ordinare Presbyteros, tamen concedit Eboracenſ. baptizare & contrahere Matrimonia, Edgworth tantum baptizare poſſe; nam ſufficere dicit ad ſalutem. Alii omnes eandem poteſtatem concedunt, quam prius. Roffenſ. non aliud *Con.*

respondet his duabus Questionibus, quam quod necessitas non habeat Legem.

Agreem. In the fourteenth they agree for the most part as they did before, That *Laymen in this case may teach and minister the Sacraments.* My Lord of *York*, Dr. *Symmons*, and *Oglethorp* say, *They can make no Priests, altho* Symmons *said they might minister all Sacraments, in the Question before.* Yet my Lord of *York*, and *Edgworth*, do grant, That *they may Christen.* The Bishops of *London*, *Rochester*, and Dr. *Crayford*, say, That *in such a case*, Necessitas non habet Legem.

15. Question.

Whether a Man be bound by Authority of this Scripture, (Quorum Remiseritis) *and such-like, to confess his secret deadly Sins to a Priest, if he may have him, or no?*

Answers.

Canterbury A Man is not bound, by the Authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remiseritis*, and such-like, to confess his secret deadly Sins to a Priest, altho he may have him.

York. To the fifteenth; This Scripture is indifferent to secret and open Sins; nor the Authority given in the same is appointed or limited, either to the one, or to the other, but is given commonly to both: And therefore seeing that the Sinner is in no other place of Scripture discharged of the confession of his secret Sins, we think, that this place chargeth him to confess the secret Sins, as well as the open.

London. To the fifteenth; I think that as the Sinner is bound by this authority to confess his open Sins, so also is he bound to confess his secret Sins, because the special end is, to wit, *Absolutionem a peccato cujus fecit se servum*, is all one in both cases: And that all Sins as touching God are open, and in no wise secret or hid.

Rochester. I think that Confession of secret deadly sins is necessary for to attain absolution of them; but whether every Man that hath secretly committed deadly Sin, is bound by these words to ask Absolution of the Priest therefore, it is an hard Question, and of much controversy amongst learned Men, and I am not able to define betwixt them; but I think it is the surest way, to say that a Man is bound to Confess, *&c.*

Carlile. I think that by the mind of most Ancient Authors, and most holy Expositors, this Text, *Quorum Remiseritis peccata, &c.* with other-like serveth well to this intent; That Christian Folk should confess their secret deadly Sins to a Priest there to be assoiled, without which Mean, there can be none other like Assurance.

Opinor

Opinor obligare, modo aliter conſcientiæ illius ſatisfieri nequeat. Dr. *Robertſon.*

I cannot find that a Man is bound by Scripture to confeſs his ſecret deadly Sins to a Prieſt, unleſs he be ſo troubled in his Conſcience, that he cannot be quieted without Godly Inſtruction. Dr. *Cox.*

The Matter being in controverſy among learned Men, and very doubtful, yet I think rather the truth is, That by Authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remiſeritis, &c.* and ſuch-like, a Man is bound to confeſs his ſecret deadly Sins, which grieve his Conſcience, to a Prieſt, if he may conveniently have him. Foraſmuch as it is an ordinary way ordained by Chriſt in the Goſpel, by Abſolution to remit Sins; which Abſolution I never read to be given, *ſine Confeſſione previâ.* Dr. *Day.*

Confitenda ſunt opinor, etiam peccata abdita ac ſecreta propter Abſolutionem ac conſcientiæ tranquillitatem, & præcipue pro vitanda deſperatione, ad quam plerumq; adiguntur multi in extremis, dum ſibi ipſis de remiſſione peccatorum nimium blandiuntur, nullius (dum ſani ſunt) cenſuram ſubeuntes niſi propriam. Dr. *Oglethorp.*

I think, that altho in theſe words Confeſſion of privy Sins, is not expreſly commanded; yet it is inſinuated and ſhewed in theſe words, as a neceſſary Medicine or Remedy, which all Men that fall into deadly ſin ought, for the quieting of their Conſciences ſeek, if they may conveniently have ſuch a Prieſt as is meet to hear their Confeſſion. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Where there be two ways to obtain remiſſion of Sin, and to recover Grace, a Man is bound by the Law of Nature to take the ſurer way, or elſe he ſhould ſeem to contemn his own Health, which is unnatural. Alſo becauſe we be bound to love God above all things, we ought by the ſame Bond to labour for his Grace and Favour: So that becauſe we be bound to love God, and to love our ſelves in an Order to God, we be bound to ſeek the beſt and ſureſt Remedy to recover Grace for our ſelves. Contrition is one way; but becauſe a Man cannot be well aſſured, whether his Contrition, Attrition, or Diſpleaſure for his Sin be ſufficient to ſatisfy or content Almighty God, and able or worthy to get his Grace: Therefore it is neceſſary to take that way that will not fail, and by which thou mayeſt be ſure, and that is Abſolution of the Prieſt, which by Chriſt's Promiſe will not deceive thee, ſo that thou put no ſtep or bar in the way; as, if thou do not then actually ſin inwardly nor outwardly, but intend to receive that the Church intendeth to give thee by that Abſolution, having the efficacity of Chriſt's Promiſe, *Quorum Remiſeritis*, &c. Now the Prieſt can give thee no Abſolution from that Sin that he knoweth not: therefore thou art bound, for the cauſes aforeſaid, to confeſs thy Sin. Dr. *Edgworth.*

This Scripture, as Ancient Doctors expound it, bindeth all Men to confeſs their ſecret deadly Sins. Dr. *Symmons.*

Dr. *Tresham.* I say, That such Confession is a thing most consonant to the Law of God, and it is a wise point, and a wholsome thing so for to do, and God provoketh and allureth us thereto, in giving the Active Power to Priests to assoil in the words, *Quorum Remiseritis.* It is also a safer way for Salvation to confess, if we may have a Priest: Yet I think that Confession is not necessarily deduced of Scripture, nor commanded as a necessary Precept of Scripture, and yet it is much consonant to the Law of God, as a thing willed, not commanded.

Dr. *Leyghton.* To the fifteenth; I think that only such as have not the knowledg of the Scripture, whereby they may quiet their Consciences, be bound to confess their secret deadly sins unto a Priest: Howbeit no Man ought to contemn such Auricular Confession, for I suppose it to be a Tradition Apostolical, necessary for the unlearned Multitude.

Dr *Coren.* A Man whose Conscience is grieved with mortal secret sins, is bound by these words, *Quorum Remiseritis, &c.* to confess his Sin to a Priest, if he may have him conveniently.

Con. Eboracens. Londinens. Dayus, Oglethorpus, Coren, Redmayn, asserunt obligari. Coxus, Tresham, & Robertsonus dicunt non obligari, si aliter Conscientiæ illorum satisfieri queat; Menevens. nullo modo obligari. Carliolens. & Symmons aiunt, secundum veterum interpretationem, hac Scriptura quemvis obligari peccatorem. Roffens. Herefordens. & Thirleby non respondent, sed dubitant. Leightonus solum indoctos obligari ad Confessionem. Edgworth tradit duplicem modum remissionis peccatorum, per Contritionem sive Attritionem, & per Absolutionem: & quia nemo potest certus esse, num attritio & dolor pro peccato sufficiat ad satisfaciendum Deo & obtinendam gratiam, ideo tutissimam viam deligendam, scilicet, Absolutionem a Sacerdote, quæ per promissionem Christi est certa; Absolvere non potest nisi cognoscat peccata; Ergo peccata per Confessionem sunt illi revelanda.

Agreement. In the eleventh; Concerning Confession of our secret deadly Sins. The Bishops of *York*, *Duresme*, *London*, Drs. *Day*, *Coren*, *Oglethorp*, *Redmayn*, *Crayford*, say, That *Men be bound to confess them of their secret Sins.* Drs. *Cox*, *Tresham*, *Robertson*, say, *They be not bound, if they may quiet their Consciences otherwise.* The Bishop of St. *Davids* also saith, That *this Text bindeth no Man.* Dr. *Leighton* saith, That *it bindeth only such as have not the knowledg of Scripture.* The Bishop of *Carlisle* and *Symmons* say, That *by ancient Doctors exposition, Men be bound, by this Text, to confess their deadly sins.*

16. Question

16. Queſtion.

Whether a Biſhop or a Prieſt may Excommunicate, and for what Crimes? And whether they only may Excommunicate by God's Law?

Anſwers.

A Biſhop or a Prieſt by the Scripture is neither commanded nor forbidden to Excommunicate, but where the Laws of any Region giveth him authority to Excommunicate, there they ought to uſe the ſame in ſuch Crimes, as the Laws have ſuch authority in; and where the Laws of the Region forbiddeth them, there they have no authority at all; and they that be no Prieſts may alſo Excommunicate, if the Law allow thereunto. *Canterbury*

To the ſixteenth; The power to Excommunicate, that is, to diſſever the Sinner from the communion of all Chriſtian People, and ſo put them out of the Unity of the Myſtical Body for the time, *donec reſipiſcat*, is only given to the Apoſtles, and their Succeſſors in the Goſpel, but for what Crimes, altho in the Goſpel doth not appear, ſaving only for diſobedience againſt the Commandment of the Church, yet we find example of Excommunication uſed by the Apoſtles in other caſes: As of the Fornicator by *Paul*, of *Hymeneus* and *Alexander* for their Blaſphemy by the ſame; and yet of other Crimes mentioned in the Epiſtle of the ſaid *Paul* writing to the *Corinthians*. And again of them that were diſobedient to his Doctrine, 2 *Theſſ.* 3. We find alſo charge given to us, by the Apoſtle St. *John*, that we ſhall not commune with them, nor ſo much as ſalute him with *Ave*, that would not receive his Doctrine. By which it may appear that Excommunication may be uſed for many great Crimes, and yet the Church at this day doth not uſe it, but only for manifeſt diſobedience. And this kind of Excommunication, whereby Man is put out of the Church, and diſſevered from the Unity of Chriſts Myſtical Body, which Excommunication toucheth alſo the Soul, no Man may uſe, but they only, to whom it is given by Chriſt. *York.*

To the ſixteenth; I think that a Biſhop may excommunicate, taking example of St. *Paul* with the *Corinthian*; and alſo of that he did to *Alexander* and *Hymeneus*. And with the Lawyers it hath been a thing out of Queſtion, That to Excommunicate ſolemnly, appertaineth to a Biſhop, altho otherwiſe, both inferior Prelates and other Officers, yea and Prieſts too in notorious Crimes, after divers Mens Opinions, may Excommunicate ſemblably, as all others that be appointed Governors and Rulers over any Multitude, or Spiritual Congregation. *London.*

I anſwer affirmatively to the firſt part, in open and manifeſt Crimes, meaning of ſuch Prieſts and Biſhops as be by the Church authorized to uſe that power. To the ſecond part I anſwer, That it is an hard Queſtion, wherein I had rather hear other Men ſpeak, than ſay my own Sentence, *Rocheſter.*

Sentence; for I find not in Scripture, nor in the Old Doctors, that any Man hath given Sentence of Excommunication, ſave only Prieſts; but yet I think, that it is not againſt the Law of God, that a Layman ſhould have Authority to do it.

Carlile. Divers Texts of Scripture ſeemeth, by the Interpretation of Ancient Authors, to ſhew, that a Biſhop or a Prieſt may Excommunicate open deadly Sinners continuing in obſtinacy with contempt. I have read in Hiſtories, alſo, that a Prince hath done the ſame.

Dr. *Robertſon.* Opinor Epiſcopum aut Presbyterum Excommunicare poſſe, tanquam miniſtrum & os Eccleſiæ, ab eadem mandatum habens. Utrum veroid juris nulli niſi Sacerdotibus in mandatis dari poſſit, non ſatis ſcio. Excommunicandum eſſe opinor pro hujuſcemodi criminibus, qualia recenſet Paulus, 1 *Cor* 5. ſi, is qui frater nominatur, eſt fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis ſerviens, aut maledicus, aut ebrioſus, aut rapax, cum hujuſmodi ne cibum ſumere, &c.

Dr. *Cox.* A Biſhop or a Prieſt, as a publick Perſon appointed to that Office, may excommunicate for all publick Crimes: And yet it is not againſt God's Law, for others than Biſhops or Prieſts to Excommunicate.

Dr. *Day.* A Biſhop or a Prieſt may Excommunicate by God's Law for manifeſt and open Crimes: Alſo others appointed by the Church, tho they be no Prieſts, may exerciſe the power of Excommunication.

Dr. *Ogleſthorpe.* Non ſolum Epiſcopus Excommunicare poteſt, ſed etiam tota Congregatio, idq; pro lethalibus criminibus ac publicis, ê quibus ſcandalum Eccleſiæ provenire poteſt. Non tamen pro re pecuniaria uti olim ſolebant.

Dr. *Redmyn.* They may Excommunicate, as appeareth 1 *Cor.* 5. 1 *Tim.* 1. and that for open and great Crimes, whereby the Church is offended; and for ſuch Crimes as the Prince and Governours determine, and thinketh expedient, Men to be Excommunicate for, as appeareth *in nonnullis Conſtitutionibus Juſtiniani.* Whether any other may pronounce the Sentence but a Biſhop or a Prieſt, I am uncertain.

Dr. *Edgworth.* A Biſhop, or a Prieſt only, may Excommunicate a notorious and grievous Sinner, or obſtinate Perſon from the Communion of Chriſtian People, becauſe it pertaineth to the Juriſdiction which is given to Prieſts, *Joh.* 26. *Quorum Remiſeritis, &c. Et Quorum retinetis, &c.* There is one manner of Excommunication ſpoken of, 1 *Cor.* 5. which private Perſons may uſe. *Si is qui frater nominatur inter vos eſt fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis ſerviens, &c. cum hujuſmodi ne cibum quidem capiatis.* Excluding filthy perſons, covetous perſons, Brawlers and Quarrellers out of their Company, and neither to eat nor drink with them.

Dr. *Symmons.* Whoſoever hath a place under the Higher Power, and is aſſigned by the ſame to execute his Miniſtry given of God, he may Excommunicate for

for any Crime, as it ſhall be ſeen to the High Power, if the ſame Crime be publick.

A Biſhop and Prieſt may Excommunicate by Scripture: as touching for what Crimes? I ſay, for every open deadly ſin and diſobedience. And as touching, Whether only the Prieſt may Excommunicate? I ſay, not he only, but ſuch as the Church authorizes ſo to do. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the ſixteenth, I ſay, That a Biſhop or a Prieſt having Licenſe and Authority of the Prince of the Realm, may Excommunicate every obſtinate and inobedient Perſon, for every notable and deadly Sin. And further, I ſay, That not only Biſhops and Prieſts may Excommunicate, but any other Man appointed by the Church, or ſuch as have Authority to appoint Men to that Office, may Excommunicate. Dr. *Leyghton.*

A Biſhop or a Prieſt may Excommunicate an obſtinate Perſon for publick Sins. Forſomuch as the Keys be given to the whole Church, the whole Congregation may Excommunicate; which Excommunication may be pronounced by ſuch a one as the Congregation does appoint, altho he be neither Biſhop nor Prieſt. Dr. *Coren.*

Menevenſ. Herefordenſ. Thirleby, Dayus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Coren, concedunt Authoritatem excommunicandi etiam Laicis, modo a Magiſtratu deputentur. Eboracenſ. & Edgworth prorſus negant datum Laicis, ſed Apoſtolis & eorum Succeſſoribus tantum. Roffenſis, Redmaynus, & Robertſonus ambigunt, num detur Laicis. Londinenſ. non reſpondet Quæſtioni: Oglethorpus & Thirleby aiunt, Eccleſiæ datam eſſe poteſtatem excommunicandi; Idem Treſhamus. *Con.*

In the ſixteenth, of Excommunication, they do not agree. The Biſhops of *York*, *Dureſme*, and Dr. *Edgworth* ſay, That *Lay-men have not the Authority to Excommunicate, but that it was given only unto the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors.* The Biſhops of *Hereford*, St. *Davids*, *Weſtminſter*; Doctors, *Day*, *Coren*, *Leighton*, *Cox*, *Symmons*, ſay, That *Laymen may Excommunicate, if they be appointed by the High Ruler.* My Lord Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Treſham*, and Dr. *Oglethop*, ſay further, That *the Power of Excommunication was given to the Church, and to ſuch as the Church ſhall inſtitute.* *Agreement.*

17. Queſtion.

Whether Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now uſed, be ſpoken of in the Scripture, or in any Ancient Authors?

Anſwers.

Canterbury UNction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now uſed, is not ſpoken of in the Scripture, nor in any Ancient Authors.

T. Cantuarien. This is mine Opinion and Sentence at this preſent, which I do not temeariouſly define, but do remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your Majeſty.

These are the Subſcriptions which are at the end of every Man's Paper.

York. To the ſeventeenth; Of Unction of the Sick with Oil, and that Sins thereby be remitted, St. *James* doth teach us; but of the Holy Prayers, and like Ceremonies uſed in the time of the Unction, we find no ſpecial mention in Scripture, albeit the ſaid St. *James* maketh alſo mention of Prayer to be uſed in the Miniſtry of the ſame.

Edward Ebor.

London. To the ſeventeenth; I think that albeit it appeareth not clearly in Scripture, whether the uſage in extream Unction now, be all one with that which was in the beginning of the Church: Yet of the Unction in time of Sickneſs, and the Oil alſo with Prayers and Ceremonies, the ſame is ſet forth in the Epiſtle of St. *James*, which place commonly is alledged, and ſo hath been received, to prove the Sacrament of extream Unction.

Ita mihi *Edmundo Londinenſi* Epiſcopo pro hoc tempore dicendum videtur, ſalvo judicio melius ſentientis, cui me prompte & humiliter ſubjicio.

Rocheſter. Inunction of them that be Sick with Oil, and praying for them for remiſſion of Sins, is plainly ſpoken of in the Epiſtle of St. *James*, but after what form or faſhion the ſaid Inunction was then uſed, the Scripture telleth not.

Written on the back of the Paper,
The Biſhop of *Rocheſter's* Book.

Carlile. Extream Unction is plainly ſet out by St. *James*, with the which maketh alſo that is written in the *6th* of St. *Mark*, after the mind of right good ancient Doctors.

Robert Carliolen.

De

De unctione Infirmorum nihil reperio in Scripturis, præter id quod ſcribitur, Marc. 6. & Jacob. 5. Dr. *Robertſon.*

Thomas Rebertſon.

T. Cantuarien.

Unction of the Sick with Oil conſecrate, as it is now uſed, is not ſpoken of in Scripture. Dr. *Cox.*

Richardus Cox.

Unction of the Sick with praying for them is found in Scripture. Dr. *Day.*

George Day.

Opiniones non Aſſertiones.

De Unctione Infirmorum cum oleo, adjecta Oratione, expreſſa mentio eſt in Scripturis quanquam nunc addantur alii ritus, honeſtatis gratiâ (ut in aliis Sacramentis) de quibus in Scripturis nulla mentio. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

Owinus Oglethorpus.

Unction with Oil, adjoined with Prayer, and having promiſe of Remiſſion of Sins, is ſpoken of in St. *James*, and Ancient Authors; as for the uſe which now is, if any thing be amiſs, it would be amended. Dr. *Redmayn.*

J. Redmayn.

It is ſpoken of, in *Mark.* 6. and *James* 5. *Auguſtine* and other Ancient Authors ſpeaketh of the ſame. Dr. *Edgeworth*

Edgworth.

The Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Sins, is in Scripture, and alſo in Ancient Authors. Dr. *Symmons.*

Symon Matthew.

Unction with Oil is grounded in the Scripture, and expreſly ſpoken of; but with this Additament (as it is now uſed) it is not ſpecified in Scripture, for the Ceremonies now uſed in Unction, I think meer Traditions of Man. Dr. *Treſham.*

William Treſham.

To the ſeventeenth, I ſay, That Unction of the Sick with Oil and Prayer to remit Sins, is manifeſtly ſpoken of in St. *James*'s Epiſtle and Ancient Authors, but not with all the Rites and Ceremonies as be now commonly uſed. Dr. *Leyghton.*

T. Cantuarien. Per me *Edwardum Leighton.*

Unction with Oil to remit Sins is ſpoken of in Scripture. Dr. *Coren.*

Richard Coren.

Con. Menevenſ. & Coxus negant Unctionem Olei (ut jam eſt recepta) ad remittenda peccata contineri in Scripturis. Eboracenſ. Carliolenſ. Edgworth, Coren, Redmayn, Symmons, Leightonus, Oglethorp aiunt haberi in Scripturis. Roffenſ. Thirleby, Robertſonus, præterquam illud Jacobi 5. & Marci 6. nihil proferent. Herefordenſis ambigit. Treſham vult Unctionem Olei tradi nobis ê Scripturis, ſed Unctionis Cæremonias traditiones eſſe humanas.

Agreem. In the laſt; The Biſhop of St. *Davids*, and Dr. *Cox*, ſay, That *Unction of the Sick with Oil conſecrate, as it is now uſed to remit Sin, is not ſpoken of in Scripture.* My Lords of *York*, *Dureſme*, *Carliſle*, Drs. *Coren*, *Edgworth*, *Redmayn Symmons*, *Leighton*, and *Oglethorp* ſay, That it is found in Scripture.

XXII. *Dr.* Barnes's *Renunciation of ſome Articles informed againſt him.*

BE it known to all Men, That I *Robert Barnes*, Doctor of Divinity, have as well in Writing, as in Preaching, overſhot my ſelf, and been deceived, by truſting too much to mine own heady Sentence, and giving judgment in and touching the Articles hereafter enſuing; whereas being convented, and called before the Perſon of my moſt gracious Sovereign Lord King *Henry* the Eighth of *England* and of *France*, Defenſor of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth ſupream Head, immediately under God of the Church of *England*; It pleaſed his Highneſs, of his great clemency and goodneſs, being aſſiſted with ſundry of his moſt diſcreet and learned Clergy, to enter ſuch Diſputation and Argument with me upon the Points of my over ſight, as by the ſame was fully and perfectly confuted by Scriptures, and enforced only for Truths ſake, and for want of defence of Scriptures to ſerve for the maintenance of my part, to yield, confeſs, and knowledg my ignorance, and with my moſt humble ſubmiſſion, do promiſe for ever from henceforth to abſtain and beware of ſuch raſhneſs: And for my further declaration therein, not only to abide ſuch order for my doings paſſed, as his Grace ſhall appoint and aſſign unto me, but alſo with my heart to advance and ſet forth the ſaid Articles enſuing, which I knowledg and confeſs to be moſt Catholick, and Chriſtian, and neceſſary to be received, obſerved, and followed of all good Chriſtian People. Tho it ſo be, that Chriſt by the Will of his Father, is he only which hath ſuffered Paſſion and Death for redemption of all ſuch as will and ſhall come unto him, by perfect Faith and Baptiſm; and that alſo he hath taken upon him *gratis* the burden of all their ſins, which as afore will, hath, or ſhall come to him, paying ſufficient Ranſom for all their ſins, and ſo is becomed their only Redeemer and Juſtifier; of the which number I truſt and doubt not but that many of us now a days be of: yet I in heart do confeſs, that after, by the foreſaid Means we become right Chriſtian Folks, yet then by not following our Maſters Commandments and Laws, we do loſe the

the benefits and fruition of the ſame, which in this caſe is irrecuperable, but by true Penance, the only Remedy left unto us by our Saviour for the ſame; wherefore I think it more than convenient and neceſſary, that whenſoever Juſtification ſhall be preached of, that this Deed be joined with all the fore-part, to the intent that it may teach all true Chriſtian People a right knowledg of their Juſtification.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

Alſo I confeſs with my heart, That Almighty God is in no wiſe Author, cauſer of Sin, or any Evil; and therefore whereas Scripture ſaith, *Induravit Dominus Cor Faraonis, &c.* and ſuch other Texts of like ſence, they ought to underſtand them, *quod Dominus permiſit eum indurari*, and not otherwiſe; which doth accord with many of the Ancient Interpreters alſo.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

Further I do confeſs with my heart, That whenſoever I have offended my Neighbour, I muſt firſt reconcile my ſelf unto him, e're I ſhall get remiſſion of my ſins; and in caſe he offend me, I muſt forgive him, e're that I can be forgiven; for this doth the *Pater Noſter*, and other places of Scripture teach me.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

I do alſo confeſs with my heart, That good Works limited by Scripture, and done by a penitent and true reconciled Chriſtian Man, be profitable and allowable unto him, as allowed of God for his benefit, and helping to his Salvation.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

Alſo do confeſs with my heart, That Laws and Ordinances made by Chriſtian Rulers, ought to be obeyed by the Inferiors and Subjects, not only for fear, but alſo for Conſcience; for whoſo breaketh them, breaketh God's Commandments.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

All and ſingular the which Articles before written, I the foreſaid *Robert Barnes* do approve and confeſs to be moſt true and Catholick, and promiſe with my heart, by God's Grace, hereafter to maintain, preach, and ſet forth the ſame to the People, to the uttermoſt of my power, wit, and cunning.

By me *Robere Barnes.*

By me *William Jerome.*

By me *Thomas Gerarde.*

XXIII. *The Foundation of the Biſhoprick of* Weſtminſter.

REx omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem. Cum nuper Cænobium quoddam ſive Monaſterium, quod (dum extitit) Monaſterium Sancti Petri Weſtmon. vulgariter vocabatur, omnia & ſingula ejus Maneria, Dominia, Meſuagia, Terræ, Tenementa, Hæreditamenta, Dotationes & Poſſeſſiones, certis de cauſis ſpecialibus & urgentibus, per Willielmum ipſius nuper Cænobii ſive Monaſterii Abbatem, & ejuſdem loci Conventum, nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum jamdudum data fuerunt & conceſſa, prout per ipſorum nuper Abbatis & Conventus cartam ſigillo ſuo communi ſive conventuali ſigillatam & in Cancellar. noſtram irrotulat manifeſte liquet; quorum pretextu nos de ejuſdem nuper Cænobii ſive Monaſterii ſitu, ſeptu & præcinctu, ac de omnibus & ſingulis prædict. nuper Abbatis & Conventus Maneriis, Dominiis & Meſuagiis, Terris, Tenementis, Hæreditamentis, Dotationibus & Poſſeſſionibus, ad præſens pleno jure ſeiſiti ſumus in dominico noſtro, ut de feodo. Nos utiq; ſic de eiſdem ſeiſiti exiſtem. divinaq; nos clementia inſpirante nihil magis ex animo affectantes, quam ut vera religio veruſq; Dei cultus inibi non modo aboleatur, ſed in integrum potius reſtituatur, & ad primitivam ſive genuinæ ſinceritatis normam reformetur, correctis enormitatibus in quas monachorum vita & profeſſio longo temporum lapſu deplorabiliter exorbitaverit, operam dedimus, quatenus humana perſpicere poteſt infirmitas, ut impoſterum ibidem ſacrorum eloquiorum documenta & noſtræ ſalutiferæ Redemptionis Sacramenta pure adminiſtrentur, bonorum morum diſciplina ſincere obſervetur, Juventus in literis liberaliter inſtituatur, ſenectus viribus defectis, eorum præſertim qui circa perſonam noſtram, vel alioquin circa Regni noſtri negotia publice bene & fideliter nobis ſervierunt, rebus ad victum neceſſariis condigne foveatur, & deniq; eleemoſinarum in pauperes Chriſti elargitiones, viarum pontiumque reparationes, & cætera omnis generis pietatis officia illinc exuberanter in omnia vicina loca longe lateq; dimaneant, ad Dei omnipotentis gloriam, & ad ſubditorum noſtrorum communem utilitatem felicitatemque: Idcirco nos conſiderantes quod ſitus dicti nuper Monaſterii Sancti Petri Weſtmon. in quo multa tum perchariſſimi patris noſtri, tum aliorum Inclitorum, quondam Regum Angliæ, præclara monumenta conduntur, ſit locus aptus, conveniens & neceſſarius inſtituendi, erigendi, ordinandi & ſtabiliendi ſedem Epiſcopalem, & quandam Eccleſiam Cathedralem de uno Epiſcopo, de uno Decano Presbytero, & duodecim Præbendariis Presbyteris, ibidem, Omnipotenti Deo & in perpetuum ſervitium, ipſum ſitum dicti nuper Monaſt. Sancti Petri Weſtmon. ac locum & Eccleſiam ipſius in ſedem Epiſcopalem ac in Eccleſiam Cathedral. creari, erigi, fundari & ſtabiliri decrevimus, prout per præſentes decernimus, & eandem Eccleſiam Cathedral. de uno Epiſcopo, de uno Decano Presbytero, & duodecim Præbendariis Presbyteris, tenore præſentium, realiter & ad plenum creamus, erigimus, fundamus, ordinamus, facimus, conſtituimus & ſtabilimus, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturam, & ſic ſtabiliri ac in perpetuum inviolabiliter obſervari volumus & jubemus per præſentes. Volumus itaq; & per præſentes Ordinamus quod Eccleſia Cathedralis prædicta ſit, & deinceps in perpetuum

tuum erit Eccleſia Cathedralis & Sedes Epiſcopalis, ac quod tota villa noſtra Weſtmon. ex nunc & deinceps in perpetuum ſit Civitas, ipſamq; Civitatem Weſtm. vocari & nominari volumus & decernimus, ac ipſam Civitatem & totum Comit. noſtrum Midd. prout per metas & limites dignoſcitur, & limitatur, tota Parochia de Fulham in eodem Comit. de Midd. tantummodo except. ab omni Juriſdictione, Autoritate & Dioc. Epiſcopi London. & ſucceſſorum ſuorum pro tempore exiſten. ſeparamus, dividimus, eximimus, exoneramus, & omnino per præſentes liberamus: ac omnem Juriſdictionem Epiſcopalem infra eandem Civitatem & Comit. Midd. exceptis præexceptis, Epiſcopo Weſtmon. a nobis per has Literas noſtras Patentes nominand. & eligend. & ſucceſſoribus ſuis Epiſcopis Weſtm. ac prædict. Epiſcopat. Weſtm. adjungimus & unimus, ac ex dictis Civitate & Com. Dioceſim facimus & Ordinamus per præſentes, illamq; Dioceſim Weſtm. in perpetuum ſimiliter vocari, appellari, nuncupari & nominari volumus & ordinamus. Et ut hæc noſtra intentio debitum & uberiorem ſortiatur effectum, Nos deſcientia, moribus, probitate & virtute dilecti noſtri Conſiliarii Thomæ Thyrlebei Clerici, Decani Capellæ noſtræ plurimum confidentes, eundem Thomam Thyrleby ad Epiſcopatum dictæ Sedis Weſtm. nominamus & eligimus, ac ipſum Thomam Epiſcopum Weſtm. per præſentes eligimus, nominamus, facimus, & creamus, & volumus; ac per præſentes Concedimus & Ordinamus, quod idem Epiſcopatus ſit corpus corporatum in re & nomine, ipſumq; ex uno corpore declaramus & acceptamus, Ordinamus, facimus & conſtituimus in perpetuum, habeatq; ſucceſſionem perpetuam, ac quod ipſe & ſucceſſores ſui per nomen & ſub nomine Epiſcopi Weſtm. nominabitur & vocabitur, nominabuntur & vocabuntur in perpetuum, & quod ipſe & ſucceſſores ſui per idem nomen & ſub eo nomine proſequi, clamare & placitare, ac placitari, defendere & defendi, reſpondere & reſponderi, in quibuſcunq; Curiis & locis legum noſtrarum, ac hæredum & ſucceſſorum noſtrorum, & alibi, in & ſuper omnibus & ſingulis cauſis, actionibus, ſectis, brevibus, demand. & querelis, realibus, perſonalibus & mixtis, tam temporalibus quam ſpiritualibus, ac in omnibus aliis rebus, cauſis & materiis quibuſcunque, & per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa, Rectorias, Penſiones, Portiones, & alia quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, Poſſeſſiones, proficua & emolumenta, tam ſpiritualia ſive Eccleſiaſtica, quam temporalia, ac alia quæcunq; per Literas Patentes præfato Epiſcopo & Succeſſoribus ſuis, per nos ſeu hæredes noſtros debito modo fiend. vel per quamcunq; aliam perſonam ſeu quaſcunq; alias perſonas ſecundum leges noſtras, & hæredum ſive ſucceſſorum noſtrorum dand. ſeu concedend. capere, recipere, gaudere & perquirere ac dare, alienare & dimittere poſſit & poſſint, valeat & valeant, & generaliter omnia alia & ſingula recipere, gaudere, & facere, prout & eiſdem modo & forma quibus cæteri Epiſcopi infra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ recipere aut facere poſſint, aut aliquis Epiſcopus infra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ recipere aut facere poſſit, & non aliter nec ullo alio modo. Et ulterius volumus & ordinamus, quod Eccleſia Cathedralis prædicta ſit, & deinceps in perpetuum erit Eccleſia Cathedralis & Sedes Epiſcopalis dicti Thomæ & ſucceſſorum ſuorum Epiſcoporum Weſtm. ipſamq; Eccleſiam Cathedralem honoribus, dignitatibus, & inſigniis Sedis Epiſcopalis per præſentes decoramus, eandemq; Sedem Epiſcopalem præfato Thomæ & ſucceſſoribus ſuis Epiſcopis Weſtm. damus

&

& concedimus per præſentes habend. & gaudend. idem Thomæ & Succeſſoribus ſuis in perpetuum. Ac etiam volumus & ordinamus per præſentes, quod præfatus Thomas & ſucceſſores ſui Epiſcopi Weſtm. prædict. omnimodam juriſdictionem, poteſtatem & autoritatem ordinarias & Epiſcopales, infra Eccleſiam Cathedralem Weſtm & prædict, Dioceſ. exercere, facere, & uti poſſit, & debeat, poſſint & debeant, in tam amplis modo & forma, prout Epiſcopus London. infra Dioceſ. London. ſecundum legesnoſtras exercere, facere & uti ſolet, poſſit aut debet. Et quod dictus Thomas Epiſcopus Weſtm. & ſucceſſores ſui Epiſcopi Weſtm. deinceps in perpetuum habeat ſigillum authenticum, ſeu ſigilla authentica pro rebus & negotiis ſuis agendis ſervitur. ad omnem juris effectum ſimili modo & forma, & non aliter nec aliquo alio modo, prout Epiſcopus London. habet aut habere poteſt. Et ut Eccleſia Cathedralis prædict. de perſonis congruis in ſingulis locis & gradibus ſuis perimpleatur & decoretur, dilectum nobis Willielmum Benſon Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſorem primum & originalem, & modernum Decanum dictæ Eccleſiæ Cathedralis, ac Simonem Haynes Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſorem primum, & præſent. Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Redman ſecundum Presbyterum, Præbendarium, ac Edwardum Leyghton tertium Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Antonium Balſys quartum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Britten quintum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Dionyſium Dalyon ſextum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Humphredum Perkins ſeptimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Eſſex octavum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Ellforde nonum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Malvern decimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Harvye undecimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, ac Gerardum Carleton duodecimum Presbyterum Præbendarium, tenore præſentium facimus & ordinamus. Per præſentes volumus etiam & ordinamus, ac eiſdem Decano & Præbendariis concedimus per præſentes, quod prædictus Decanus & duodecim Præbendarii dicti ſint de ſe in re & nomine unum corpus corporatum, habeantq; ſucceſſionem perpetuam & ſe gerent, exhibebunt, & occupabunt Sedem, ordinationem, regulas & ſtatuta, eis per nos in quadam Indentura in poſterum fiend. ſpecificand. & declarand. Et quod idem Decanus & Præbendarii & ſucceſſores ſui, Decanus & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Sancti Petri Weſtm. in perpetuum vocabuntur, appellabuntur; Et quod præfatus Decanus & Præbendarii Eccleſiæ Cathedralis prædictæ & ſucceſſores ſui ſint & in perpetuum erunt Capitulum Epiſcopatus Weſtm. perpetuis futuris temporibus annexum, incorporatum & unitum, eiſdem modo & forma quibus Decanus & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Sancti Pauli in Civitate noſtra London. Epiſcopo London. aut Sedi Epiſcopali London. annexa, incorporata & unit. exiſt. ipſoſq; Decanum & Præbendarios unum corpus corporatum in re & nomine facimus, creamus & ſtabilimus, & eos pro uno corpore facimus declaramus, ordinamus & acceptamus, habeantq; ſucceſſionem perpetuam; Et quod ipſe Decanus & Capitulum eorumq; ſucceſſores per nomen Decani & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Beati Petri Weſtm. proſequi, clamare, placitare poſſint & implacitare, defendere & defendi, reſpondere & reſponderi, in quibuſcunq; tempore & Curiis legum noſtrarum & alibi, in & ſuper omnibus & ſingulis cauſis, actionibus, ſectis, demand. brevibus & querelis, realibus, ſpiri-

ſpiritualibus, perſonalibus & mixtis, & in omnibus aliis rebus, cauſis & materiis, prout Decanus & Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. agere aut facere poſſunt: Et per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa & cætera quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, poſſeſſiones, proficua, & emolumenta tam Spiritualia ſive Eccleſiaſtica quam temporalia, & alia quæcunq; per nos per literas noſtras Patentes, hæredū vel ſucceſſorū noſtrorū, ſeu per aliquam perſonum vel perſonas quaſcunq; eis & ſucceſſoribus ſuis vel aliter ſecundū leges noſtras, vel hæredū ſeu ſucceſſorum noſtrorum dand. ſeu concedend. capere, recipere, & perquirere, dare, alienare, & dimittere poſſint & valeant, & generaliter omnia alia & ſingula capere, recipere perquiere, dare, alienare, & dimittere, ac facere & exequi, prout & eiſdem modo & forma, quibus Decanus & capitulum prædict. Cathedralis Eccleſiæ Sancti Pauli in prædicta civitate noſtra London. capere, recipere perquirere, dare, alienare, & dimittere, ac facere aut exequi poſſint, & non aliter, neq; aliquo alio modo: Et quod Decanus & capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Weſtm. & Succeſſores ſui in perpetuum habebunt commune Sigillum, ad omnimodas cartas, evidentias, & cætera ſcripta, vel facta ſua fiend. eos vel Eccleſiam Cathedralem prædict. aliquo modo tangen. ſive continend. ſigilland. Et inſuper volumus & per præſentes concedimus & ordinamus, quod prædict. Epiſcopus Weſtm. & quilibet ſucceſſorum ſuorum pro tempore exiſten. & prædictus Decanus & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Weſtm. & quiliber ſucceſſorum ſuorum habeant plenam poteſtatem & facultatem faciendi, recipiendi, dandi, alienandi, dimittendi, exequendi & agendi omnia & ſingula quæ Epiſcopus London. & Decanus & Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. conjunctim & diviſim facere, recipere, dare, alienare, dimittere, exequi aut agere poſſint. Volumus etiam & ordinamus, ac per preſentes Statuimus, quod Archidiaconus Midd. qui nunc eſt & ſucceſſores ſui ſunt deinceps in perpetuum ſeparati & exonerati & prorſus liberati a juriſdictione, poteſtate, jure & autoritate Epiſcopi London. & ſucceſſorum ſuorum, ac ab Eccleſia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. ab omniq; jure, poteſtate & autoritate ejuſdem ipſiuſq; Archidiaconi, & ſucceſſores ſuos per præſentes ſeperamus, exoneramus, penitus in perpetuum liberamus, eundemq; Archidiaconum & ſucceſſores ſuos decernimus, Statuimus, Ordinamus, ac ſtabilimus in ſimili Statu, modo, forma & jure eſſe, ac deinceps in perpetuum fore, in prædicta Eccleſia Cathedrali Weſtm. quibus ipſe aut aliquis prædeceſſorum ſuorum unquam fuit in Eccleſia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. Statuimus etiam & ordinamus ac per præſentes volumus & concedimus, quod prædictus Thomas Epiſcopus Weſtm. & ſucceſſores ſui Epiſcopi Weſtm. habeant, teneant & poſſideant, in omnibus & per omnia autoritatem, poteſtatem, jus & juriſdictionem, de & ſuper Archidiaconatu Midd. & Archidiacono & ſucceſſoribus ſuis, tam plene & integre ad omnem effectum quam Epiſcopus London. qui nunc eſt aut aliquis prædeceſſorum ſuorum habet aut habuit, aut habere debuit vel uſus fuit. Volumus autem ac per præſentes concedimus tam præfato Epiſcopo quam Decano & Capitulo, quod habeat & habebit, habeant & habebunt, has Literas noſtras Patentes ſub magno ſigillo noſtro Angliæ debito modo factas & ſigillatas, abſq; fine ſeu feod. magno vel parvo nobis in Hanaperio noſtro ſeu alibi ad uſum noſtrorum, proinde quoquo modo reddend. ſolvend. vel faciend. eo quod expreſſa mentio, &c. cet. In cujus rei, &c. Teſte Rege apud Weſtm. decimo ſeptimo die Decembris Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi trigeſimo ſecundo.

XXIV.

A Proclamation ordained by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Honourable Council, for the Bible of the largest and greatest Volume to be had in every Church; devised the sixth of May, *the* 33 *Year of the King's most gracious Reign.*

Regist. *Bonner.* Fol. 21.

WHereby Injunctions heretofore set forth by the Authority of the King's Royal Majesty, Supream Head of the Church of this his Realm of *England*, it was ordained, and commanded, amongst other things, That in all and singular Parish-Churches, there should be provided, by a certain day now expired, at the costs of the Curats and Parishioners, Bibles containing the Old and New Testament in the English Tongue, to be fixed and set up openly in every of the said Parish Churches; the which godly Commandment and Injunction, was to the only intent that every of the King's Majesty's loving Subjects, minding to read therein, might, by occasion thereof, not only consider and perceive the great and ineffable Omnipotent Power, Promise, Justice, Mercy and Goodness of Almighty God, but also to learn thereby to observe God's Commandments, and to obey their Soveraign Lord, and High Powers, and to exercise Godly Charity, and to use themselves according to their Vocations, in a pure and sincere Christian Life, without murmur or grudging: By the which Injunctions, the King's Royal Majesty intended that his loving Subjects should have and use the commodities of the reading of the said Bibles, for the purpose above rehearsed. humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently, and not that any, of them should read the said Bibles with high and loud Voices, in time of the celebration of the Holy Mass, and other Divine Services used in the Church; or that any his Lay Subjects reading the same, should presume to take upon them any commmon Disputation, Argument, or Exposition of the Mysteries therein contained; but that every such Layman should, humbly, meekly, and reverently, read the same for his own instruction, edification, and amendment of his Life, according to God's Holy Word therein mentioned. And notwithstanding the King's said most godly and gracious Commandment and Injunction, in form as is aforesaid, his Royal Majesty is informed, That divers and many Towns and Parishes within this his Realm, have neglected their Duties in the accomplishment thereof; whereof his Highness marvelleth not a little; and minding the execution of his said former most godly and gracious Injunctions, doth straitly charge and command, That the Curats and Parishioners of every Town and Parish within this his Realm of *England*, not having already Bibles provided within their Parish Churches, shall on this side the Feast of *All-Saints* next coming, buy and provide Bibles of the largest and greatest Volume, and cause the same to be set and fixed in every of the said Parish Churches, there to be used as is aforesaid, according to the said former Injunctions, upon pain that the Curat and Inhabitants of the Parishes and Towns, shall lose and forfeit to the King's Majesty, for every month that they shall lack and want the said Bibles, after the same feast of *All-Saints*, 40 *s.* the one half of the same Forfeit to be to the King's Majesty, and the other half to him or

of them which ſhall firſt find and preſent the ſame to the King's Majeſties Council. And finally, the King's Royal Majeſty doth declare and ſignify to all and ſingular his loving Subjects, that to the intent they may have the ſaid Bibles of the greateſt Volume, at equal and reaſonable prices, his Highneſs, by the Advice of his Council, hath ordained and taxed, That the Sellers thereof ſhall not take for any of the ſaid Bibles unbound, above the price of ten Shillings; and for every of the ſaid Bibles well and ſufficiently Bound, trimmed and claſped, not above twelve Shillings, upon pain the Seller to loſe, for every Bible ſold contrary to his Highneſs's Proclamation, four Shillings the one Moiety thereof to the King's Majeſty, and the other Moiety to the finder and preſenter of the Defaulter, as is aforeſaid. And his Highneſs ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, That all and ſingular Ordinaries, having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction within this his Church and Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, that they, and every of them, ſhall put their effectual endeavours, that the Curats and Pariſhioners ſhall obey and accompliſh this his Majeſty's Proclamation and Commandment, as they tender the advancement of the King's moſt gracious and godly Purpoſe in that behalf, and as they will anſwer to his Highneſs for the ſame.

God ſave the KING.

XXV. *An Admonition and Advertiſement given by the Biſhop of* London, *to all Readers of this Bible in the Engliſh Tongue.*

TO the intent that a good and wholſome thing, godly and vertuouſly, for honeſt intents and purpoſes, ſet forth for many, be not hindred or maligned at, for the abuſe, default, and evil behaviour of a few, who for lack of diſcretion, and good adviſement, commonly without reſpect of time, or other due Circumſtances, proceed raſhly and unadviſedly therein; and by reaſon thereof, rather hinder than ſet forward the thing that is good of it ſelf: It ſhall therefore be very expedient, that whoſoever repaireth hither to read this Book, or any ſuch like, in any other place, he prepare himſelf chiefly and principally with all devotion, humility, and quietneſs, to be edified and made the better thereby; adjoining thereto his perfect and moſt bounden duty of obedience to the King's Majeſty, our moſt gracious and dread Soveraign Lord, and Supream Head, eſpecially in accompliſhing his Graces moſt honourable Injunctions and Commandments, given and made in that behalf. And right expedient, yea neceſſary it ſhall be alſo, that leaving behind him vain Glory, Hypocriſy, and all other carnal and corrupt Affections, he bringing with him diſcretion, honeſt intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour, to and for the edification of his own Soul, without the hindrance, lett, or diſturbance of any other his Chriſtian Brother; evermore foreſeeing that no number of People be ſpecially congregate therefore to make a multitude: and that no Expoſition be made thereupon otherwiſe than it is declared in the Book it ſelf; and that eſpecially regard be had, no reading thereof be uſed, allowed, and

Regiſter, *Bonner.*

with noiſe in the time of any Divine Service, or Sermon; or that in the ſame be uſed any Diſputation, Contention, or any other miſdemeanour; or finally that any Man juſtly may reckon himſelf to be offended thereby, or take occaſion to grudg or malign thereat.

God ſave the KING.

XXVI. *Injunctions given by* Bonner, *Biſhop of* London, *to his Clergie.*

Regiſt. *Bonner.* Fol. 38.

INjunctions made by the conſent and authority of me *Edmund Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, in the Year of our Lord God 1542, and in the 34 Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of Faith, and Supream Head here in Earth, next under God, of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*. All which and ſingular Injunctions, by the Authority given to me of God, and by our ſaid Soveraign Lord the King's Majeſty, I exhort, require, and alſo command, all and ſingular Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and Chantry Prieſts, with other of the Clergy, whatſoever they be, of my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of *London*, to obſerve, keep, and perform, according as it concerneth every of them, in vertue of their Obedience, and alſo upon Pains expreſſed in all ſuch Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm, as they may incur, and be objected againſt them, now, or at any time hereafter, for breaking and violating of the ſame, or any of them.

Firſt; That you and every of you, ſhall, with all diligence, and faithful obedience, obſerve and keep, and cauſe to be obſerved and kept, to the uttermoſt of your Powers, all and ſingular the Contents of the King's Highneſs moſt gracious and godly Ordinances and Injunctions given and ſet forth by his Graces Authority; and that ye, and every of you, for the better performance thereof, ſhall provide to have a Copy of the ſame in writing, or imprinted, and ſo to declare them accordingly.

Item; That every Parſon, Vicar, and Curat, ſhall read over and diligently ſtudy every day one Chapter of the Bible, and that with the gloſs ordinary, or ſome other Doctor or Expoſitor, approved and allowed in this Church of *England*, proceeding from Chapter to Chapter, from the begining of the Goſpel of *Matthew*, to the end of the New Teſtament; and the ſame ſo diligently ſtudied to keep ſtill and retain in memory, and to come to the rehearſal and recital thereof, at all ſuch time and times as they, or any of them, ſhall be commanded thereunto by me, or any of my Officers or Deputies.

Item; That every of you do procure and provide of your own, a Book called, *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, otherwiſe called the *Biſhops Book*; and that ye, and every of you, do exerciſe your ſelves in the ſame, according to ſuch Precepts as hath been given heretofore or hereafter to be given.

Item;

Item; That ye being abſent from your Benefices, incaſes lawfully permitted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, do ſuffer no Prieſt to keep your Cure, unleſs he being firſt by you preſented, and by me or my Officers thereunto abled and admitted. And for the more and better aſſurance and performance thereof to be had, by theſe Preſents I warn and moniſh peremptorily, all and ſingular Benificed Parſons having Benefices with Cure, within my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, that they and every of them, ſhall either be perſonally reſident upon their Benefices and Cures, before the Feaſt of St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel now next enſuing; or elſe preſent, before the ſaid Feaſt, to me the ſaid Biſhop, my Vicar-General, or other my Officers deputed in that behalf, ſuch Curats as upon examination made by me, or my ſaid Officers, may be found able and ſufficient to ſerve and diſcharge their Cures in their abſence; and alſo at the ſaid Feaſt, or before, ſhall bring in and exhibit before my ſaid Officers their ſufficient Diſpenſations authorized by the King's Majeſty, as well for Non-reſidence, as for keeping of more Benefices with Cure than one.

Item; That every Parſon, Vicar, and other Curats, once in every quarter, ſhall openly in the Pulpit exhort and charge his Pariſhioners, that they in no wiſe do make any privy or ſecret contract of Matrimony between themſelves, but that they utterly defer it until ſuch time as they may conveniently have the Father and Mother, or ſome other Kinsfolks or Friends of the Perſon that ſhall make ſuch Contract of Matrimony; or elſe two or three honeſt Perſons to be preſent, and to hear and record the words and manner of their Contract, as they will avoid the extream pains of the Law provided in that behalf, if they preſumptuouſly do or attempt the contrary.

Item; That in the avoiding of divers and grievous Offences and Enormities, and ſpecially the moſt deteſtable Sin of Adultery, which oftimes hath hapned by the negligence of Curats in marrying Perſons together which had been married before, and making no due proof of the death of their other Husbands and Wives at the time of ſuch Marriages, I require and command you, and moniſh peremptorily by theſe Preſents, all manner of Parſons, Vicars, and Curats, with other Prieſts, being of my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, that they, nor any of them from henceforth do preſume to ſolemnizate Matrimony in their Churches, Chappels, or elſewhere, between any perſons that have been married before, unleſs the ſaid Parſon, Vicar, Curat, or Prieſt, be firſt plainly, fully, and ſufficienty informed and certified of the Deceaſe of the Wife or Husband of him or her, or of both, that he ſhall marry, and that in writing, under the Ordinaries Seal of the Dioceſs, or place where he or ſhe inhabited or dwelt before, under pain of Excommunication, and otherwiſe to be puniſhed for doing the contrary, according to the Laws provided and made in that behalf.

Item; That ye, and every of you that be Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and alſo Chauntry-Prieſts and Stipendiaries, do inſtruct, teach, and bring up in Learning the beſt ye can, all ſuch Children of your Pariſhioners as ſhall come to you for the ſame; or at the leaſt, to teach them to read Engliſh, taking moderately therefore of their Friends that be able to pay, ſo that thereby they may the better learn and know how to Believe, how to Pray, how to live to God's Pleaſure.

Item;

Item; That every Curat do at all times his beſt diligence to ſtir, move and reduce ſuch as be at Diſcord, to Peace, Concord, Love, Charity, and one to remit and forgive one another, as often and howſoever they ſhall be grieved or offended: And that the Curat ſhew and give example thereof, when and as often as any variance or diſcord ſhall happen to be between him and any of his Cure.

Item; Where ſome froward Perſons, partly for malice, hatred, diſpleaſure, and diſdain, neglect, contemn, and deſpiſe their Curats, and ſuch as have the Cure and Charge of their Souls; and partly to hide and cloak their leud and naughty living, as they have uſed all the Year before, uſe at length to be confeſſed of other Prieſts which have not the Cure of their Souls: Wherefore I will and require you to declare, and ſhow to your Pariſhioners, That no Teſtimonials brought from any of them, ſhall ſtand in any effect; nor that any ſuch Perſons ſhall be admitted to God's Board, or receive their Communion, until they have ſubmitted themſelves to be confeſſed of their own Curats. (Strangers only except) or elſe upon arduous and urgent Cauſes and Conſiderations, they be otherwiſe diſpenſed with in that behalf, either by me, or by my Officers aforeſaid.

Item; That whereupon a deteſtable and abominable practice univerſally reigning in your Pariſhes, the young People, and other ill-diſpoſed Perſons doth uſe upon the *Sundays* and *Holy-days*, in time of Divine Service, and preaching the Word of God, to reſort to Ale-houſes, and there exerciſeth unlawful Games, with great Swearing, Blaſphemy, Drunkenneſs, and other Enormities, ſo that good and devout Perſons be much offended therewith: Wherefore I require and command you, to declare to ſuch as keepeth Ale-houſes, or Taverns, within your Pariſhes, that at ſuch times from henceforth, they ſhall not ſuffer in their Houſes any ſuch unlawful and ungodly Aſſemblies; neither receive ſuch Perſons to Bowling and Drinking at ſuch Seaſons, into their Houſes, under pain of Excommunication, and otherwiſe to be puniſhed for their ſo doing, according to the Laws in that behalf.

Item; That all Curats ſhall declare openly in the Pulpit, twice every Quarter, to their Pariſhioners, the ſeven deadly Sins, and the Ten Commandments, ſo that the people thereby may not only learn how to obey, honour, and ſerve God, their Prince, Superiours, and Parents, but alſo to avoid and eſchew Sin and Vice, and to live vertuouſly, following God's Commandments and his Laws.

Item; That where I am credibly informed, that certain Prieſts of my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, doth uſe to go in an unſeemly and unprieſtly Habit aud Apparel, with unlawful Tonſures, carrying and having upon them alſo Armour and Weapons, contrary to all wholſome and godly Laws and Ordinances, more like Perſons of the Lay, than of the Clergy, which may and doth miniſter occaſion to light Perſons, and to Perſons unknown, where ſuch Perſons come in place, to be more licentious both of their Communication, and alſo of their Acts, to the great ſlander of the Clergy: Wherefore in the avoiding of ſuch ſlander and obloquy hereafter, I admoniſh and command all and ſingular Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and all other Prieſts whatſoever they be, dwelling, or inhabiting, or hereafter ſhall dwell and inhabit within my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, That from henceforth they, and every of them, do uſe and wear

wear meet, convenient, and decent Apparel, with their Truſſures accordingly, whereby they may be known at all times from Lay-people, and to be of the Clergy, as they intend to avoid and eſchew the Penalty of the Laws ordained in that behalf.

Item; That no Parſon, Vicar, or other Beneficed Men, having Cure within my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, do ſuffer any Prieſt to ſay Maſs, or to have any Service within their Cure, unleſs they firſt give knowledg, and preſent them with the Letters of their Orders to me as Ordinary, or to my Officers deputed in that behalf; and the ſaid Prieſt ſo preſented, ſhall be by me, or my ſaid Officers, found able and ſufficient thereunto.

Item; That every Curat, not only in his Preachings, open Sermons, and Collations made to the People, but alſo at all other times neceſſary, do perſwade, exhort, and moniſh the People, being of his Cure, whatſoever they be, to beware and abſtain from ſwearing and blaſpheming of the Holy Name of God, or any part of Chriſt's moſt precious Body or Blood. And likewiſe to beware, and abſtain from Curſing, Banning, Chiding, Scolding, Backbiting, Slandering, and Lying. And alſo from talking and jangling in the Church, eſpecially in time of Divine Service or Sermon-time. And ſemblably to abſtain from Adultery, Fornication, Gluttony, and Drunkenneſs: And if they, or any of them, be found notoriouſly faulty or infamed upon any of the ſaid Crimes and Offences, then to detect them at every Viſitation, or ſooner, as the Caſe ſhall require, ſo that the ſaid Offenders may be corrected and reformed to the example of others.

Item; That no Prieſt from henceforth do uſe any unlawful Games, or frequently uſe any Ale-houſes, Taverns, or any ſuſpect place at any unlawful Times, or any light Company, but only for their Neceſſaries, as they, and any of them, will avoid the danger that may enſue thereupon.

Item; That in the Plague-time, no dead Bodies or Corpſes be brought into the Church, except it be brought ſtraight to the Grave, and immediately buried, whereby the People may the rather avoid infection.

Item; That no Parſons, Vicars, nor Curats, permit or ſuffer any manner of common Plays, Games, or Interludes, to be played, ſet forth, or declared, within their Churches or Chappels, contrary to this our forbidding and Commandment; and then you, or either of you, in whoſe Churches or Chappels any ſuch Games, Plays, or Interludes ſhall be ſo uſed, ſhall immediately thereupon make relation of the Names of the Perſon or Perſons ſo obſtinately and diſobediently uſing themſelves, unto Me, my Chancellor, or other my Officers, to the intent that they may be therefore reformed and puniſhed according to the Laws.

Item; That all Prieſts ſhall take this order when they Preach; firſt, They ſhall not rehearſe no Sermons made by other Men within this 200 or 300 Years; but when they ſhall preach, they ſhall take the Goſpel or Epiſtle of the day, which they ſhall recite and declare to the People plainly, diſtinctly, and ſincerely, from the beginning to the end thereof, and then to deſire the People to pray with them for Grace, after the uſage of the Church of *England* now uſed: And that done, we will that every Preacher ſhall declare the ſame Goſpel or Epiſtle, or both, even from

from the beginning, not after his own Mind, but after the Mind of ſome Catholick Doctor allowed in this Church of *England*, and in no wiſe to affirm any thing, but that which he ſhall be ready always to ſhew in ſome Ancient Writer; and in no wiſe to make rehearſal of any Opinion not allowed, for the intent to reprove the ſame, but to leave that for thoſe that are and ſhall be admitted to preach by the King's Majeſty, or by me the Biſhop of *London*, your Ordinary, or by mine Authority. In the which Epiſtle and Goſpel, ye ſhall note and conſider diligently, certain godly and devout places, which may incenſe and ſtir the Hearers to obedience of good Works and Prayers: And in caſe any notable Ceremony uſed to be obſerved in the Church, ſhall happen that day when any preaching ſhall be appointed, it ſhall be meet and convenient that the Preacher declare and ſet forth to the People the true meaning of the ſame, in ſuch ſort that the People may perceive thereby, what is meant and ſignified by ſuch Ceremony, and alſo know how to uſe and accept it to their own edifying. Furthermore, That no Preacher ſhall rage or rail in his Sermon, but coldly, diſcreetly, and charitably, open, declare and ſet forth the excellency of Vertue, and to ſuppreſs the abomination of Sin and Vice; every Preacher ſhall, if time and occaſion will ſerve, inſtruct and teach his Audience, what Prayer is uſed in the Church that day, and for what thing the Church prayeth, ſpecially that day, to the intent that all the People may pray together with one Heart for the ſame; and as occaſion will ſerve, to ſhew and declare to the People what the Sacraments ſignifieth, what ſtrength and efficacy they be of, how every Man ſhould uſe them reverently and devoutly at the receiving them. And to declare wherefore the Maſs is ſo highly to be eſteemed and honoured, with all the Circumſtances appertaining to the ſame. Let every Preacher beware that he do not feed his Audience with any Fable, or other Hiſtories, other than he can avouch and juſtify to be written by ſome allowed Writer. And when he hath done all that he will ſay and utter for that time, he ſhall then in few words recite again the Pith and Effect of his whole Sermon, and add thereunto as he ſhall think good.

Item; That no Parſon, Vicar, Curat, or other Prieſt, having Cure of Souls within my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, ſhall from henceforth permit, ſuffer, or admit any manner of Perſon, of whatſoever eſtate or condition he be, under the degree of a Biſhop, to preach, or make any Sermon or Collation openly to the People within their Churches, Chappels, or elſewhere within their Cures, unleſs he that ſhall ſo preach have obtained before ſpecial Licenſe in that behalf, of our Soveraign Lord the King, or of me *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*, your Ordinary; And the ſame Licenſe ſo obtained, ſhall then and there really bring forth in writing under Seal, and ſhew the ſame to the ſaid Parſon, Vicar, Curat, or Prieſt, before the beginning of his Sermon, as they will avoid the extream Penalties of the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, provided and eſtabliſhed in that behalf, if they preſumptuouſly do or attempt any thing to the contrary.

Item; I deſire, require, exhort, and command you, and every of you, in the Name of God, That ye firmly, faithfully, and diligently, to the uttermoſt of your powers, do obſerve, fulfil, and keep all and ſingular theſe mine Injunctions. And that ye, and every of you, being Prieſts,

Prieſts, and having cure, or not cure, as well Benefice as not Benificed, within my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, do procure to have a copy of the ſame Injunctions, to the intent ye may the better obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved the contents thereof.

The names of Books prohibited, delivered to the Curats, Anno 1542. *to the intent that they ſhall preſent them with the Names of the Owners, to their Ordinary, if they find any ſuch within their Pariſhes.*

THe Diſputation between the Father and the Son.
The Supplication of Beggars; the Author *Fiſh.*
The Revelation of Antichriſt.
The Practice of Prelates.
The Burying of the Maſs, in Engliſh Rithme.
The Book of Friar *Barnes*, twice printed.
The Matrimony of *Tindall.*
The Expoſition of *Tindall*, upon the 4*th* chap. to the *Corinth.*
The Expoſition of *Tindall* upon the Epiſtles Canonick of St. *John.*
The New Teſtament of *Tindall's* Tranſlation, with his Preface before the whole Book, and before the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* and *Rom.*
The Preface made in the Engliſh Prymmers, by *Marſhall.*
The Church of *John Raſtall.*
The Table, Gloſſes, Marginal, and Preface before the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* and *Romans*, of *Thomas Matthews* doing, and printed beyond the Sea without priviledg, ſet in his Bible in Engliſh.

XXVII. A Collection of Paſſages out of the Canon Law, made by *Cranmer*, to ſhew the neceſſity of reforming it.

An Original.

Diſt. 22. *Omnes de Major. & obedient. ſolit. Extra. De Majorit & obedient. Unam Sanctam.*

HE that knowledgeth not himſelf to be under the Biſhop of *Rome*, and that the Biſhop of *Rome* is ordained by God to have Primacy over all the World, is an Heretick, and cannot be ſaved, nor is not of the Flock of Chriſt. Ex M. SS. D. *Stillingfleet.*

Diſt. 10. *De Summa Excommunicationis, Nominat.* 25. *q.* 11. *omne.*

Princes Laws, if they be againſt the Canons and Decrees of the Biſhop of *Rome*, be of no force nor ſtrength.

Dist. 19, 20. 24 *q.* 1. *A recta memoria. Quotiens hæc est* 25. *q.* 1. *General. violatores.*

All the Decrees of the Bishop of *Rome* ought to be kept perpetually of every Man, without any repugnancy, as God's Word spoken by the Mouth of *Peter*; and whosoever doth not receive them, neither availeth them the Catholick Faith, nor the four Evangelists, but they blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness.

35. *q.* 1. *Generali.*

All Kings, Bishops, and Noblemen, that believe or suffer the Bishop of *Rome*'s Decrees in any thing to be violate, be accursed, and for ever culpable before God, as transgressors of the Catholick Faith.

Dist. 21. *Quamvis, &* 24. *q.* 1. *A recta memoria.*

The See of *Rome* hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err.

55. *q.* 1. *Ideo de Senten. & re judicata; de jurejurando licit ad Apostolicæ li.* 6. *de jurejurando.*

The Bishop of *Rome* is not bound to any Decrees, but he may compel, as well the Clergy as Lay-men, to receive his Decrees and Canon Law.

9. *q.* 3. *Ipsi cuncta. Nemo* 3. *q.* 6. *dudum aliorum.* 17. *q.* 4. *Si quis de Baptis. & ejus effectu majores.*

The Bishop of *Rome* hath authority to judg all Men, and specially to discern the Articles of the Faith, and that without any Council, and may assoil them that the Council hath damned; but no Man hath authority to judg him, nor to meddle with any thing that he hath judged, neither Emperor, King, People, nor the Clergy: And it is not lawful for any Man to dispute of his Power.

gr. Duo sunt 25. *q.* 6. *Alios Nos Sanctorum juratos in Clemen. de Hæreticis aut efficiund.*

The Bishop of *Rome* may excommunicate Emperors and Princes, depose them from their States, and assoil their Subjects from their Oath and Obedience to them, and so constrain them to Rebellion.

De Major. & obedien. solit. Clement. de summa & re judicata. Pastoral.

The Emperor is the Bishop of *Rome*'s Subject, and the Bishop of *Rome* may revoke the Emperor's Sentence in temporal Causes.

De Elect. & Electi proprietate. Venerabilem.

It belongeth to the Biſhop of *Rome* to allow or diſallow the Emperor after he is elected; and he may tranſlate the Empire from one Region to another.

De ſupplenda Negligen. prælat. Grand. li. 6.

The Biſhop of *Rome* may appoint Coadjutors unto Princes.

Diſt. 17. *Si modo. Regula. Nec licuit multum. Concilia. 96. ubinam.*

There can be no Council of Biſhops without the Authority of the See of *Rome*; and the Emperor ought not to be preſent at the Council, except when Matters of the Faith be entreating, which belong univerſally to every Man.

2. *q.* 6.

Nothing may be done againſt him that appealeth unto *Rome.*

1. *q.* 3. *Aliorum* Diſt. 40. *Si Papa.* Diſt. 96. *Satis.*

The Biſhop of *Rome* may be judged of none but of God only; for altho he neither regard his own Salvation, nor no Mans elſe, but draw down with himſelf innumerable People by heaps unto Hell; yet may no mortal Man in this World preſume to reprehend him: forſomuch as he is called God, he may not be judged of Man, for God may be judged of no Man.

3. 2. *q.* 5.

The Biſhop of *Rome* may open and ſhut Heaven unto Men.

Diſt. 40. *Non vos.*

The See of *Rome* receiveth holy Men, or elſe maketh them holy.

De Pecunia. Diſt. 1. *Serpens.*

He that maketh a Lye to the Biſhop of *Rome*, committeth Sacriledg.

De conſecra. Diſt. 1. *De locorum præcepta. Eccleſia de Elect. & Electi proprietate. Fundamenta.*

To be Senator, Capitane, Patrician, Governour, or Officer of *Rome*, none ſhall be elected or pointed, without the expreſs licenſe and ſpecial conſent of the See of *Rome.*

De Electione & Electi proprietate. Venerabilem.

It appertaineth to the Biſhop of *Rome* to judg which Oaths ought to be kept, and which not.

De jurejurand. Si vero. 15. *q.* 6. *Authoritatem.*

And he may abſolve Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity, and abſolve from other Oaths that ought to be kept.

De foro competent. Ex tenore. De donat. inter Virum & Uxorem dependentia. Qui Filii ſunt legittime per venerabilem. De Elect. & Electi proprietate Fundamenta. Extravag. de Majorit. & Obedient. unam Sanctam. De judiciis Novit.

The Biſhop of *Rome* is Judg in Temporal Things, and hath two Swords, Spiritual and Temporal.

De Hæreticis Multorum.

The Biſhop of *Rome* may give Authority to arreſt Men, and impriſon them in Manacles and Fetters.

Extrav. de Conſuetudine ſuper gentes.

The Biſhop of *Rome* may compel Princes to receive his Legats.

De Truga & Pace. Trugas.

It belongeth alſo to him to appoint and command Peace and Truce to be obſerved and kept, or not.

De Præbend. & dig. dilectus & li. 6. *licet.*

The Collation of all Spiritual Promotions appertain to the Biſhop of *Rome.*

De Exceſſibus Prælatorum. Sicut unire.

The Biſhop of *Rome* may unite Biſhopricks together, and put one under another at his pleaſure.

Li. 6. *de pœnis Felicum.*

In the Chapter *Felicis li.* 6. *de pœnis*, is the moſt partial and unreaſonable Decree made by *Bonifacius* 8. that ever was read or heard, againſt them that be Adverſaries to any Cardinal of *Rome*, or to any Clerk, or Religious Man of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Family.

Dist. 28. *Consulendum.* Dist. 96 *Si Imperator.* 11. *q.* 1. *Ex—Clericus. Nemo nullus. Clericum, &c. & q.* 2. *Si vero de sentent. Excommunication. Si judex q.* 2. *q.* 5. *si quis de foro competent. Nullus. Si quibus. Ex transmissa. de foro compet. in* 6 *seculares.*

Lay-men may not be judges to any of the Clergy, nor compel them to pay their undoubted Debts, but the Bishops only must be their Judges.

De foro Competent. Cumsit licet.

Rectors of Churches may convent such as do them wrong, whither they will, before a Spiritual Judg, or a Temporal.

Idem ex parte Dilecti.

A Lay-man being spoiled, may convent his Adversaries before a Spiritual Judg, whether the Lords of the Feod consent thereto or not.

Ibidem Significasti, & 11. q. 1. placuit.

A Lay-man may commit his Cause to a Spiritual Judg; but one of the Clergy may not commit his Cause to a Temporal Judg, without the consent of the Bishop.

Ne Clerici vel Monachi. Secundum.

Lay-men may have no Benefices to farm.

De Summa Excommunicationis. Nom. extra. de pecuniis & Remiss. &c. si.

All they that make, or write any Statutes contrary to the Liberties of the Church; and all Princes, Rulers, and Counsellors, where such Statutes be made, or such Customs observed, and all the Judges and others that put the same in execution; and where such Statutes and Customs have been made and observed of old Time, all they that put them not out of their Books be excommunicate, and that so grievously, that they cannot be assoiled but only by the Bishop of *Rome.*

De Immunitate Ecclesiæ. Non minus ad usus Quia Quum & in 6. *Clericis.*

The Clergy, to the relief of any common necessity, can nothing confer without the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*; nor is it not lawful for any Lay-man to lay any Imposition of Taxes, Subsidies, or any Charges upon the Clergy.

Dist. 97.

Dist. 97. *Hoc capitulo & 63. Nullus & quæ sequitur. Non aliæ cum Laic.*

Lay-men may not meddle with Elections of the Clergy, nor with any other thing that belongeth unto them.

De jurejurando. Nimis.

The Clergy ought to give no Oath of Fidelity to their Temporal Governors, except they have Temporalities of them.

Dist. 96. *Bene Quidem.* 12. *q.* 2. *Apostolicos. Quisquis.*

The Goods of the Church may in no wise be alienated, but whosoever receiveth or buyeth them, is bound to Restitution; and if the Church have any Ground, which is little or nothing worth, yet it shall not be given to the Prince; and if the Prince will needs buy it, the Sale shall be void and of no strength.

13. *q.* 2. *Non liceat.*

It is not lawful for the Bishop of *Rome* to alienate or mortgate any Lands of the Church, for every manner of necessity, except it be Houses in Cities, which be very chargeable to support and maintain.

Dist. 96. *Quis nunquam*, 3. *q.* 6. *Accusatio* 11. *q.* 1. *Continua nullus Testimonium Relatum Experientiæ. Si quisquis. Si quæ. Sicut Statuimus, nullus de persona. Si quis.*

Princes ought to obey Bishops, and the Decrees of the Church, and to submit their Heads unto the Bishops, and not to be Judg over the Bishops; for the Bishops ought to be forborn, and to be judged of no Lay-man.

De Major. & obedien. solite.

Kings and Princes ought not to set Bishops beneath them, but reverently to rise against them, and to assign them an honourable Seat by them.

11. *q.* 1. *Quicunque. Relatum. Si qui omnes volumus. Placuit.*

All manner of Causes, whatsoever they be, Spiritual or Temporal, ought to be determined and judged by the Clergy.

Ibidem Omnes.

No Judg ought to refuse the Witness of one Bishop, altho he be but alone.

De

De Hæreticis ad abolendam, & in Clementini ut officium.

Whoſoever teacheth or thinketh of the Sacraments otherwiſe than the See of *Rome* doth teach and obſerve, and all they that the ſame See doth judg Hereticks, be Excommunicate.

And the Biſhop of *Rome* may compel by an Oath, all Rulers and other People, to obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, whatſoever the See of *Rome* ſhall ordain concerning Hereſy, and the Fautors thereof; and who will not obey, he may deprive them of their Dignities.

Clement. de reliq. & venerat. Sanctorum. Si Dominus extravag. de reliq. & venerat Sanctorum. Cum per excelſa: de pœnitent. & remiſſ. antiquorum, & Clemen. unigenitus. Quemadmodum.

We obtain Remiſſion of Sin, by obſerving of certain Feaſts, and certain Pilgrimages in the Jubilee, and other preſcribed Times, by virtue of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Pardons.

De præmiis & remiſſionibus extravag. ca. 3. Et ſi Dominici.

Whoſoever offendeth the Liberties of the Church, or doth violate any Interdiction that cometh from *Rome*, or conſpireth againſt the Perſon, or Statute of the Biſhop, or See of *Rome*; or by any ways offendeth, diſobeyeth, or rebelleth againſt the ſaid Biſhop, or See; or that killeth a Prieſt, or offendeth perſonally againſt a Biſhop, or other Prelate; or invadeth, ſpoileth, withholdeth, or waſteth Lands belonging to the Church of *Rome*, or to any other Church immediatly ſubject to the ſame; or whoſoever invadeth any Pilgrims that go to *Rome*, or any Suitors to the Court of *Rome*, or that let the devolutiou of Cauſes unto that Court, or that put any new Charges or Impoſitions, real or perſonal upon any Church, or Eccleſiaſtical Perſon; and generally all others that offend in the Caſes contained in the Bull, which is uſually publiſhed by the Biſhops of *Rome* upon *Maundy Thurſday*; all theſe can be aſſoiled by no Prieſt, Biſhop, Arch-Biſhop, nor by none other, but only by the Biſhop of *Rome*, or by his expreſs licence.

2. 4. *q.* 2.

Robbing of the Clergy, and poor Men, appertaineth unto the judgment of the Biſhops.

23. 9. *q.*

He is no Man-ſlayer that ſlayeth a Man which is Excommunicate.

Diſt. 63. *Tibi Domino de ſumma Excommunicationis. Si judex.*

Here may be added the moſt tyrannical and abominable Oaths which the Biſhop of *Rome* exacts of the Emperors; *in Clement. de jurejurando Romani diſt.* 6. 3. *Tibi Domino.*

De Conſecra. Diſt. 1. *Sicut.*

It is better not to conſecrate, than to conſecrate in a place not Hallowed.

De Conſecrat. Diſt. 5. *De his Manus, ut rerum.*

Confirmation, if it be miniſtred by any other than a Biſhop, is of no value, nor is no Sacrament of the Church; alſo Confirmation is more to be had in reverence than Baptiſm; and no Man by Baptiſm can be a Chriſtian Man without Confirmation.

De pœnitent. Diſt. 1. *Multiplex.*

A penitent Perſon can have no remiſſion of his Sin, but by ſupplication of the Prieſts.

XXVIII. A Mandate for publiſhing and uſing the Prayers in the *Engliſh* Tongue.

Mandatum Domino Epiſcopo London. direct: pro publicatione Regiarum Injunctionum.

Regiſter, *Bonner.* Fol. 48.

MOſt Reverend Father in God, right truſty and right well beloved, we greet you well, and let you wit, That calling to our remembrance the miſerable State of all Chriſtendom, being at this preſent, beſides all other troubles, ſo plagued with moſt cruel Wars, Hatred, and Diſſentions, as no place of the ſame almoſt (being the whole reduced to a very narrow Corner) remaineth in good Peace, Agreement, and Concord; the Help and Remedy whereof far exceeding the Power of any Man, muſt be called for of him who only is able to grant our Petitions, and never forſaketh nor repealeth any that firmly believe, and faithfully call on him; unto whom alſo the example of Scripture encourageth us, in all theſe and other our Troubles and Neceſſities, to fly and to cry for Aid and Succour; being therefore reſolved to have continually from henceforth general Proceſſions, in all Cities, Towns, Churches, and Pariſhes of this our Realm, ſaid and ſung, with ſuch reverence and devotion as appertaineth. Foraſmuch as heretofore the People, partly for lack of good Inſtruction and Calling, and partly for that they underſtood no part of ſuch Prayers or Suffrages as were uſed to be ſung and ſaid, have uſed to come very ſlackly to the Proceſſion, when the ſame have been commanded heretofore; We have ſet forth certain godly Prayers and Suffrages in our Native Engliſh Tongue, which we ſend you herewith, ſignifying unto you, That for the ſpecial truſt and confidence we have of your godly mind, and earneſt deſire, to the ſetting forward of the Glory of God, and the true worſhipping of his moſt Holy Name, within that Province committed by us unto you, we

have

have ſent unto you theſe Suffrages, not to be for a month or two obſerved, and after ſlenderly conſidered, as other our Injunctions have to our no little marvel, been uſed; but to the intent that as well the ſame, as other our Injunctions, may be earneſtly ſet forth by preaching good Exhortations and otherwiſe to the People, in ſuch ſort as they feeling the godly taſt thereof, may godly and joyouſly, with thanks, receive, embrace, and frequent the ſame, as appertaineth. Wherefore we will and command you, as you will anſwer unto us for the contrary, not only to cauſe theſe Prayers and Suffrages aforeſaid to be publiſhed, frequented, and openly uſed in all Towns, Churches, Villages, and Pariſhes of your own Dioceſs, but alſo to ſignify this our Pleaſure, unto all other Biſhops of your Province, willing and commanding them in our Name, and by virtue hereof, to do and execute the ſame accordingly. Unto whoſe Proceedings, in the execution of this our Commandment, we will that you have a ſpecial reſpect, and make report unto us, if any ſhall not with good dexterity accompliſh the ſame; not failing, as our ſpecial truſt is in you.

At St. *James's*, *Junii*—*Regni* 36. Directed to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*.

XXIX. *The Articles acknowledged by* Shaxton, *late Bp. of* Sarum.

THe *Firſt*; Almighty God by the Power of his Word, pronounced by the Prieſt at Maſs in the Conſecration, turneth the Bread and Wine, into the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that after the Conſecration, there remaineth no Subſtance of Bread and Wine, but only the Subſtance of Chriſt, God and Man. Regiſt. *Bonner.* Fol. 100.

The Second; The ſaid Bleſſed Sacrament, being once Conſecrate, is and remaineth ſtill the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, although it be reſerved, and not preſently diſtributed.

The *Third*; The ſame Bleſſed Sacrament being conſecrate, is and ought to be worſhipped and adored with godly honour wherſoever it is, foraſmuch as it is the Body of Chriſt inſeparably united to the Deity.

The *Fourth*; The Church, by the Miniſtration of the Prieſt, offereth daily at the Maſs for a Sacrifice to Almighty God, the ſelf ſame Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, under the form of Bread and Wine, in the remembrance and repreſentation of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion.

The *Fifth*; The ſame Body and Blood which is offered in the Maſs, is the very propitiation and ſatisfaction for the ſins of the World; foraſmuch as it is the ſelf-ſame in Subſtance which was offered upon the Croſs for our Redemption: And the Oblation and Action of the Prieſt is alſo a Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving unto God for his Bene-

fits, and not the satisfaction for the Sins of the World, for that is only to be attributed to Christ's Passion.

The *Sixth*; The said Oblation, or Sacrifice, so by the Priest offered in the Mass, is available and profitable both for the Quick and the Dead, altho it lieth not in the power of Man to limit how much, or in what measure the same doth avail.

The *Seventh*; It is not a thing of necessity, that the Sacrament of the Altar should be ministred unto the People under both kinds of Bread and Wine: and it is none abuse that the same be ministred to the People under the one kind; forasmuch as in every of both the kinds, whole Christ, both Body and Blood is contained.

The *Eighth*; It is no derogation to the vertue of the Mass, altho the Priest do receive the Sacrament alone, and none other receive it with him.

The *Ninth*; The Mass used in this Realm of *England*, is agreable to the institution of Christ; and we have in this Church of *England*, the very true Sacrament, which is the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, under the form of Bread and Wine.

The *Tenth*; The Church of Christ hath, doth, and may lawfully order some Priests to be Ministers of the Sacraments, altho the same do not preach, nor be not admitted thereunto.

The *Eleventh*; Priests being once dedicated unto God by the Order of Priesthood, and all such Men and Women as have advisedly made Vows unto God of Chastity or Widowhood, may not lawfully marry, after their said Orders received, or Vows made.

The *Twelfth*; Secret auricular Confession is expedient and necessary to be retained, continued, and frequented in the Church of Christ.

The *Thirteenth*; The Prescience and Predestination of Almighty God, altho in it self it be infallible, induceth no necessity to the Action of Man, but that he may freely use the Power of his own Will or Choice, the said Prescience or Predestination notwithstanding.

I *Nicholas Shaxton*, with my Heart, do believe, and with my Mouth do confess all these Articles above-written to be true in every part.

Ne despicias hominem avertentem se a peccato, neque improperes ei: memento quoniam omnes in corruptione sumus, Eccles. 8.

XXX. Leth-

XXX. *A Letter written by* Lethington *the Secretary of* Scotland, *to Sir* William Cecil, *the Queen of* England's *Secretary, touching the Title of the Queen of* Scots *to the Crown of* England *: By which it appears that K.* Henry's *Will was not ſigned by him.*

I Cannot be ignorant that ſome do object as to her Majeſty's Forreign Birth, and hereby think to make her incapable of the Inheritance of *England*. To that you know for Anſwer what may be ſaid by an *Engliſh* Patron of my Miſtriſs's Cauſe, altho I being a *Scot* will not affirm the ſame, that there ariſeth amongſt you a Queſtion, Whether the Realm of *Scotland* be forth of the Homage and Leageance of *England*? And therefore you have in ſundry Proclamations preceding your Wars making, and in ſundry Books at ſundry times, laboured much to prove the Homage and Fealty of *Scotland* to *England*. Your Stories alſo be not void of this intent. What the judgment of the Fathers of your Law is, and what commonly is thought in this Matter, you know better than I, and may have better intelligence than I, the Argument being fitter for your Aſſertion than mine. Ex M. SS. D. G. *Peryt.*

Another Queſtion there is alſo upon this Objection of Forreign Birth; that is to ſay, Whether Princes inheritable to the Crown, be in caſe of the Crown, exempted or concluded as private Perſons, being Strangers born forth of the Allegiance of *England*. You know in this caſe, as divers others, the State of the Crown: the Perſons inheritable to the Crown at the time of their Capacity, have divers differences and prerogatives from other Perſons; many Laws made for other Perſons take no hold in caſe of the Prince, and they have ſuch Priviledges as other perſons enjoy not; as in caſes of Attainders, and other Penal Laws: Examples, *Hen.* 7. who being a Subject, was attainted; and *Ed.* 4. and his Father *Richard Plantagenet* were both attainted; all which notwithſtanding their Attainders had right to the Crown, and two of them attained the ſame. Amongſt many Reaſons to be ſhewed, both for the differences, and that Forreign Birth doth not take place in the caſe of the Crown, as in common perſons, the many experiences before the Conqueſt, and ſince, of your King's, do plainly teſtify. 2. Of purpoſe I will name unto you, *Hen.* 2d. *Maud* the Empreſs Son, and *Richard* of *Bourdeaux* the Black Princes Son, the rather for that neither of the two was the King of *England*'s Son, and ſo not *Enfant du Roy*, if the word be taken in this ſtrict ſignification. And for the better proof, that it was always the common Law of your Realm, that in the caſe of the Crown, Forreign Birth was no Bar; You do remember the words of the *Stat.* 25 *Ed.* 3. where it is ſaid, the Law was ever ſo: Whereupon if you can remember it, you and I fell out at a reaſoning in my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Chamber, by the occaſion of the Abridgment of *Raſtal*, wherein I did ſhew you ſomewhat to this purpoſe; alſo theſe words, *Infant* and *Anceſtors* be in *Prædicamento ad aliquid*, and ſo Correlatives in ſuch ſort, as the meaning of the Law was not to reſtrain the underſtanding of this word *Infant*, ſo ſtrict as only to the Children of the King's Body, but to others inheritable in remainder; and if ſome Sophiſters will needs cavil about the preciſe underſtanding of *Infant*, let them be

anſwered with the ſcope of this word *Anceſtors* in all Proviſions, for *Filii*, *Nepotes* and *Liberi*, you may ſee there was no difference betwixt the firſt degree, and theſe that come after by the Civil Law. *Liberorum appellatione comprehenduntur non ſolum Filii, verum etiam Nepotes, Pronepotes, Abnepotes*, &c. If you examine the Reaſon why Forreign Birth is excluded, you may ſee that it was not ſo needful in Princes caſes, as in common Perſons. Moreover, I know that *England* hath oftentime married with Daughters, and married with the greateſt Forreign Princes of *Europe*. And ſo I do alſo underſtand, that they all did repute the Children of them, and of the Daughters of *England*, inheritable in Succeſſion to that Crown, notwithſtanding the Forreign birth of their Iſſue: And in this caſe I do appeal to all Chronicles, to their Contracts of Marriages, and to the opinion of all the Princes of Chriſtendom. For tho *England* be a noble and puiſſant Country, the reſpect of the Alliance only, and the Dowry, hath not moved the great Princes to match ſo often in marriage, but the poſſibility of the Crown in ſucceſſion. I cannot be ignorant altogether in this Matter, conſidering that I ſerve my Sovereign in the room that you ſerve yours. The Contract of Marriage is extant betwixt the King, my Miſtris's Grandfather, and Queen *Margaret*, Daughter to King *Henry* the *7th*, by whoſe Perſon the Title is devolved on my Sovereign; what her Father's meaning was in beſtowing of her, the World knoweth, by that which is contained in the *Chronicles* written by *Polidorus Virgilius*, before (as I think) either you or I was born; at leaſt when it was little thought that this Matter ſhould come in queſtion. There is another Exception alſo laid againſt my Soveraign, which ſeems at the firſt to be of ſome weight, grounded upon ſome Statutes made in King *Hen.* 8. time, (*viz.*) of the *28th* & *35th* of his Reign, whereby full Power and Authority was given him the ſaid King *Henry*, to give, diſpoſe, appoint, aſſign, declare, and limit, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or elſe by his laſt Will made in writing, and ſigned with his hand at his pleaſure, from time to time thereafter the Imperial Crown of that Realm, *&c.* Which Imperial Crown is by ſome alledged and conſtantly affirmed to have been limited and diſpoſed, by the laſt Will and Teſtament of the ſaid King *Hen.* 8. ſigned with his Hand before his Death unto the Children of the Lady *Francis*; and *Elenor*, Daughter to *Mary* the French Queen, Younger Daughter of *Hen.* 7. and of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*; ſo as it is thought the Queen, my Soveraign, and all others, by courſe of Inheritance, be by theſe Circumſtances excluded, and fore cloſed: So as it does well become all Subjects, ſuch as I am, ſo my liking is, to ſpeak of Princes, of their Reigns and Proceedings modeſtly, and with reſpect; yet I cannot abſtain to ſay, that the Chronicles and Hiſtories of that Age, and your own printed Statutes being extant, do contaminate and diſgrace greatly the Reign of that King in that Time. But to come to our purpoſe, what equity and juſtice was that to diſinherit a Race of Forreign Princes of their poſſibility, and maternal right, by a municipal Law or Statute made in that, which ſome would term abrupt time, and ſay, that that would rule the Roaſt, yea, and to exclude the right Heirs from their Title, without calling them to anſwer, or any for them: well, it may be ſaid, that the injury of the time, and the indirect dealing is not to be allowed; but ſince it is done it cannot be avoided, unleſs ſome Circumſtances

material

material do annihilate the ſaid limitation and diſpoſition of the Crown.

Now let us examine the manner and circumſtances how King *Hen.8.* was by Statute inabled to diſpoſe the Crown. There is a form in two ſorts preſcribed him, which he may not tranſgreſs, that is to ſay, either by his Letter Patents, ſealed with his Great Seal, or by his laſt Will, ſigned with his Hand: for in this extraordinary caſe he was held to an ordinary and preciſe form; which being not obſerved, the Letters Patents, or Will, cannot work the intent or effect ſuppoſed. And to diſprove, that the Will was ſigned with his own Hand; You know, that long before his death he never uſed his own ſigning with his own Hand; and in the time of his Sickneſs, being divers times preſſed to put his Hand to the Will written, he refuſed to do it. And it ſeemed God would not ſuffer him to proceed in an Act ſo injurious and prejudical to the right Heir of the Crown, being his Niece. Then his death approaching, ſome as well known to you as to me, cauſed *William Clarke*, ſometimes Servant to *Thomas Henneage*, to ſign the ſuppoſed Will with a ſtamp, (for otherwiſe ſigned it was never); and yet notwithſtanding ſome reſpecting more the ſatisfaction of their Ambition, and others their private Commodity, than juſt and upright dealing, procured divers honeſt Gentlemen, attending in divers ſeveral Rooms about the King's Perſon, to teſtify with their Hand writings the Contents of the ſaid pretended Will, ſurmiſed to be ſigned with the King's own Hand. To prove this diſſembled and forged ſigned Teſtament, I do refer you to ſuch Trials as be yet left. Firſt; The Atteſtation of the late Lord *Paget*, publiſhed in the Parliament in Queen *Mary*'s Time, for the reſtitution of the Duke of *Norfolk*. Next, I pray you, on my Soveraign's behalf, that the Depoſitions may be taken in this Matter of the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*; the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Petre* then one of King *Henry*'s Secretaries, Sir *Henry Nevell*, Sir *Maurice Barkley*, Doctor *Buts*, *Edmond Harman Baker*, *John Osborn* Groom of the Chamber, Sir *Anthony Dennis*, if he be living, *Terris* the Chirurgion, and ſuch as have heard *David Vincent* and others ſpeak in this caſe; and that their Atteſtations may be enrolled in the *Chancery*, and in the *Arches*, *In perpetuam rei memoriam*.

Thirdly; I do refer you to the Original Will ſurmiſed to be ſigned with the King's own Hand, that thereby it may moſt clearly and evidently appear by ſome differences, how the ſame was not ſigned with the King's Hand, but ſtamped as aforeſaid. And albeit it is uſed both as an Argument and Calumniation againſt my Sovereign to ſome, that the ſaid Original hath been embezelled in Queen *Mary*'s Time, I truſt God will and hath reſerved the ſame to be an Inſtrument to relieve the Truth, and to confound falſe Surmiſes, that thereby the Right may take place, notwithſtanding the many Exemplifications and Tranſcripts, which being ſealed with the great Seal, do run abroad in *England*, and do carry away many Mens minds, as great preſumptions of great verity and validity. But, Sir, you know in caſes of leſs importance, that the whole Realm of *England*, Tranſcripts and Exemplifications be not of ſo great force in Law to ſerve for the recovery of any thing, either real or perſonal: And in as much as my Soveraign's Title in this caſe ſhall be little advanced;

advanced, by taking exceptions to others pretended and craſted Titles, conſidering her precedency, I will leave it to ſuch as are to claim after the iſſue of *Hen.* the *7th*, to lay in Bar the Poligamy of *Charles Brandon* the Duke of *Suffolk*; and alſo the vitiated and clandeſtine Contract, (if it may be ſo called) having no witneſs nor ſolemnization of Chriſtian Matrimony, nor any lawful matching of the Earl of *Hartford* and the Lady *Katharine*. *Laſtly*; The ſemblably compelling of Mr. *Kay*, and the Lady *Mary* Siſter to the Lady *Katherine*.

And now, Sir, I have, to anſwer your deſire, ſaid ſomewhat briefly to the Matter, which indeed is very little, where ſo much may be ſaid; for to ſpeak truly, the Cauſe ſpeaketh for it ſelf. I have ſo long forborn to deal in this Matter, that I have almoſt forgotten many things which may be ſaid for Roboration of her Right, which I can ſhortly reduce to my Remembrance, being at *Edinburgh* where my Notes are: So that if you be not by this ſatisfied, upon knowledg from you of any other Objection, I hope to ſatisfy you unto all things may be ſaid againſt her. In the mean time I pray you ſo counſel the Queen, your Soveraign, as ſome effectual reparation may follow without delay, of the many and ſundry traverſes and diſfavourings committed againſt the Queen, my Soveraign: as the publiſhing of ſo many exemplifications of King *Henry*'s ſuppoſed Will, the ſecret embracing of *John Halles* Books, the Books printed and not avowed the laſt Summer, one of the which my Miſtreſs hath ſent by *Henry Killigrew* to the Queen your Soveraign; The Diſputes and Proceedings of *Lincolns-Inn*, where the Caſe was ruled againſt the Queen my Soveraign; the Speeches of ſundry in this laſt Seſſion of Parliament, tending all to my Soveraign's derision, and nothing ſaid to the contrary by any Man, but the Matter ſhut up with ſilence, moſt to her prejudice; and by ſo much the more as every Man is gone home ſetled and confirmed in his Error. And, laſtly, The Queen, your Soveraign's Reſolution to defend now by Proclamations, all Books and Writings containing any diſcuſſion of Titles when the whole Realm hath engendred by theſe fond Proceedings, and other favoured Practiſes, a ſetled Opinion againſt my Soveraigns, to the advancement of my Lady *Katherine*'s Title. I might alſo ſpeak of another Book lately printed and ſet abroad in this laſt Seſſion, containing many Untruths and weak Reaſons, which Mr. *Wailing* deſired might be anſwered before the Defence were made by Proclamation. I truſt you will ſo hold hand to the Reformation of all theſe things, as the Queen my Soveraign, may have effectual occaſion to eſteem you her Friend; which doing, you ſhall never offend the Queen your Miſtreſs, your Country, nor Conſcience, but be a favourer of the Truth againſt Errors, and yet deſerve well of a Princeſs, who hath a good heart to recognize any good turn, when it is done her, and may hereafter have means to do you pleaſure. For my particular, as I have always honoured you as my Father, ſo do I ſtill remain of the ſame mind, as one, whom in all things not touching the State, you may direct, as your Son *Thomas Cecil*, and with my hearty commendations to you, and my Lady, both, I take my leave. From *Striviling*, the 14*th* of *January*, 1566.

AN

AN

APPENDIX

Concerning some of the

Errors and Falshoods

IN

SANDER's Book

OF THE

English Schism.

AN

INDEX

An Appendix.

THoſe who intend to write Romances, or Plays, do commonly take their Plot from ſome true Piece of Hiſtory; in which they faſten ſuch Characters to Perſons and Things, and mix ſuch Circumſtances and ſecret Paſſages, with thoſe publick Tranſactions and Changes, that are in other Hiſtories; as may more artificially raiſe thoſe Paſſions and Affections in their Readers minds, which they intend to move, than could poſſibly be done, if the whole Story were a meer Fiction and Contrivance: and tho all Men know thoſe tender Paſſages to flow only from the Invention and Fancy of the Poet; yet, by I know not what Charm, the greateſt part that read or hear their Poems, are ſoftned and ſenſibly touched.

Some ſuch Deſign *Sanders* ſeems to have had in his Book, which he very wiſely kept up as long as he lived: He intended to repreſent the Reformation in the fouleſt ſhape that was poſſible, to defame Queen *Elizabeth*, to ſtain her Blood, and thereby to bring her Title to the Crown in queſtion; and to magnify the Authority of the See of *Rome*, and celebrate Monaſtick Orders, with all the praiſes and high characters he could deviſe: And therefore after he had writ ſeveral Books on theſe Subjects, without any conſiderable ſucceſs; they being all rather filled with foul Calumnies and detracting Malice, than good Arguments, or ſtrong ſence, he reſolved to try his skill another way; ſo he intended to tell a doleful Tale, which ſhould raiſe a deteſtation of Hereſy, an ill Opinion of the Queen, caſt a ſtain on her Blood, and diſparage her Title, and advance the honour of the Papacy. A Tragedy was fitter for theſe ends, ſince it left the deepeſt impreſſions on the graver and better affections of the Mind; the Scene muſt be laid in *England* and King *Henry* the Eighth and his three Children, with the Changes that were in their Times, ſeemed to afford very plentiful Matter for a Man of Wit and Fancy, who knew where he could dextrouſly ſhew his Art; and had boldneſs enough to do it without ſhame, or the reverence due, either to crowned Heads, or to Perſons that were dead. Yet becauſe he knew not how he could hold up his Face to the World, after theſe Diſcoveries were made, which he had reaſon to expect, this was concealed as long as he lived: and after he had died *for his Faith* (that is, in Rebellion, which I ſhall ſhew is *the Faith* in his Stile) this Work of his was publiſhed. The ſtile is generally clean, and things are told in an eaſy and pleaſant way; only he could not uſe his Art ſo decently, as to reſtrain that Malice which boiled in his Breaſt, and often fermented out too palpably in his Pen.

The Book ſerved many Ends well, and ſo was generally much cried up, by Men who had been long accuſtomed to commend any thing that

was uſeful to them, without troubling themſelves with thoſe impertinent Queſtions, whether they were true or falſe; yet *Riſhton*, and others ſince that time, took the Pencil again in their hands, and finding there were many Touches wanting, which would give much life to the whole Piece, have ſo changed it, that it was afterwards reprinted, not only with a large Continuation, that was writ by a much more unskilful Poet, but with ſo many and great Additions, ſcattered through the whole Work, whereby it ſeemed ſo changed in the vamping, that it looked new.

If any will give themſelves the trouble, to compare his Fable with the Hiſtory that I have written, and the certain undoubted Authorities I bring in confirmation of what I aſſert, with the ſlender, and (for the moſt part) no Authorities, he brings, they will ſoon be able to diſcern where the Truth lies: But becauſe all People have not the leiſure or opportunities for laying things ſo critically together, I was adviſed, by thoſe whoſe Counſels directed me in this whole Work, to ſum up, in an *Appendix*, the moſt conſiderable Falſhoods and Miſtakes of that Book, with the Evidences upon which I rejected them. Therefore I have drawn out the following Extraction, which conſiſts of Errors of two ſorts. The one is, of thoſe in which there is indeed no malice, yet they ſhew the Writer had no true information of our Affairs, but commits many Faults, which tho they leave not ſuch foul immputations on the Author, yet tend very much to diſparage and diſcredit his Work. But the others are of an higher guilt, being deſigned Forgeries to ſerve partial Ends; not only without any Authority, but manifeſtly contrary to Truth, and to ſuch Records as (in ſpite of all the care they took in Q. *Mary*'s Time by deſtroying them, to condemn Poſterity to Ignorance in theſe Matters) are yet reſerved, and ſerve to diſcover the falſhood of thoſe Calumnies in which they have traded ſo long. I ſhall purſue theſe Errors in the *ſeries* in which they are delivered in *Sanders* his Book, according to the Impreſſion at *Colen* 1628, which is that I have. I firſt ſet down his Errors, and then a ſhort confutation of them, referring the Reader for fuller information to the foregoing Hiſtory.

Page 2. 1. *Sanders* ſays; 'That when Prince *Arthur* and his Princeſs were 'bedded, King *Henry* the 7*th* ordered a grave Matron to lie in the Bed, 'that ſo they might not conſummate their Marriage.

This is the ground-work of the whole Fable; and ſhould have been ſome-way or other proved. But if we do not take ſo ſmall a Circumſtance upon his word, we treat him rudely; and who will write Hiſtories, if they be bound to ſay nothing but Truth! But little thought our Author that there were three Depoſitions upon Record, point blank againſt this: for the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, the Viſcount of *Fitzwater* and his Lady, depoſed they ſaw them bedded together, and the Bed bleſſed after they two were put in it; beſides that ſuch an extravagant thing was never known done in any place.

Ibid. 2. *Sanders* ſays; 'Prince *Arthur* was not then fifteen Years of Age, 'and was ſick of a lingring Diſeaſe.

The Plot goes on but ſcurvily, when the next thing that is brought to confirm it, is contradicted by Records. Prince *Arthur* was born the 20*th* of *September*, in the Year 1486, and ſo was 15 Years old and two months

months passed at the 14*th* of *November* 1501, in which he was married to the Princess, and was then of a lively and good Complexion, and did not begin to decay till the *Shrovetide* following, which was imputed to his Excesses in the Bed, as the Witnesses depose.

3. He says; 'Upon the motion for the marrying of his Brother *Ibid.* 'Henry to the Princess, it was agreed to by all, that the thing was lawful.

It was perhaps agreed on at *Rome*, where Mony and other political Arts sway their Counsels; but it was not agreed to in *England*: for which we have no meaner Authority, than *Warham* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who, when examined upon Oath, deposed that himself then thought the Marriage was not honourable, nor well-pleasing to God, and that he had thereupon opposed it much, and that the People murmured at it.

4. He says; 'There was not one Man in any Nation under Heaven, *Page* 3. 'or in the whole Church, that spake against it.

The common Stile of the *Roman Church*, calling the See of *Rome* the *Catholick Church*, must be applyed to this, to bring off our Author; otherwise I know not how to save his Reputation. Therefore by all *the Nations under Heaven* must be understood only the Divines at *Rome*, tho when it came to be examined, they could scarce find any who would justify it: all the most famous Universities, Divines, and Canonists, condemned it, and *Warham*'s Testimony contradicts this plainly, besides the other great Authorities that were brought against it, for which see *lib.* 2. from *pag.* 91. to *pag.* 103.

5. 'The King once said, *He would not marry the Queen.*

Here is a pretty Essay of our Author's Art, who would make us think *Page* 4. it was only in a transient Discourse, that the King said he would not marry Queen *Katherine*; but this was more maturely done, by a solemn Protestation, which he read himself before the Bishop of *Winchester*, that he would never marry her, and that he revoked his consent given under Age. This was done when he came to be of Age, see *pag.* 36. it is also confessed by *Sanders* himself.

6. He says; 'The Queen bore him three Sons and two Daughters. *Ibid.*

All the Books of that time speak only of two Sons, and one Daughter; but this is a flourish of his Pen to represent her a fruitful Mother.

7. He says; 'The King had sometimes two, sometimes three Con- *Page* 5. 'cubines at once.

It does not appear he had ever any but *Elizabeth Blunt*; and if we judge of his Life, by the Letters the Popes wrote to him, and many printed Elogies that were published then, he was a Prince of great Piety and Religion all that while.

8. He says; 'The Lady *Mary* was first desired in marriage by *James* *Page* 6. 'the 5*th* of *Scotland*, then by *Charles* the 5*th* the Emperor; and then 'Francis asked her, first for the *Dolphin*, then for the Duke of *Orleance*, 'and last of all for himself.

But all this is wrong placed, for she was first contracted to the *Dolphin*, then to the Emperor, and then treated about to the King of *Scotland*; after that it was left to *Francis* his choice, whether she should be married to himself, or his second Son the Duke of *Orleance*: So little did our Poet know the publick Transactions of that Time.

Ibid. 9. He says; 'She was in the end contracted to the *Dolphin*: From 'whence he concludes, that all Forreign Princes were satisfied with the 'lawfulness of the Marriage.

She was first of all contracted to the *Dolphin*. Forreign Princes were so little satisfied of the lawfulness of the Marriage, that tho she being Heir to the Crown of *England*, was a Match of great Advantage; yet their Counsellors excepted to it, on that very account, that the Marriage was not good. This was done in *Spain*, and she was rejected, as a Writer who lived in that time informs us; and *Sanders* confesses it was done by the *French* Ambassador.

Page 7. 10. He says; '*Wolsey* was first Bishop of *Lincoln*, then of *Duresme*, 'after that of *Winchester*, and last of all Arch-Bishop of *York*; after 'that he was made Chancellor, then Cardinal and Legate.

The order of these Preferments is quite reversed; for *Wolsey* soon after he was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, upon Cardinal *Bembridge* his Death, was not only promoted to the See of *York*, but advanced to be a Cardinal in the *7th* Year of the King's Reign: And some months after that he was made Lord Chancellor; and seven Years after that, he got the Bishoprick of *Duresme*, which six Years after he exchanged for *Winchester*. He had heard perhaps that he enjoyed all these Preferments; but knowing nothing of our Affairs beyond hearsay, he resolved to make him rise as Poets order their *Heroes*, by degrees, and therefore ranks his Advancement not according to Truth, but in the method he liked best himself.

Page 8. 11. He says; '*Wolsey* first designed the Divorce, and made *Longland* 'that was the King's Confessor, second his motion for it.

The King not only denied this in publick, saying, That he himself had first moved it to *Longland* in Confession; and that *Wolsey* had opposed it all he could: but in private discourse with *Grinæus*, told him, he had laboured under these Scruples for seven Years; *Septem perpetuis Annis trepidatio.* Which reckoning from the Year 1531, in which *Grinæus* wrote this to one of his Friends, will fall back to the Year 1524, long before *Wolsey* had any provocation to tempt him to it.

Page 9. 12. He says; 'In the Year 1529, in which the King was first made 'to doubt of his Marriage, he was resolved then whom to marry when 'he was once divorced.

But by his other Story, *Ann Boleyn* was then but fifteen Years old, and went to *France* at that Age, where she staied a considerable Time before she came to the Court of *England*.

Ibid. 13. He says; 'The King spent a Year in a private search, to see what 'could be found, either in the Scriptures, or the Popes Bull, to be made

'use

'uſe of againſt his Marriage; but they could find nothing.

In that time all the Biſhops of *England*, except *Fiſher*, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they thought the Marriage unlawful; for which ſee *pag.* 38. and upon what Reaſons this was rounded, has been clearly opened, *pag.* 97.

14. He ſays; 'If there were any ambiguities in the Pope's firſt Let- *Ibid.*
'ters (meaning the Bull, for diſpenſing with the Marriage) they were
'cleared by other Letters, which *Ferdinand* of *Spain* had afterwards
'procured.

Theſe other Letters (by which he means the *Breve*) bear date the ſame day with the Bull; and ſo were not procured afterwards. There were indeed violent preſumptions of their being forged long after, even after the Proceſs had been almoſt a Year in agitation. But tho they helped the matter in ſome leſſer Particulars, yet in the main Buſineſs, Whether Prince *Arthur* did know his Princeſs, they did it a great prejudice; for whereas the Bull bore, that by the Queens Petition her former Marriage was *perhaps conſummated*, the *Breve* bears that in her Petition, the Marriage was ſaid to be conſummated, without any *perhaps*.

15. He ſays; 'The King having ſeen theſe ſecond Letters, both he *Ibid.*
'and his Council reſolved to move no more in it.

The Proceſs was carried on, almoſt a Year, before the Breve was heard of: and the Forgery of it ſoon appeared, ſo they went on notwithſtanding it.

16. He ſays; 'The Biſhop of *Tarby* being come from *France*, to con- *Page* 10.
'clude the Match for the Lady *Mary*, was ſet on by the King and the
'Cardinal, to move exception to the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage.

There is no reaſon to believe this; for that Biſhop, tho afterwards made a Cardinal, never publiſhed this: which both he ought to have done as a good Catholick, and certainly would have done as a true Cardinal, when he ſaw what followed upon it, and perceived that he was trepanned to be the firſt mover of a thing, which ended ſo fatally for the intereſts of *Rome*.

17. He ſays; 'The Biſhop of *Tarby*, in a Speech before the King in *Page* 11.
'Council, ſaid, That not he alone, but almoſt all learned Men, thought
'the King's Marriage unlawful and null: ſo that he was freed from the
'Bond of it, and that it was againſt the Rules of the Goſpel; and that
'all Forreign Nations had ever ſpoken very freely of it, lamenting that
'the King was drawn into it in his Youth.

It is not ordinary for Ambaſſadors to make Speeches in King's Councils: But if this be true, it agrees ill with what this Author delivers in his third *Page*, That there was not a Man in the whole Church, nor under Heaven, that ſpoke againſt it, otherwiſe the Biſhop of *Tarby* was both an impudent and a fooliſh Man.

18. He ſays; 'Upon the Pope's Captivity, *Wolſey* was ſent over to *Page* 13.
'*France* with 300000 Crowns to procure the Pope's liberty.

Hall,

Hall, *Hollingshead* and *Stow* say, He carried over 240000 pounds *Sterlin*, which is more than thrice that sum.

Ibid. 19. He says; 'Two Colleagues were sent in this Ambassy with the 'Cardinal.

His greatness was above that, and none are mentioned in the Records.

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This Story was already confuted, see *pag.* 41, 42. And in it there are more than one or two lies.

1. Sir *Thomas Boleyn* went not Ambassador to *France* till the *7th* Year of the King's Reign: And if two Years after that, *Ann* was born, which was the *9th* of his Reign, she must then have been but ten Years old at this time.

2. Tho he had sent him upon his first coming to the Crown, this could not be true; for two Years after, admit her to be born, that is *Anno* 1511, then a Year before this, which was *Anno* 1526, she was fifteen Years old; in which Age, *Sanders* says, she was corrupted in her Fathers House, and sent over to *France*, where she staid long. But all this is false: For,

3. She was born two Years before the King came to the Crown, in the Year 1507. and if her Father was sent to *France* two Years before, it was in the Year 1505.

4. The King being then Prince, was but fourteen Years old, for he was born the *28th* of *June*, in the Year 1491: in which Age there is no reason to think he was so forward as to be corrupting other Mens Wives, for they will not allow his Brother, when almost two Years elder, to have known his own Wife.

As for the other pieces of this Story, that Sir *Thomas Boleyn* did sue his Lady in the Spiritual Court; that upon the King's sending him word that she was with Child by him, he passed it over; that the King had also known her Sister, and that she had owned it to the Queen, that at the fifteenth Year of *Ann*'s Age, she had prostituted her self both to her Fathers Butler, and Chaplain; that then she was sent to *France*, where she was at first for some time concealed, then brought to Court, where she was so notoriously lewd, that she was called an *Hackney*; that she afterwards was kept by the *French* King; that when she came over into *England*, Sir *Thomas Wiat* was admitted to base Privacies with her, and offered to the King and his Council, that he himself should with his own Eyes see it: And in fine, that she was ugly, mishaped, and monstrous, are such an heap of impudent Lyes, that none but a Fool, as well as a Knave, would venture on such a recital. And for all this,

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This was not done till almoſt a Year after this: and the motion was ſent by *Staphileus* Dean of the *Rota*, for which ſee *pag.* 50.

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Is it probable that the King would have made him Lord Chancellor, when he was so earnest in this Business, if he had not known that he would have gone along with him in it? By one of his Letters to *Cromwel* out of the *Tower*, it appears, that he approved the Divorce, and had great hopes of success in it, as long as it was prosecuted at *Rome*, and founded on the defects in the Bull. And in the 22*d* Year of the King's Reign, when the Opinions of the Universities, and the Books of Learned Men were brought to *England* against the Marriage, he carried them down to the House of Commons, and made read them there; after which he desired they would report in their Country what they had heard and seen; and then all Men would openly perceive that the King had not attempted this Matter of his Will and Pleasure, but only for the discharge of his Conscience. *More* was a Man of greater Integrity than to have said this, if he had thought the Marriage good; so that he has either afterwards changed his mind, or did at this Time dissemble too artificially with the King.

Page 22. 26. After a long flourish about the King's secret fears and apprehensions, and the perplexities the Cardinal was in, which must pass for a piece of *his Wit*, that is to say, *Lying*, for he knew none of their thoughts; He says, 'That *Gardiner* and Sir *Francis Brian* were sent to 'the Pope together, *Gardiner* being then Secretary of State.

In this there are only three gross mistakes. First, *Gardiner* was not sent with the first Message to the Pope, Secretary *Knight* carried it.

2. Sir *Francis Brian* went never to *Rome* with *Gardiner*: It is true, a Year after the commencing the Suit, Sir *Francis Brian* was sent to *Rome*, and about a month after him *Gardiner* was also sent; so tho they were both together at *Rome*, yet they were not sent thither together.

3. *Gardiner* was not Secretary of State, but was *Wolsey*'s Secretary when he went first to *Rome*, and was made a Privy Counsellor when he was sent thither the second time; and was not Secretary of State till some months after his return from his Journey the last time.

Page 23. 27. He says; 'They made the Pope believe that the Queen would 'willingly retire into a Monastery.

This was on the contrary a contrivance of the Popes, who thought it the easiest way to bring the Matter to a good issue; but in *England* they had no hopes of it, and so always diverted the motion when it was proposed by the Pope.

Ibid. 28. He says; 'The Pope said he would consult with some Cardinals 'and Divines, and do all that he could lawfully do to give the King 'satisfaction.'

Upon the first motion of it, the Pope frankly granted the King's desire; and gave a Bull with a Commission upon it: And only consulted some Cardinals about the methods of doing it. And did assure the King, that he would not only do every thing that could be granted in law or Justice, but whatsoever he could grant out *of the fulness of his Power*. It is true, afterwards when the Pope changed his Measures, and resolved to agree with the Emperor, he pretended he understood not these things himself, but would needs turn it over upon the Cardinals and Divines.

29. He

29. He says; 'All the Cardinals were of a mind that the Marriage *Page* 24.
'was good.

Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, by the force of that mighty Argument of 4000 Crowns, changed his mind. All the other Cardinals were forward in granting the King's Desires, for which he wrote them a Letter of Thanks.

30. He says; 'The Pope granted the Commission to the two Le- *Page* 26.
'gats, not doubting but it was true that had been told him of the
'Queen's readiness to go into a Monastery.

The Pope knew she would not yield to any such thing; but when he granted that Commission, he sent with *Campegio* a Decretal Bull, annulling the Marriage: and sent afterwards a Promise never to avocate the Process, but to confirm what Sentence the Legats should give; tho soon after he broke his Promise most signally. And since he had often dispenced with others for breaking their Faith, he might think that it was hard to deny him the same priviledg for himself.

31. He says; 'The Pope understanding that the Queen did not con- *Ibid.*
'sent to the Propositions that were made, and that he had been abused,
'sent after *Campegio*, when he was on his Journey, that he should not
'proceed to a Sentence without a new Order.

The Pope sent *Campana* to *England* after *Campegio*, to assure the King he would do every thing for him that he could do *out of the fulness of his Power*: And ordered the same Person to charge Cardinal *Campegio* to burn the Decretal Bull, which he had sent by him: In all which the Pope, as appears by the Original Letters, was only governed by politick Maxims, and considered nothing but the Dangers himself was like to fall in; tho *Sanders* would perswade us, he was ready to run the hazard of all these.

32. He says; 'The King by his Letters to the Pope, did, at the same *Page* 30.
'time that he was moving Scruples about his own Marriage, transact
'about a Dispensation for a Marriage betwixt his own Natural Son
'the Duke of *Richmond*, and his Daughter the Lady *Mary*.

Tho the whole Dispatches at that time, both to and from *Rome*, be most happily preserved, there is not the least mention of any such design: and can any Body think, that if any such motion had been made the Pope would not have taken great Advantages from it, and that these Letters would not have been afterwards published? But this *Sanders* thought was a pretty embellishmeut of his Fable; and of a piece with this is his next.

33. He says; 'The King did under his own hand confess, he had *Ibid.*
'known *Ann Boleyn*'s Sister *Mary*, and desired the Pope would dispence
'with his marrying *Ann* notwithstanding that.

The falshood of this appears from the recital of it: And how came it, that these Letters were not published? Nor is there any mention of this in all the Dispatches I have seen. And it is not possible, that in so many Conferences which the *English* Ambassadors had with the Pope,

these two things should never have been discoursed of. And can it be thought credible, that at the same time when the King pretended such Scruples and Troubles of Conscience, he could be guilty of so much folly and impudence, as to put himself thus in the Pope's Mercy, by two such Demands? This was a Forgery of Cardinal *Pole's*, which *Sanders* greedily catched to dress up the Scene.

Page 34. 34. From *page* 34. to 42, there is a trifling account given of the Reasons brought against the Marriage, which *Sanders* answers ma fully, and fights couragiously against the Man of Straw he had set up. But if that be compared with what has been opened in the History, it will appear how lame and defective his Account is.

Page 42. 35. He says; 'Clarke Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Tonstal Bishop of 'London, and West Bishop of *Ely*, writ for the lawfulness of the King's 'Marriage.

All the Bishops, except *Fisher*, had a Year before this, given it under their Hands and Seals, that the King's Marriage was unlawful: and in all the Memorials of that Time, *Fisher* is the only Bishop I find mentioned to have writ for it. *Tonstal* was also soon after Translated to *Duresme*, which none that have considered that Kings Temper, will think could have been done, if he had interposed in so tender a Point, against what the King so vehemently desired.

Ibid. 36. He says; 'That *Abell*, *Powel*, *Fetherston*, and *Ridly*, also writ 'for the Marriage.

This is not likely of the second and third, for they being afterwards attainted of Treason, no such Books were objected to them; but the Crime charged on them, was only that they said, the King's Marriage with Q. *Katherine* was good.

Page 43. 37. He says; 'All things appeared clear in the Trial before the Le- 'gats, in behalf of the Marriage, so that they could give no Sentence 'against such full Evidence as was brought for it.

This is said without any regard to Truth; for all the Matter of Fact that had been alledged, was clearly proved for the contrary side. It was proved that Prince *Arthur* married the Queen: violent presumptions appeared of his consummating the Marriage: It was also proved, that the King was under Age when the Bull was obtained, and that the Petitions given in his Name, upon which the Bull was granted, were false: That the King had not desired it, but when he came of Age he had protested against it: And that there was no hazard of a War between *Spain* and *England*, the preventing which, was the chief Reason set down in the Bull that permitted it. So that all that had been informed at *Rome*, as to Matter of Fact, was fully proved before the Legats, by clear Instruments, and many and noble Witnesses.

Ibid. 38. He puts a long bold Speech in *Campegio's* Mouth, who was far from assuming such freedom; but lived licentiously in *England*, in all manner of Disorders, of which both he and his Bastard Son were guilty. And by dissembling, and other Arts, perswaded the King to delay the Process,

Proceſs, from day to day, giving him full aſſurances, that in concluſion he ſhould obtain what he deſired: and by ſuch means he gain'd Time, and drew out the Trial, till the Pope had ended his Treaty with the Emperor, and then he ſerved him an *Italian* Trick, by adjourning the Court.

39. He ſays; 'Some Doctors being corrupted with the King's Mony, 'declared for him; but thoſe were none of the moſt learned. *Page* 48.

The King ordered thoſe he ſent, not to give or promiſe any thing to any Perſon, till they had delivered their Opinion freely: Upon which ſome of them wrote to him, that they would anſwer upon their Heads, that they had followed his Orders in that particular.

40. He ſays; 'Theſe Determinations were publiſhed in the Names 'of the Univerſities, to deceive the World by a falſe repreſentation of 'ſo great Authorities. *Ibid.*

Were the publick Seals of the Univerſities, put to their determinations, after a long debate, all being required to deliver their Conſciences upon Oath, and done with the unanimous conſent of the whole Faculty in ſome places, falſe repreſentations? This was done in *Italy*, in *Padua*, *Bononia*, *Ferrara*, and *Millan*, under the Pope and the Emperor's Eye, and within their Dominions.

41. He ſays; 'Endeavours were uſed to corrupt the Univerſity of '*Colen*, and ſome others in *Germany*, for which great Sums were offered, 'and that the King was at a vaſt expence in it. *Page* 50.

Crooks Accompts ſhew that his Expence in *Italy* was very inconſiderable. And who can imagine that when *Paris*, *Padua*, and *Bononia*, had declared for the King, he would be much concerned for *Colen*, or any other Univerſity in *Germany*? Thoſe who will believe *Sanders*, and ſuch Authors as he quotes, *Cochleus*, and an unknown Biſhop of *Braſile*, may if they will.

42. He ſays; 'In *Oxford* the King not being able to obtain a ſatisfa- 'ctory Anſwer in that Matter, eight Students of the Univerſity broke 'into the place where the Seal was laid, and put it to an Anſwer, which 'paſſed for the Determination of the Univerſity. *Page* 51.

The Lord *Herbert* ſays, There was an Original Inſtrument paſſed, which he ſaw; by which the Univerſity did appoint a Committee of 33 Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, to examine the Queſtions propoſed by the King, and to ſet the Seal of the Univerſity to any Anſwer that they ſhould agree on: and theſe did afterwards give a Reſolution againſt the lawfulneſs of the Marriage.

43. 'He tells a long Story of the King's endeavours to gain *Reginald* '*Pole*, and that he came over to *England*; and being much preſſed 'by his Kindred to comply with the King, he went to him, fully pur- 'poſed to have done it: but could not ſpeak a word to him, till he re- 'ſolved to talk to him in another ſtile; and then he found his Tongue, 'and ſpake very freely to the King, who put his hands ſometimes to his 'Ponyard, intending to have killed him; but was overcome with the *Page* 52.

'ſimplicity and humility of his Diſcourſe: and ſo the King continued 'his Penſion to him, and gave him leave to go back to *Padua*.

This is another pretty adventure of one of the *Hero*'s of the Romance, but has this misfortune in it, that it is all without any proof: for as none of the Books of that Time ever mention it, ſo neither did *Pole* himſelf pretend to have carried ſo, in his Book, tho written with the moſt provoking inſolence that was poſſible. In it he mentions his going over to *England*, but not one word of any ſuch diſcourſe with the King. And King *Henry* was not a Man of ſuch a temper, as to permit one of *Pole*'s quality to go out of *England*, and live among his Enemies, and continue his Penſions to him, if he had to his face oppoſed him in a Matter he laid ſo much to heart.

Page 53. 44. He ſays; '*Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*, and *Holman* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, 'wrote for the Marriage.

There was no Biſhoprick, nor Biſhop of *Briſtol* at that time, nor thirteen Years after.

Ibid. 45. 'Many are reckoned up who wrote for the Marriage in all Na- 'tions.

Theſe are neither to be compared in number, nor authority, to thoſe who wrote againſt it; an hundred Books were ſhewed in Parliament, written by Divines, and Lawyers beyond Sea, beſides the determinations of twelve of the moſt celebrated Univerſities in *Europe*. The Emperor did indeed give ſo great Rewards, and ſuch good Benefices, to thoſe who wrote againſt the King, that it is a wonder there were not more Writers of his ſide.

Page 56. 46. He ſays; 'That upon *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*'s death, 'the Earl of *Wiltſhire* told the King that he had a Chaplain, who was 'at his Houſe, that would certainly ſerve the King in the matter of his 'Divorce; upon which *Cranmer* was promoted.

Cranmer was no ſtranger to the King at this time: he was firſt recommended by the King to the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, to be kept in his Houſe; but was in *Germany* when *Warham* died, and made no haſte over, but delayed his Journey ſome months. It is true, he was of the mind that the King ought to be divorced; but this was not out of ſervile compliance; for when the King preſſed him in other things that were againſt his Conſcience, he expreſſed all the courage and conſtancy of mind which became ſo great a Prelate.

Ibid. 47. He ſays; 'That *Cranmer* being to ſwear the Oath of Obedience 'to the Pope, before he was conſecrated, did proteſt to a publick Nota- 'ry, that he took it againſt his Will; and that he had no mind to keep 'his Faith to the Pope, in prejudice to the King's Authority.

He did not proteſt that he did it unwillingly, nor was it only to a Notary, but twice at the High Altar he repeated the Proteſtation that he made; which was to this effect, That he intended not thereby to oblige himſelf to any thing, contrary to the Law of God, the King's Prerogative, or the Laws of the Land; nor to be reſtrained from ſpeaking, adviſing, or conſenting to any thing that ſhould concern the Reformation

formation of the Christian Faith, the Government of the Church of *England*, and the Prerogative of the Crown and Kingdom.

48. He says; 'Cranmer did in all things so comply with the King's 'Lusts, that the King was wont to say he was the only Man that had ne- 'ver contradicted him in any thing he had a mind to. *Page* 57.

Cranmer was both a good Subject, and a modest and discreet Man, and so would obey and submit as far as he might, without sin: yet when his Conscience charged him to appear against any thing that the King press- sed him to, as in the Matter of the six Articles, he did it with much re- solution and boldness.

49. He says; 'The King going over to *Calais*, carried *Ann Boleyn* 'secretly with him. *Page* 58.

He carried her over in great state, having made her Marchioness of *Pembroke*; and in the publick Interview between him and *Francis*, she appeared with all possible splendor.

50. He says; 'After the King's return from *France*, he brought the 'Action of Premunire against all the Clergy. *Page* 59.

This is an Error of two Years; for so long before this Voyage to *France* was that Action begun: and the Clergy about 18 months be- fore had made their Submission; and obtained their Pardon in *March* 1531, which appears by the printed Statutes, and the King went over to *France* in *September* 1532; so that it is clear *Sanders* never looked for any verification of what he wrote.

51. He says; 'The King, by an unheard-of Tyranny, and a new 'Calumny, brought this Charge against the Clergy. *Ibid.*

These Laws upon which the Charge was founded, had been oft re- newed; they were first made under *Edward* the First, by reason of the Papal Encroachments that gave the rise to them; they were oft confir- med by *Edward* the Third, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Henry* the Fifth, with the Concurrence of their Parliaments; so the Charge was neither new or Tyrannical.

52. He says; 'The Clergy submitted to the King, being betrayed by 'their Metropolitans, *Cranmer* and *Lee*. *Ibid.*

The submission was made two Years before *Cranmer* was Arch-Bishop in *March* 1531, and *Cranmer* was Consecrated in *March* 1533. but at that time *Warham* sate in *Canterbury*; as for *Lee*, he opposed it for some time.

53. He says; 'The whole Clergy petitioned the King, to forgive 'their Crime, according to that Supreme Power which he had over all 'the Clergy and Laity, within his Kingdom; from whence the King's 'Counsellors took occasion afterwards to call him *Supream Head*. *Ibid.*

The Clergy did, in the Title of their Submission, call the King in for- mal Terms, *Supream Head of the Church and Clergie of* England, *as far as by the Law of Christ is lawful*; to which *Fisher*, with the rest of the Con- vocation, subscribed. And all this was done when *More* was Chancellor.

54. He

Page 62. 54. He says; 'When the King went to marry *Ann Boleyn*, he per'swaded *Rowland Lee*, made soon after Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, 'to officiate in it, assuring him he had obtain'd a Bull for it from '*Rome*, which was then lying in his Cabinet. Upon which *Lee* giving 'credit to what he had, did marry them.

This is another trial of *Sanders*'s wit, to excuse *Lee*, who tho at this time he complied absolutely with the King, yet did afterwards turn over to the Popish Party; therefore to make him look a little clean, this Story must be forged. But at that time all the World saw that the Pope and the Emperor were so linked together, that *Lee* could not but know that no such thing was possible. And he was so obsequious to the King, that such Arts were needless to perswade him to any thing the King had a mind to.

Page 67. 55. For five pages he runs out in repetition of all those foul Lyes concerning *Ann Boleyn*, by which he designed both to disgrace the Reformers, who were supported by her, and to defame her Daughter Queen *Elizabeth*, which have been before confuted: After that he says, 'Queen *Katherine*, with three Maids and a small Family, retired into 'the Country.

She had both the respect of a Princess Dowager, and all the Jointure contracted to her by Prince *Arthur*; so she could not be driven to that straitness; but this must go for an Ornament in the Fable.

Page. 71. 56. He says; 'It was concluded, that *Cranmer* might be more free to 'pass Sentence, that there should be an Oath imposed on the Clergy, for 'paying the same Obedience to the King that they had paid the Pope: Upon which he tells a long formal Story, for two pages, That 'it was 'resolved to draw *Fisher* into it, to swear Obedience to the King in all 'Ecclesiastical Causes, with that exception, *as far as is lawful, according 'to the Word of God*, which he did, and perswaded others to do it; 'and upon this *Cranmer* taking the New Oath, went and pronounced 'Judgment for Divorce.

There is not one tittle of this true, for there was no Oath sworn about the King's Supremacy at this time. The Story of *Fisher*, is that which was done by the Convocation two Years before *Cranmer*'s preferment, nor was there any Oath taken then, or at this time. It is true, two Years after this, *Gardiner*, *Stokesley*, and many other Bishops, did of their own accord take such an Oath; but there was no Law for it till the 28*th* Year of the King's Reign.

Page 72. 57. He says; 'One *Richard Risey* (or *Rouse*, according to the Re'cords) was hired by *An Boleyn* to poison *Fisher*.

Rouse was boiled alive for poisoning the Bishop's Family, but did not discover any that set him on it: Which none can think but he would have done, if the Queen had hired him to it, and had then deserted him, to perish in so horrid a manner.

Page 73. 58. He says; '*Cranmer* being by Authority of Parliament freed from 'his Oath to the Pope, and bound by a new one to the King, went 'now confidently to pronounce Sentence.

The

The Parliament did not put down the Pope's Authority for eight months after this, and appointed no new Oath till three Years after; For *Cranmer* ſat in Judgment as Primate of *England*, and Legate of the Apoſtolick See.

59. He ſays; 'Cranmer carried ſome Biſhops with him, and having 'cited the Queen, without hearing her, he gave Sentence againſt the 'Marriage. *Ibid.*

Gardiner, *Stokeſly*, *Clark*, and *Longland*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, went with him. He could not hear the Queen, when ſhe would not appear; but he examined all the Inſtruments and Evidences that had been brought in the whole Proceſs.

60. He ſays; 'The Pope would not proceed againſt the King, till 'he met with the *French* King at *Marſeilles*: but that the *Engliſh* Am- 'baſſadors did there carry ſo inſolently, that *Francis* was aſhamed of 'their behaviour; and deſired the Pope to proceed againſt the King 'as he thought fit, and that he ſhould never defend him more, but 'ſhould be againſt him. *Page* 75.

Here the Romance goes on too groſly, for the Pope and the French King agreed at *Marſeilles* to bring this matter to an iſſue: the Pope declared he thought the King's Cauſe was juſt and right; and promiſed, if the King would ſend a full Submiſſion to *Rome*, he would give Sentence in his Favour. Upon which the French King ſent over the Biſhop of *Paris*, who prevailed with the King to do it; tho this afterwards came to nothing. It is true, *Bonner* who was always officious and forward when there was any thing to be got by it, being ſent to *Marſeilles* by the King to deliver an Appeal in the King's Name to the Pope, to the next General Council; and perhaps knowing nothing of the private Tranſactions between the Pope and the French King, it being a Secret of too great importance to be communicated to ſuch a hot-brain'd Man, did deliver his Meſſage to the Pope in ſuch provoking Language, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a boiling Cauldron; and he was fain to fly for it.

61. He ſays; 'The Pope returning to *Italy*, after he had again moſt 'carefully reviewed the whole Cauſe, gave ſentence. *Page* 76.

This was ſo precipitated, that they would not ſtay ſix days beyond the time which they prefixed, for the return of the Meſſenger that was ſent to *England*, but diſpatched that, which by the forms of their Court ſhould have been done in three Conſiſtories, all in one day.

62. He ſays; 'Upon this Sentence, the King being enraged, did 'command Queen *Katherine* to be only called Princeſs, and declared 'her Daughter the Lady *Mary* a Baſtard. *Page* 78.

Both theſe were done five months before the Pope's Sentence, and ſoon after, the Sentence was pronounced by *Cranmer*. And theſe were the natural conſequences of it; for the Marriage being annulled, neither could ſhe be longer a Queen, nor her Daughter Princeſs any more.

63. He ſays; 'The King impriſoned *F. Foreſt* a Franciſcan Ob- 'ſervant, a moſt holy and learned Man, for contradicting *Latimer*, *Ibid.*

'when

'when he was enveighing againſt the Pope's Authority.

Concerning this *Foreſt*, I have ſeen an Original Letter of one *Liſt*, a Friar of the ſame Houſe, a Year after this, that ſays, *Foreſt* was a great ſcandal to their Houſe, and was very ignorant; and that tho he had been much againſt the King in his Marriage, yet he had then inſinuated himſelf into his favour, of which many of the Houſe, who were for the King's Cauſe, had great apprehenſions. In the ſame Letter he writes, how cruel they were againſt any of their Brethren, who they thought diſcovered any thing that was done among them; and that one *Rainſcroft*, a Brother, whom they ſuſpected to have informed what paſſed among them, was cruelly uſed, and kept in Priſon till he died; which he chiefly imputes to *Foreſt*. This Friar ſwore the King's Supremacy, and yet at the ſame time was perſwading others not to do it; and being queſtioned upon it, ſaid, He took the Oath only with his Outward, but not with his Inward Man; and for that, and his denying the Goſpel, he was burnt as an obſtinate Heretick.

Page 79. 64. He ſays; '*Abell*, *Powel*, and *Fetherſton*, were put in Priſon becauſe 'they conſulted with the *Maid of Kent*.

This is only charged upon the former of theſe, but the two latter are not accuſed of any ſuch thing.

Ibid. 65. He ſays; '*Elizabeth* being born the 8*th* of *September*, but five 'months after the King had publickly married her Mother, could not 'be the lawful Iſſue of that Marriage.

This is a malicious Lye, for himſelf confeſſed that the King was married to her Mother the 14*th* of *November* the former Year; between which and the 8*th* of *September* there were ten months; nor was the King ever after that married publickly to the Queen. For what he calls a publick Marriage, was only the ſhewing her openly as Queen. But the deſign of this Lye is ſo viſible, that it needs not be opened.

Ibid. 66. He ſays; 'The King's Daughter *Mary*, who was then preſent, 'could never be induced to think ſhe was the King's Child.

In the former *page* he ſaid, *Mary* was ſent to her Mother; and now forgetting himſelf too ſoon, he ſays, ſhe was preſent when *Elizabeth* was born. What *Mary*'s thoughts were, none can tell, but ſhe publickly acknowledged her to be her Siſter, tho ſhe did not uſe her as one.

Page 80. 67. He ſays; *Elizabeth Barton*, who was famed for her Sanctity, and 'ſix with her, who thought ſhe was inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, were 'accuſed in Parliament.

Thoſe ſix knew that ſhe was not inſpired; and that all that was given out about her, was a contrivance of theirs, who had inſtructed her to play ſuch Tricks; as was proved by their own Confeſſions, and other Evidences.

Ibid. 68. He ſays; 'They all died very conſtantly: and on the Margent 'calls them *ſeven Martyrs*.

The Nun her ſelf acknowledged the Impoſture at her Death, and laid the heavieſt weight of it on the Prieſts that ſuffered with her, who had

had taught her the Cheat: ſo that they both died for Treaſon and Impoſture. And this being *Sanders*'s *Faith*, as appeared by *his Works*, they were indeed Martyrs for it.

69. He ſays; 'More and *Fiſher* having examined her, could ſee no 'ground to think ſhe was acted by a Fanatical Spirit, as it was given 'out. *Ibid.*

It was not given out that ſhe was acted by a Fanatical Spirit, for that had been more honeſt; but her Spirit was cheating and knavery. *More* clear'd himſelf, and looked on her as a weak Woman, and commonly called her the *Silly Maid*: But *Fiſher* did diſown her, when the Cheat was diſcovered, though he had given her too much encouragement before.

70. He ſays; 'The thing ſhe propheſied came to paſs; which was 'that *Mary* ſhould be Queen of *England*. *Page* 81.

The thing for which ſhe and her Complices were attainted of Treaſon, was, that ſhe ſaid, *If the King married* Ann Boleyn, *he ſhould not be a King a month longer, and not an hour longer in the ſight of God, and ſhould die a Villains Death.* But it did not ſerve *Sanders*'s ends to tell this.

71. He ſays; 'The day ſhe ſuffered, many of the Nobility came 'and ſwore to the Succeſſion of the Iſſue of the King's Marriage with 'Queen *Ann* before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chan-'cellor, and *Cromwel*. *Ibid.*

Both Houſes of Parliament, did in the Houſe of Lords take that Oath, on the day of their Prorogation, which was the 30*th* of *March*, as appears by the ſecond Act of the next Seſſion: and the Nun, with her Complices, did not ſuffer till the 21. of *April* after.

72. He ſays; 'The *Franciſcans* of the Obſervance, chiefly two Fa-'thers in *London*, *Elſton* and *Payton*, did, both in their Sermons and 'publick Diſputes, juſtify the King's Marriage with Q. *Katherine*. *Ibid.*

Elſton and *Payton*, were not of *London* but of *Greenwich*. They compared the King to *Achab*, and ſaid, in the Pulpit, to his face, *The Dogs ſhall lick his Blood*; with many other ſuch virulent Expreſſions. But to rail at a Prince with the moſt ſpiteful Reproaches that could be, was a part of *Sanders*'s *Faith*: and ſo no wonder thoſe paſs for Confeſſors, when *Elizabeth Barton* and her Complices are reckoned *Martyrs*.

73 He ſays; 'Tonſtal Biſhop of *Dureſme*, was ordered by the King's 'Meſſengers, not to come to the Seſſion of Parliament 26 *Regni*, in 'which the King's Supremacy was eſtabliſhed. *Page* 82.

In this he is ſafer than in ſome other Stories; for the Journals of that Seſſion are loſt, ſo the falſhood of this cannot be demonſtrated: yet it is not at all likely, that he who juſtified all that was done in the former Seſſion, in which the Pope's Power was put down, the nomination of Biſhops annexed to the Crown, a Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Laws appointed to be made, in defence of all which he wrote afterwards, was now ſo ſcrupulous as to be ordered to ſtay at home. But *Tonſtal* ſuffering im-

prisonment in *Edward* the Sixth's time, it was fit to use some art to shew that he was unwillingly brought to comply with the King.

Ibid. 74. 'He, to shew God's Judgments on the chief Instruments that 'served the King, says, That the Duke of *Norfolk* was by the King 'condemned to perpetual Imprisonment.

This bewrays palpable Ignorance, since he was attainted of High-Treason the very day before the King's Death, and should have suffered the next day, if the King's Death had not prevented it. But since he will descant on the Providence of God, he should rather have concluded, that his escaping so narrowly was a sign of God's great care of him.

Ibid. 75. In the Session of Parliament that met the third of *November* (as he describes it, which was the 26*th* Year of the King's Reign) he says, '*Mary* the King's Daughter was illegitimated, and all her Honours were 'transferred on *Elizabeth*, and the Popes Power put down.

This shews he never looked on our publick Statutes; otherwise he had seen that these Acts passed in the former Session.

Page 84. 76. He says; 'When the King sent his Ambassadors to the *French* 'Court, *Francis* would not so much as hear them give a Justification of 'the King's proceedings.

How true this can be, the World may judg, since these two Kings continued in a firm Alliance eight years after this. And *Francis* did often treat, both with him and the Princes of *Germany*, about these things, and was inclined to do almost all that he did.

Ibid. 77. He says; 'The *Lutherans* did so abominate the Grounds of his 'Separation from *Rome*, that they could never be induced to approve 'it; for which he cites *Cochleus*, an Author of his own Kidney.

They did condemn the King's first Marriage as unlawful, and thought the Pope's Dispensation had no force: and so far they approved it. But they had this singular Opinion, that he should have continued unmarried as long as Q. *Katharine* lived. Yet in that they were so modest, that they only desired to be excused, as to the second Marriage: which considering that Queen *Ann* favoured their Doctrine, and that by an absolute compliance with what the King had done, they might have secured his Protection to themselves, whom otherwise they provoked highly, is an evidence of a strict adhering to what their Consciences dictated, that cannot be sufficiently commended.

Page 85. 78. He says; 'The King made many write Apologies for what he 'did; which some did willingly, being tainted with Heresy, others 'unwillingly, and for fear, as *Gardiner* and *Tonstall*.

In this he shews how little judgment he had of the Nature of things when he thinks to excuse their Writing for the King, as extorted by force: To have done it through Error and Mistake, was much the softer Excuse; but to make them Men of such prostituted Consciences, as not only to subscribe and swear, but to write with Learning and Zeal, and yet against their Consciences, represents them guilty of unexpressible baseness. Indeed *Gardiner* was a Man like enough to write any thing that

that might pleaſe the King; but *Tonſtal* was a Man of greater probity, than to have done ſo unworthy a thing upon any account whatſoever. But ſince he mentioned Writers, he ſhould have named *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, and above all, *Bonner*, who did officiouſly thruſt himſelf into the Debate, by writing a Preface to *Gardiner*'s Book, with the greateſt vehemence that could be. But the Blood he ſhed afterwards did ſo endear him to this Author, that all paſt Faults were forgiven, and to be clean forgotten.

79. He ſays; 'Five Martyrs ſuffered, becauſe they would not ſwear 'the King's Supremacy, according to the Law that was then paſſed. *Page* 86.

There was no ſuch Law made at that time, nor could any ſuch Oath be then put to them. The only Oath which the Parliament had enacted, was the Oath of the Succeſſion, and the refuſing it, was only miſpriſion of Treaſon, and was not puniſhable by Death. But it was for denying the King's Supremacy, and for writing and ſpeaking both againſt it, and his Marriage, that they ſuffered according to Law.

80. He ſays; *Cromwel* threatned the Jury, in the King's Name, with 'certain Death, if they did not bring them in Guilty. *Page* 87.

Every Body that knows the Law of *England*, will ſoon conclude this to be a Lye: for no ſuch Threatnings were ever made in Trials in this Nation: Nor was there any need at this time: for the Law was ſo plain, and their Facts ſo clearly proved, that the Jury could not refuſe to bring them in Guilty.

81. He ſays; The three *Carthuſians* that ſuffered, were made ſtand upright, and in one place, fourteen days together, with Irons about their Necks, Arms, and Legs, before they died; and then with great pomp he deſcribes their Death in all its parts, as if it had been a new-deviſed Cruelty, it being the Death which the Law appoints for Traitors. He tells, that *Cromwel* lamented that others of them had died in their Cells, and ſo prevented his Cruelty. He alſo adds a long ſtory of the ſeverities againſt the *Franciſcans*. *Pa.* 88, 89.

All this he drew from his learning in the Legend. The Engliſh Nation knows none of theſe Cruelties, in which the *Spaniſh* Inquiſitors are very expert. I find, by ſome Original Letters, that the *Carthuſians*, who were ſhut up in their Cells, lived about a Year after this; ſo if *Cromwel* had deſigned to take away their lives, he wanted not opportunities; but it appears from what *More* writ in his Impriſoument, that *Cromwel* was not a cruel Man, but on the contrary, merciful and gentle. And for the *Franciſcans*, tho they had offended the King highly, two of them railing ſpitefully at him to his Face, in his Chappel at *Greenwich*: Yet that was paſſed over with a Reproof, from which it appears that he was not eaſily provoked againſt them. So all that Relation which he gives, being without any Authority, muſt paſs for a part of the Poem.

82. He ſays; 'The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was condemned, becauſe 'he would not acknowledg the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtial Mat- 'ters.. *Page* 91.

He was never preſſed to acknowledg it, but was condemned for denying it, and ſpeaking againſt it: for had he kept his Opinion to himſelf, he could not have been queſtioned. But the denying the King's Titles, of which his being Supream Head was one, was by the Law Treaſon; ſo he was tried for ſpeaking againſt it, and not for his not acknowledging it.

Page 93. 83. 'He runs out in an high commendation of *Fiſher*, and among 'other things, mentions his Epiſcopal and Apoſtolical Charity.

His Charity was burning indeed. He was a mercileſs Proſecutor of Hereticks, ſo that the rigor of the Law, under which he fell, was the ſame meaſure that he had meaſured out to others.

Page 100. 84. *Sanders* will let the World ſee how carefully he had read the Legend, and how skilfully he could write after that Copy, in a pretty Fabulous Story concerning *More*'s Death; to whom I will deny none of the Praiſes due to his Memory, for his great Learning, and ſingular Probity: nor had he any blemiſh, but what flowed from the Leaven of that cruel Religion, which carried him to great Severities againſt thoſe that preached for a Reformation. His Daughter *Roper* was a Woman of great Vertue, and worthy of ſuch a Father, who needed none of *Sanders*'s Art to repreſent her well to the World. His Story is; 'That the 'morning her Father died, ſhe went about diſtributing all the Money 'ſhe had, in Alms to the Poor: And at laſt was at her Prayers in a 'Church, when of a ſudden ſhe remembred that ſhe had forgot to pro-'vide a Winding-ſheet for his Body; but having no more Mony left, 'and not being well known in that place, ſhe apprehended they would 'not give her credit: Yet ſhe went to a Linnen-Drapers Shop, and cal-'ling for ſo much Cloth, ſhe put her hand in her Pocket, knowing ſhe 'had nothing in it, but intending to make an excuſe, and try if they 'would truſt her. But by a Miracle ſhe found the price of the Sheet, 'and neither more nor leſs, was conveighed into her Pocket.

This is ſuch a lively eſſay of the Man's Spirit that invented it, that I leave it without any further Commentary.

Page 105. 85. He ſays; 'Lee that was not in Orders, was ſent to viſit the Mo-'naſteries, who ſollicited the Chaſtity of the Nuns.

He does not mention *Leighton* and *London*, the two chief Viſitors, for *Leighton* brought in *Lee*: but they were of the Popiſh party, and *Lee* was *Cranmer*'s Friend, therefore all muſt be laid on him. He was in Orders, and ſoon after was made Dean of *York*. I have ſeen Complaints of Dr. *London*'s ſolliciting the Nuns, yet I do not find *Lee* complained of. But ſince *London* was a perſecutor of Hereticks, ſuch a ſmall kindneſs, as the concealing his Name, and the turning the blame over on *Lee*, was not to be ſtood on among Friends, eſpecially by a Man of *Sanders*'s ingenuity.

Page 107. 86. For the correſpondence between Q. *Katherine* and Father *Foreſt*, and the Letters that paſt; ſince *Sanders* tells us not a word how he came by them, we are to look on them as a piece of the Romance.

87. He

87. He ſays; 'Ann *Boleyn* bore a monſtrous and a miſhaped Lump *Page* 114.
'of Fleſh, when the time of her bearing another Child came.
She bore a dead Child before the time, ſays *Hall*; but there was no great reproach in that, unleſs made up by *Sanders*'s wit.

88. He lays out the Buſineſs of *Ann Boleyn* with ſo much ſpite and *Page* 115.
malice, that we may eaſily ſee againſt whom he chiefly deſigned this part of his Work. He ſays; 'She was found guilty of Adultery and
'Inceſt.
There was no Evidence againſt her, but only a hear-ſay from the Lady *Wingfield*: We neither know the credit of that Lady, nor of the Perſon who related it in her Name. It is true, *Mark Smeton* did confeſs his Adultery with the Queen, but it was generally thought he was drawn into it by ſome Promiſes that were made to him, and ſo cheated out of his Life; but for the Queen, and the other four, they atteſted their Innocency to the laſt: nor would any of thoſe unfortunate Perſons redeem their Lives at ſo ignominious a rate, as to charge the Queen, whom they declared they knew to be innocent; ſo that all the Evidence againſt her, was an hear ſay of a Woman that was dead, the Confeſſion of a poor Muſician, and ſome idle words her ſelf ſpake of the Diſcourſes that had paſſed between her and ſome of thoſe Gentlemen.

89. He ſays; 'Foreigners did generally rejoice at her fall: and to *Page* 116.
'prove this, he cites *Cochleus*'s words, that only ſhew that Author's ill
'Opinion of her.
The *Germans* had ſo great a value of her, that all their Correſpondence with the King fell to the ground with her: but he may well cite *Cochleus*, an Author of the ſame honeſty with himſelf, from whoſe Writings we may with the like ſecurity make a Judgment of Foreign Matters, as we may upon *Sanders*'s Teſtimony believe the Account he gives of *Engliſh* Affairs.

90. He tells us, among other things done by the King, and picks it *Page* 117.
out as the only Inſtance he mentions of the King's Injunction, 'That
'the People ſhould be taught in Churches the Lord's Prayer, the Ave,
'the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in Engliſh.
It ſeems this Author thought the giving theſe Elements of Religion to the People in the vulgar Tongue, a very heinous Crime, when this is ſingled out from all the reſt.

91. 'That being done, he ſays, there was next a Book publiſhed, *Ibid.*
'called *Articles*, appointed by the King's Majeſty, which were the Six
'Articles.
This ſhews that he either had no information of *Engliſh* Affairs, or was ſleeping when he wrote this: for the Six Articles were not publiſhed ſoon after the Injunctions, as he makes it, by the ſame Parliament and Convocation, but three Years after, by another Parliament: They were never put in a Book, nor publiſhed in the King's Name; they were Enacted in Parliament, and are neither more nor leſs than 25 lines

lines in the first Impression of that Act; so far short come they of a Book.

Page 119. 92. He reckons up very defectively the Differences between the Church of *Rome*; and the Doctrine set forth by the King's Authority: but in one Point he shews his ordinary wit; for in the sixth particular, he says, 'He retained the Sacrament of Order, but appointed a new 'Form of Consecrating of Bishops.

This he put in out of Malice, that he might annul the Ordinations of that Time; but the thing is false: for except that the Bishops, instead of their Oaths of Obedience to the Pope, which they formerly swore, did not swear to the King, there was no other Change made; and that to be sure, is no part of the Form of Consecration.

Page 120. 93. He resolved once to speak what he thought was Truth, tho it be treasonable and impious: and says, 'Upon these Changes, many in *Lin-* '*colnshire*, and the Northern parts, did rise for Religion, and *the Faith* '*of Christ*.

This was indeed the Motive by which their seditious Priests misled them; yet he is mistaken in the Time, for it was not after the six Articles were published, but almost three Years before it. Nor was it for the Faith of Christ, which teaches us to be humble, subject, and obedient; but because the King was removing some of the Corruptions of that Faith, which their false Teachers did impiously call the Faith of Christ.

Ibid. 94. He says; 'The King did promise most faithfully, that all these 'things of which they complained, should be amended.

This is so evidently false, that it is plain *Sanders* resolved dextrously to avoid the speaking of any sort of Truth: for the King did fully and formally tell them, he would not be directed nor counselled by them in these Points they complained of, and did only offer them an Amnesty for what was past.

Page 121. 95. 'Then he reckons up 32 that died for the Defence of the '*Faith*.

They were attainted of Treason, for being in actual Rebellion against the King: and thus it appears that Rebellion was the *Faith* in his sense; and himself died for it, or rather in it, having been starved to death in a Wood, to which he fled after one of his rebellious Attempts on his Soveraign, in which he was the Pope's *Nuncio*.

Page 122. 96. He says; 'The King killed the Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his 'Uncles.

By this strange way of expressing a legal Attainder, and the execution of a Sentence for manifest Treason and Rebellion, he would insinuate on the Reader, a fancy, that one of *Bonner*'s cruel Fits had taken the King, and that he had killed those with his own hand. The Lord *Herbert* has fully opened that part of the History, from the Records that he saw; and shews that a more resolved Rebellion could not be, than that was, of which the Earl of *Kildare* and his Uncles were Guilty.

But

But becauſe they ſent to the Pope and Emperor for Aſſiſtance, the Earl 'deſiring to hold the Kingdom of *Ireland* of the Pope, ſince the King by his Hereſy had fallen from his Right to it, *Sanders* muſt needs have a great kindneſs for their Memory, who thus ſuffered for his *Faith*.

97. He ſays; 'Queen *Jane Seymour* being in hard labour of Prince *Ibid.* 'Edward, the King ordered her Body to be ſo opened by Surgeons, 'that ſhe died ſoon after.'

All this is falſe, for ſhe had a good Delivery, as many Original Letters written by her Council (that have been ſince printed) do ſhew, but ſhe died two days after of a Diſtemper incident to her Sex.

98. He ſets down ſome Paſſages of Cardinal *Pole*'s Heroical Conſtancy; which being proved by no Evidence, and not being told by any other Writer, (whom I ever ſaw) are to be look'd on as the flouriſhes of the Poet to ſet off his *Hero*. *Page* 124.

99. He would perſwade the World, that the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, the Lord *Montacute*, and the reſt that ſuffered at that Time, died, becauſe they were believed to diſlike the King's Wicked Proceedings; and that the Counteſs of *Sarum* was beheaded on this ſingle account, that ſhe was the Mother of ſuch a Son, and was ſincerely addicted to the Catholick Faith; and that ſhe was condemned becauſe ſhe wrote to her Son, and for wearing in her Breaſt, the Picture of the five Wounds of Chriſt. *Page* 125.

The Marqueſs of *Exeter* pretended he was well ſatisfied with the King's Proceedings, and was Lord *Stewart* when the Lords *Darcy* and *Huſſie* were tried, and he gave Judgment againſt them. But it being diſcovered that he and other Perſons approved of Cardinal *Pole*'s Proceedings, who endeavoured to engage all Chriſtian Princes in a League againſt the King, purſuant to which they had expreſſed themſelves, on ſeveral Occaſions, reſolved, when a fit opportunity offered it ſelf, to rebel; it was no wonder if the King proceeded againſt them according to Law. And for the Counteſs of *Sarum*, tho the legality of that Sentence paſſed againſt her cannot be defended, yet ſhe had given great offence; not only by her correſpondence with her Son, but by the Bulls ſhe had received from *Rome*, and by her oppoſing the King's Injunctions, hindring all her Tenants to read the New Teſtament, or any other Book ſet out by the King's Order. And for the Picture, which was found among her Cloaths, it having been the Standard of the Rebellion, and the Arms of *England* being found on the other ſide of it, there was juſt ground to ſuſpect an ill Deſign in it.

100. He ſays; 'The Images which the King deſtroyed, were by *Page* 129. 'many wonderful Works of God, recommended to the Devotion of 'the Nation.

All the wonder in theſe Works, was the knavery of ſome jugling Impoſtors, and the ſimplicity of a credulous multitude, of which ſee *page* 224 which being ſo openly diſcovered, nothing that had ſhame in it, could ſpeak of them as our Author does.

101. He

Page 131. 101. He ſays; 'Six and twenty Carts drawn with Oxen, were loaded 'with the Riches taken from *Thomas Becket*'s Shrine; whom he makes 'a moſt glorious Martyr, that died for the defence of *the Faith*, and 'was honoured by many Miracles after his death.

Other Writers have ſufficiently ſhewed what a perfidious, ingrateful, and turbulent Prieſt he was. All theſe were Vertues in our Author's Opinion, and Ingredients in his Faith. But he has in this Accompt of the Riches of the Shrine, gone beyond himſelf, having by a figure of Speech very familiar to him, (called Lying) increaſed two Cheſts (ſee *page* 224.) to 26 Cart Loads.

Page 132. 102. He ſays; 'The Sentence which *P. Paul* gave out againſt the 'King, was affixed in ſome Towns, both in *France*, *Flanders*, and '*Scotland*: from which he infers, that both the Emperor, the French, 'and Scotch King, did conſent to that Sentence.

In this he deſigned an eminent piece of Service to the Apoſtolick See, to leave on Record an Evidence, that three Soveraign Princes had acknowledged the Pope's Power of depoſing Kings. But he did *ill* to name the Proofs of his Aſſertion, and had done better to have ſaid ſimply that it was ſo, than to have founded it on ſo ill grounds: as if the affixing Papal Bulls in a place, were an evidence that the Princes in whoſe Dominions it was done, conſented to it. He might with the ſame reaſon have concluded, that Q. *Elizabeth* conſented to the Sentence againſt her ſelf; which it is very like will not be eaſily believed, tho the Bull was affixed in *London*. But all thoſe very Princes whom he names, continuing to keep up their correſpondence with the King, as well after as before this Sentence, is a much clearer demonſtration that they deſpiſed the Pope's Sentence.

Page 134. 103. He ſays; 'The King, by his own Authority, threw all the 'Begging Orders out of their Houſes.

The falſhood of this hath appeared already, for they reſigned their Houſes to the King: and of theſe Reſignations, tho many were deſtroyed, yet near an hundred are ſtill extant.

Ibid. 104. He ſays; 'The Parliament, in the Year 1539, gave the King 'all the great Monaſteries.

The Parliament paſſed no ſuch Act; all that they did, was only to confirm the Grants made, or to be made by theſe Houſes to the King. It was their Surrenders that cloathed the King with the Right to them. All the Tragical Stories he tells us that followed upon this, are founded on a falſe Foundation.

Page 135. 105. He ſets down a Form of a Reſignation, which he ſays, 'All the 'Abbots, and many Religious Perſons, were made to ſign and ſet their 'Seals to it.

Among all the Reſignations which are yet extant, there is not one in this Form; for which ſee *page* 238.

106. He

106. He ſays; The King's Commiſſioners, who went about getting *Page* 136.
'Hands to that Form, made them believe, in every Houſe, that all the 'reſt had ſigned it; and ſo by that, and other perſwaſions, 'prevailed 'with many to ſet their Hands to it.

If all the Subſcriptions had been procured about the ſame time, ſuch Arts might be ſuſpected; but in a Thing that was three Years a-doing, theſe tricks could not have ſerved their turn.

107. He ſays; 'They told the Monks, that tho the King might, by *Ibid.*
'virtue of the Act of Parliamet, ſeize on their Houſes and Rents, yet 'he deſired rather to do it with their good-will.

In this there are two Errors; Firſt, Moſt of theſe Houſes were reſigned to the King before the Act of Parliament, ſee *pag.* 235. And next, the Act of Parliament only confirmed their Deeds, but did not give their Houſes to the King.

108. He ſays; 'The Abbots of *Glaſſenbury*, *Colcheſter*, and *Reading*, *Page* 137.
'ſuffered Martyrdom, becauſe they refuſed to ſet their Hands to that 'Writing.

There was no ſuch Writing ever offered to them, nor was there any Law to force them to reſign: ſo they could not ſuffer on that account; but they were Martyrs for *Sanders's Faith*, for they were attainted by a leagal Trial of High Treaſon.

109. 'He tells a long Story of *Whitting* Abbot of *Glaſſenbury*'s being *Page* 138.
'brought up to *London*, to be prevailed with to ſet his hand to the Sur-'render. Which he ſtill refuſing to do, was ſent back; and tho a 'Book againſt the King's Divorce was found among his Papers, which 'was laid there by thoſe who ſearched for it; yet that was paſt over in a 'chiding: but as he went home, hearing there was a meeting of the 'County at *Wells*, he went thither; and as he was going up to his place 'on the Bench, he was called to the Bar to anſwer ſome things that were 'to be objected to him: He was amazed at it, and asked what the mat-'ter was? But one told him, he needed fear nothing, for ſomewhat 'was only to be done for form to terrify others: Upon which he was 'condemned and ſent away to his Abbey, little thinking he was ſo near 'his end; but when he came near it, a Prieſt was ſent to him to take 'his Confeſſion, for they told him he muſt die immediately; he begg'd 'a day or two's reſpite, but in vain: ſo they hang'd him up in his Ha-'bit, on the top of the Hill near his Abbey, and quartered him; and 'all this was done in one day.

This Book came out in Forreign Parts, and was printed at *Rome*, in the Reign of *Sixtus* the Fifth, who took great pleaſure in ſuch Executions, as he deſcribes this to have been; which may fall oft out, where the lives of the Subjects are wholly at the Princes Mercy: But to tell ſuch Tales of *England*, which is ſo famed over the World for the ſafety and ſecurity the Subjects enjoy, and for the regular and legal proceedings in all Trials, eſpecially of Life and Death, was a great Error in the Poet; for the *decorum* of the Laws and Cuſtoms of a place muſt be obſerved, when any Nation is made the Scene of a Fable. But as no-

thing like this can be done by the Law of *England*, so there was nothing of it in this Case: The Jury that sate on him, were men of great credit in the Country: when he died, he acknowledged his Offences; and with appearance of repentance, begged God's Pardon, and the King's: see *pag.* 239.

Page 145. 110. After many bitter Invectives against *Cromwel*, for which I could never see good Evidence, tho I cannot disprove them by any convincing Arguments, he says, 'That he advised the King to make a Law, that 'Persons might be Convented and Condemned in absence, and with-'out being heard: and that this Law first of all fell upon him-'self.

There was no such Law ever made, only the Parliament by their Supream Authority, did Attaint some in that manner, but no other Court might do it. Nor was this first applied to *Cromwel*; for a Year before his Attainder, the Countess of *Sarum*, with a great many more, were so attainted, tho she did not suffer till a Year after him.

Ibid. 111. He tells many Reasons why the King had a mind to put away *Ann* of *Cleve*: But in this, as in other things, he betrays a profound ignorance of that Time; for every Body knew, that the King, from the first time he saw her, disliked her, and that he never consummated the Marriage.

This is a Subject not fit to be long dwelt on; but if any will compare the Account I give of this Matter from the Records, with *Sanders*'s Tale, they will see that he wrote at random, and did not so much as know Publick Transactions.

Page 146. 112. He says; The King had promised to the Emperor, That he 'would no longer continue in the *Smalcaldick* League; but *Cromwel* 'counterfeited the King's Hand, to a new confirmation of it; which 'coming to the Emperor's knowledg, he challenged the King of it; 'and sent him over a Copy of it; upon which the King disowned it, 'and cast it on *Cromwel*; and that this was the cause of his fall.

This I believe is one of *Sanders*'s Dreams; there is not one word of it in *Cromwel*'s Attainder; nor do I find the least shadow of this in some Original Letters which he wrote to the King for his Pardon, in which he answers many of the things laid to his Charge. Nor is it likely he would adventure on so bold a thing, with such a King; nor could the Emperor have that Writing in his power, as long as the King lived; for it is not to be imagined how he could come by it, till he had taken the Duke of *Saxony* Prisoner, which was after this King's Death.

Page 148. 113. He says; 'When *Cromwel* was put to death, the King proceed-'ed to the Divorce of *Ann* of *Cleve*.

The Divorce was judged by the Convocation, eight days before *Cromwel*'s Death, and confirmed in Parliament, which was dissolved before he suffered.

114. He says; 'The King sent to her, to tell her, he had a mind to 'be separated from her; and tho he could proceed more severely

'against

'against her, since he knew she was an Heretick; yet for her Families 'sake, he left it to her self to devise any Reason for their Divorce; 'Upon which she came next day to the Senate, (which may be either 'the King's Council, or the Parliament) and confessed she had been 'married to another before she was married to the King; and there- 'upon, by the Authority of Parliament, he was divorced, and within 'eight days married *Katherine Howard.*

There are but six gross Errors in this Period. 1. The King sent not any Message to her, nor came there any Answer from her, till the Sentence of Divorce was quite passed. 2. In the Original Letter with those he sent to her, wrote to him from *Richmond*, it appears that they used no threatnings to her, but barely told her what was done; to which she acquiesced. 3. She never came from *Richmond* in all that Process, and so made no such declaration in the Senate. 4 She did not say that she was married to another, but only that she had been contracted to the Prince of *Lorrain* when she was under Age. 5. The Parliament did not dissolve the Marriage, but only confirmed the Sentence of the Convocation. 6. The King did not marry *Katherine Howard* before the 8*th* of *August*, and the Divorce was Judged the 10*th* of *July*, a month wanting two days.

115. He says; 'The King had consummated the Marriage for seven 'months together. *Page* 149.

There were but six months between his Marriage and the Divorce; and in all that while, as they bedded but seldom, so there were very clear Evidences brought, that it was not consummated.

116. He says; 'The King sent the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Hen-* 'ry *Knevet*, to the Diet of the Empire; who were ordered to propose 'to the Emperor, that the King might be again reconciled to the See 'of *Rome*; to which, he adds, his Conscience did drive him: but since 'the King would not confess his past Crimes, nor do penance for them, 'nor restore the Goods of the Church, it came to nothing. *Page* 151.

This is another Ornament of the Fable, to shew the Poet's wit; but is as void of Truth, as any passage in *Plautus* or *Terence* is. For the King was all his Life so intractable in that Point, that the Popish Party had no other way to maintain their Interest with him, but to comply, not without affectation in that Matter: and when an Information was given against *Gardiner* for his holding some correspondence with the Pope's Legate at the Diet, he got the Man who had innocently discovered it, to be put in Prison; and said, it was a Plot against him to ruin him, which he needed not be so sollicitous about, if his Instructions from the King had allowed him to enter on such a Treaty.

117. He runs out in a long digression, upon the King's assuming the Title of King of *Ireland*; to shew that the Kings of *England* only hold *Ireland* by the Pope's Donation. *Page* 153.

In this *Sanders* shews his Art, he being to carry the Standard of Rebellion in that Kingdom, to blast the King's Right to it. He acknowledges the Crown of *England* had the Dominion of *Ireland*, with the Title of *Lord of Ireland*, about 400 Years; And certainly if so long a possession

does not give a good Title, and a preſcription againſt all other Pretenders, moſt of the Royal Families in Chriſtendom will be to ſeek for their Rights. But he ſays, It was given by the Pope to King *Henry* the Second; and yet he confeſſes that he had conquered ſome parts of it, before that Grant was ſent him by *Hadrian* the Fourth. Certainly King *Henry* the Second had as good a right to take it, as Pope *Hadrian* had to give it: Nor was the King's accepting the Pope's Donation, any prejudice to his Title: for things extorted or allowed upon a publick Error, can have no force, when that is openly diſcovered. If then the Superſtition of thoſe Ages, made, that the Pope's Donation was a great help to any Pretender, it was no wonder that Kings made uſe of it; but it were a wonder indeed if they ſhould acknowledg it, after the Trick is known and ſeen by all.

Page 162. 118. After this, and a Satyr againſt Queen *Elizabeth* for aſſuming the Title, *Defender of the Faith*, and a long enumeration of the exactions in the laſt Years of this Reign; in which tho there is matter enough for ſevere Complaints, yet many of the Particulars he mentions are without any proof, and muſt reſt on the Author's credit; which by this time, the Reader will acknowledg is not very great. Another long diſcourſe of ſome length follows, of the Misfortunes of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and of all that ſerved the King in his Divorce, and in the following Actions of his Life: from which he infers, that theſe were effects of a Curſe from Heaven upon all that he did, and on all thoſe that aſſiſted him: But as the Inference is bad, ſo he forgot to mention thoſe Noble Families that were raiſed in his Time, and have continued ſince in great Honour; as the *Seymours*, from whom the Dukes of *Somerſet* are deſcended; the *Paulets*, from whom the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* derives; the *Ruſſels*, *Wriothſlies*, *Herberts*, *Riches*, and *Cromwells*, from whom the Earls of *Bedford*, *Southampton*, *Pembroke*, *Eſſex*, and *Ardglaſs* have deſcended; and the *Browns*, the *Petres*, the *Pagets*, the *Norths*, and the *Montagues*, from whom the Vice-Count *Mountague*, the Barons *Petre*, *Paget*, *North*, and *Mountague*, are deſcended. Theſe Families have now flouriſhed in great Wealth and Honour an Age and a half; and only one of them has, and that but very lately determined in the Male Line: but the Illuſtrious Female Branches of it are intermixed with other Noble Families. So that the Obſervation is falſe, and the Inference is weak.

Page 164. 119. He ſays; 'When the King found his ſtrength declining, he had 'again ſome thoughts of reconciling himſelf to the Church of *Rome*; 'which when it was propoſed to one of the Biſhops, he made a flat- 'tering Anſwer. But *Gardiner* moved that a Parliament might be cal- 'led for doing it: and that the King for the quiet of his own Conſci- 'ence, would vow to do it; of which God would accept in that extremi- 'ty, when more was not poſſible to be done. But ſome of his Cour- 'tiers coming about him, who were very apprehenſive of ſuch a Re- 'conciliation, leſt they ſhould have been made reſtore the Goods of 'the Church, diverted the King from it: And from this our Author 'infers, that what the King had done, was againſt his Conſcience, and 'that ſo he ſinned the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

I ſhall not examine this Theological Definition of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt; for my Quarrel is not at preſent with his Divinity, but with his Hiſtory, tho it were eaſy to ſhew that he is alike at both. But for this Story, it is a pure Dream; for not only there is no Evidence for it, nor did *Gardiner* in the Reign of Queen *Mary* ever own any ſuch thing, tho it had been then much for the credit of their Cauſe, eſpecially he being often upbraided with his compliances to this King, for which the mention of his Repentance had furniſhed him with a good Anſwer: But as the Tale is told, the Fiction appears too plainly, for a Parliament was actually ſitting during the Kings Sickneſs, which was diſſolved by his Death, and no ſuch Propoſition was made in it. The King on the contrary deſtroyed the chief hopes of the Popiſh Party, which were founded on the Duke of *Norfolk*'s greatneſs, by the Attainder which was paſſed a day before he died. And yet *Sanders* makes this Diſcourſe to have been between the King and *Gardiner* after his fall, and his Sons Death, between which, and the King's Death, there were only nine days: but beſides all this, *Gardiner* had loſt the King's Favour a conſiderable time before his Death.

120. He ſays; 'The King, that he might not ſeem never to have *Page 166.*
'done any good Work in his whole Life, as he was dying, founded
'*Chriſt's Church Hoſpital in London*; which was all the Reſtitution he
'ever made for the Monaſteries and Churches he had robbed and ſpoi-
'led.

If it had not already appeared, in many Inſtances, that our Author had as little ſhame as honeſty, here is a ſufficient proof of it. I will not undertake to juſtify the King, as if he had done what he ought to have done, in his new Foundations: But it is the height of impudence to deny things that all *England* knows. He founded ſix Biſhopricks; he endowed Deans and Prebendaries, with all the other Offices belonging to a Cathedral, in fourteen ſeveral Sees, *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Dureſme*, *Ely*, *Norwich*, *Rocheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Carliſle*; together with *Weſtminſter*, *Cheſter*, *Oxford*, *Gloceſter*, *Peterborough*, and *Briſtol*, where he endowed Biſhopricks likewiſe. He founded many Grammar Schools, as *Burton*, *Canterbury*, *Coventry*, *Worceſter*, &c. He founded and endowed *Trinity Colledg* in *Cambridg*, which is one of the nobleſt Foundations in Chriſtendom. He alſo founded Profeſſors in both Univerſities, for *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Law*, *Phyſick*, and *Divinity*. What cenſure then deſerves our Author, for ſaying, That the Hoſpital of *Chriſt's Church* was all the Reſtitution he ever made of the Church-Lands?

121. He gives a Character of the King, which ſuits very well with his *Ibid.*
Hiſtory, his Malice in it being extravagantly ridiculous. Among other things, he ſays, 'The King promoted always learned Biſhops, *Cranmer*
'only being excepted, whom he advanced to ſerve his Luſts.

Cranmer was a Man of greater Learning than any that ever ſate in that See before him, as appears in every thing that he writ: *Tonſtal* was a learned Man, and *Gardiner* was much eſteemed for Learning; yet if any will compare *Cranmer*'s Books of the Sacrament, with thoſe the other two writ on the ſame ſubject; there is ſo great a difference between

tween the learning and ſolidity of the one and the other, that no Man of common ingenuity can read them, but he muſt confeſs it.

Page 170. 122. He ſays; 'When the King found himſelf expiring, he called 'for a Boul of White-Wine, and ſaid to one that was near him, *We 'have loſt all*: and was often heard repeating *Monks*, *Monks*, and ſo 'he died.

This was to make the Fable end as it had gone on, and it is forged without any authority or appearance of Truth. The manner of his Death was already told, ſo it needs not be repeated.

Page 172. 123. He ſays; 'The King by his Will appointed the Crown to go 'to his Righteous Heirs after his three Children, and commanded his 'Son to be bred a true Catholick: but his Will was changed, and ano-'ther was forged, by which the Line of *Scotland* was excluded, and 'they bred his Son a Heretick.

There was no ſuch Will ever heard of; and in all the Debates that were managed in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign about the Succeſſion, thoſe that pleaded for the *Scotiſh* Line, never alledged this; which had it been true, did put an end to the whole Controverſy. It was indeed ſaid, that the Will which was given out as the King's Will, was not ſigned by his Hand, nor ſealed by his Order, but it was never pretended that there was any other Will: ſo this is one of our Author's Forgeries.

The Concluſion.

THus I have traced him in this Hiſtory, and hope I have ſaid much more than was neceſſary to prove him a Writer of no credit, and that his Book ought to have no Authority; ſince he was not only a ſtranger to the Publick Tranſactions, Printed Statutes, and the other Authentick Regiſters of that Time, but was a bold and impudent Aſſerter of the groſſeſt and moſt malicious Lies, that ever were contrived. I have not examined all the Errors of his Chronology, for there is ſcarce any thing told in its right order, and due place; nor have I inſiſted on all the Paſſages he tells, without any proof, or appearance of truth; for as I could only deny theſe without any other evidence but what was negative, ſo there are ſo many of them, that I muſt have tranſcribed the greateſt part of his Book, if I had conſidered them all. I have therefore only ſingled out theſe Paſſages, which I had in the former Hiſtory demonſtrated to be falſe: and theſe are both ſo many and ſo important, that I am ſure, enough is ſaid to deſtroy the Credit of that Author, and of his Book, which has too long deceived the World. And what is performed in this firſt Part, will I hope diſpoſſeſs the Reader of any ill Impreſſions the following Parts of that Work have made on him, concerning the ſucceeding Reigns, of which an Account ſhall be given, as ſoon as it poſſibly can be made ready.

I

I ſhall eſteem my Time, to have been well employed, and my pains rightly placed, if my Endeavours have ſo good an effect, as to take off the unjuſt Prejudices which ſome may have conceived at the Charges that were then made in Religion, or at the beginnings of them; which being repreſented by this Author, and upon his Teſtimony by many other Writers, in ſuch odious Characters to the World, are generally ſo ill looked on.

The Work it ſelf was ſo good, done upon ſo much Reaſon, managed with ſuch Care, directed by ſuch Wiſdom, and tempered with ſo great Moderation, that thoſe who intended to blaſt it, did very wiſely to load it with ſome ſuch Prejudices: for if without theſe, the thing it ſelf be examined by Men of a candid temper and ſolid Judgment, the Oppoſers of it know well where the Truth lies; and on whoſe ſide, both the Scriptures, and the beſt Ages of the Primitive Church have declared. But it was not fit to put a Queſtion of ſuch importance, on ſo doubtful and ſo dangerous an iſſue: therefore it was well conſidered by them, that ſome popular and eaſily underſtood Calumnies, to diſgrace the beginnings of it, and the Perſons that were moſt imployed in it, were to be faſtned on them: and if theſe could be once generally received, then Men might be alienated from it by a ſhorter way, than could be done by the dull and unſucceſsful methods of Reaſon. Therefore as the Cauſe of our Church hath been often vindicated, by the learned Books that have been publiſhed in it; and never with more ſucceſs, and a clearer victory, than of late, in the elaborate Writings (which are never to be mentioned but with honour) of the renowned Dr. *Stillingfleet*; ſo I judged it might not be an unuſeful and unacceptable Work (which tho it be of a lower form, and ſo moſt ſuitable to my Genius, yet will be of general uſe) to employ the leiſure I enjoy, and the ſmall Talent committed to me, in examining and opening the Tranſactions of thoſe Times: And if thoſe who read it, are diſpoſſeſſed of their Prejudices, and inclined to conſider things as they are now ſet before them, in a truer light, I have gained my end in it.

The Truths of Religion need no ſupport from the Father of Lyes. A Religion made up of Falſhoods and Impoſtures, muſt be maintained by Means ſuitable to it ſelf: So *Sanders*'s Book might well ſerve the ends of that Church, which has all along raiſed its greatneſs by publick Cheats and Forgeries; ſuch as the Donation of *Conſtantine*, and the Book of the *Decretals*; Beſides the vaſt number of Miracles and Viſions that were for many Ages made uſe of by them; of which even the moſt diſingenuous of their own Writers begin to be now aſhamed. But the Reformation of Religion was a Work of Light, and needs none of the Arts of Darkneſs to juſtify it by. A full and diſtinct Narrative of what was then done, will be its Apology, as well as its Hiſtory. There is no need of Artifice, but only of Induſtry, and Sincerity, to gather together all the remains of that Time, and put them in good order.

I am now beginning to look towards the next, and indeed the beſt part of this Work: Where, in the firſt Reign, we ſhall obſerve the active endeavours

endeavours of thoſe Reſtorers of Religion. The next Reign affords a ſadder proſpect of that Work laid in Ruins, and the Authors of it in Aſhes; but the Fires that conſumed them, did rather ſpread than extinguiſh that Light which they had kindled. And what is fabled of the *Phœnix*, will be found true of our Church, That ſhe roſe new out of theſe Aſhes, into which ſhe ſeemed conſumed.

Towards the perfecting this Hiſtory, I hope all that love the Subject of it, will contribute their Endeavours, and furniſh everything that is in their power, which may make it fuller or clearer: So I end with that deſire which I made in the Preface, that any who have in their Hands any Papers relating to theſe Times, will be pleaſed to communicate them; and what-ever aſſiſtance they give to it, ſhall be moſt thankfully owned and acknowledged.

The End of the Appendix.

Addenda.

ADDENDA.

Numb. I. *ARTICLES about Religion, ſet out by the Convocation, and publiſhed by the Kings Authority.*

AN ORIGINAL.

HENRY the Eight, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth Supream Head of the Church of *England*, to all and ſingular our moſt loving, faithful and obedient Subjects, greeting. Amongſt other Cures committed unto this our Princely Office, whereunto it hath pleaſed God of his infinite mercy and goodneſs to call us, we have always eſteemed and thought (as we alſo yet eſteem and think) this to be moſt chief, moſt ponderous, and of moſt weight, that his Holy Word and Commandments may ſincerely without let or hindrance, be of our Subjects truly believed, and reverently kept and obſerved; and that Unity and Concord in Opinions, namely in ſuch things as does concern our Religion, may encreaſe and go furthward, and all occaſion of Diſſent and Diſcord touching the ſame be repreſſed, and uterly extinguiſhed; for the which cauſe we being of late, to our great regret, credibly advertiſed of ſuch diverſity in Opinions, as have grown and ſprongen in this our Realm, as well concerning certain Articles neceſſary to our Salvation, as alſo touching certain honeſt and commendable Ceremonies, Rites, and Uſages in our ſaid Church, for an honeſt policy, and decent order heretofore of long time uſed and accuſtomed; minding to have that unity and agreement eſtabliſhed through our ſaid Church concerning the premiſſes: and being very deſirous to eſchew not only the dangers of Souls, but alſo the outward inquietneſs which by occaſion of the ſaid diverſity in Opinions (if remedy had not been provided) might perchance have enſued; have not only in our own perſon many times taken great pain, ſtudy, labour and travails, but alſo have cauſed our Biſhops and other the moſt diſcreet and beſt learned men of our Clergy of this our whole Realm to be aſſembled in our Convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the ſame: where after long and mature deliberation and diſputations, had of and upon the premiſſes, finally they have concluded and agreed upon the ſaid matters, as well thoſe which be commanded of God, and are neceſſary to our Salvation, as alſo the other touching the honeſt Ceremonies, and good and politick Order, as is aforeſaid; which their determination, debatement, and agreement, forasmuch as we think to have proceeded of a good, right and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the Laws and Ordinances of God, and

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

much profitable for the eſtabliſhment of that charitable concord and unity in our Church of *England*, which we moſt deſire, we have cauſed the ſame to be publiſhed, willing, requiring and commanding you to accept, repute, and take them accordingly; moſt heartily deſiring and praying Almighty God, that it may pleaſe him ſo to illumin your hearts, that you, and every of you, may have no leſs deſire, zeal, and love to the ſaid Unity and Concord, in reading, divulging, and following the ſame, then we have had and have, cauſing them to be thus deviſed, ſet forth and publiſhed. And for becauſe we would the ſaid Articles, and every of them, to be taken and underſtanden of you after ſuch ſort, order, and degree as appertaineth accordingly; We have cauſed by the like aſſent and agreement of our ſaid Biſhops and other Learned Men, the ſaid Articles to be divided into two ſorts, that is to ſay, ſuch as are commanded expreſly by God, and are neceſſary to our Salvation, and ſuch other, as although they be not expreſly commanded of God, nor neceſſary to our Salvation; yet being of a long continuance for a decent order and honeſt policy, prudently inſtituted, are for that ſame purpoſe and end to be obſerved in like manner; which ye following, after ſuch ſort as we have preſcribed unto you, ſhall not only attain that moſt charitable Unity and loving Concord, whereof ſhall enſue your incomparable commodity, profit, and lucre, as well ſpiritual as other; but alſo ye conforming your ſelves, and uſing theſe our ſaid Articles as is aforeſaid, ſhall not a little encourage us to take further travel, pains and labours for your commodities in all ſuch other matters, as in time to come may happen to occur, and as it ſhall be moſt to the honour of God and ours, the profit, tranquillity, and quietneſs of all you our moſt loving Subjects.

The Articles of our Faith.

F*Irſt*, As touching the chief and principal Articles of our Faith, ſith it is thus agreed as hereafter followeth by the whole Clergy of this our Realm, we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People, by us committed to their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and muſt moſt conſtantly believe and defend all thoſe things to be true, which be comprehended in the whole body and Canon of the Bible, and alſo in the three Creeds or Symbols, whereof one was made by the Apoſtles, and is the common Creed which every man uſeth; the ſecond was made in the Holy Council of *Nice*, and is ſaid daily in the Maſs; and the third was made by *Athanaſius*, and is comprehended in the Pſalm *Quicunque vult*; and that they ought and muſt take and interpret all the ſame things according to the ſelf-ſame ſentence and interpretation, which the words of the ſelf-ſame Creeds or Symbols do purport, and the Holy approved Doctors of the Church do intreat and defend the ſame.

Item, That they ought and muſt repute, hold and take all the ſame things for the moſt Holy, moſt ſure, and moſt certain, and infallible words of God, and ſuch as neither ought, ne can be altered or convelled by any contrary Opinion or Authority.

Item,

Item, That they ought and muſt believe, repute and take all the Articles of our Faith contained in the ſaid Creeds to be ſo neceſſary to be believed for man's Salvation, that whoſoever being taught will not believe them as is aforeſaid, or will obſtinately affirm the contrary of them, he or they cannot be the very members of Chriſt and his Spouſe the Church, but be very Infidels or Hereticks, and members of the Devil, with whom they ſhall perpetually be Damned.

Item, That they ought and muſt moſt reverently and religiouſly obſerve and keep the ſelf ſame words, according to the very ſame form and manner of ſpeaking, as the Articles of our Faith be already conceived and expreſſed in the ſaid Creeds, without altering in any wiſe or varying from the ſame.

Item, That they ought and muſt utterly refuſe and condemn all theſe opinions contrary to the ſaid Articles, which were of long time paſt condemned in the four Holy Councils, that is to ſay, in the Council of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, and *Chalcidonenſe*, and all other ſith that time in any point conſonant to the ſame.

The Sacrament of Baptiſm.

Secondly, As touching the Holy Sacrament of Baptiſm, we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and muſt of neceſſity believe certainly all thoſe things, which hath been always by the whole conſent of the Church approved, received and uſed in the Sacrament of Baptiſm; that is to ſay, that the Sacrament of Baptiſm was inſtituted and ordained in the New Teſtament by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as a thing neceſſary for the attaining of everlaſting life according to the ſaying of Chriſt, *Niſi quis renatus fuerit ex Aqua & Spiritu Sancto, non poteſt intrare in Regnum cœlorum.*

Item, That it is offered unto all men, as well Infants as ſuch as have the uſe of Reaſon, that by Baptiſm they ſhall have remiſſion of Sins, and the grace and favour of God, according to the ſaying of St. *John*, *Qui crediderit & Baptizatus fuerit Salvus erit.*

Item, That the promiſe of Grace and everlaſting Life, which promiſe is adjoyned unto the Sacrament of Baptiſm, pertaineth not only unto ſuch as have the uſe of Reaſon, but alſo to Infants, Innocents, and Children; and they ought therefore and muſt needs be Baptiſed: and that by the Sacrament of Baptiſm they do alſo obtain remiſſion of their Sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very Sons and Children of God, inſomuch as Infants and Children dying in their Infancy ſhall undoubtedly be ſaved thereby, or elſe not.

Item, That Infants muſt needs be Chriſtened becauſe they be born in Original Sin, which Sin muſt needs be remitted; which cannot be done but by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, whereby they receive the Holy Ghoſt

which exerciseth his Grace and Efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from Sin by his most secret vertue and operation.

Item, That Children or Men once Baptized, can, ne ought ever to be Baptized again.

Item, That they ought to repute, and take all the Anabaptists and the Pelagians opinions contrary to the premisses, and every other Mans opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists or the Pelagians opinions in this behalf, for detestable Heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

Item, That Men or Children having the use of Reason, and willing and desiring to be Baptized, shall by the virtue of that holy Sacrament obtain the grace and remission of all their Sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite of all their Sins before committed, and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the Articles of our Faith, according as it was mentioned in the Article before, or else not.

And finally, if they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God adjoyned to the said Sacrament, that is to say, that in and by this said Sacrament, which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them for his Son Jesus Christs sake, remission of all their Sins, and the Grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very Children of God, according to the saying of Christ and his Apostle St. *Peter*, *Pœnitentiam agite & Baptizetur unusquisqu vestrum in nomine Jesu Christi in remissionem peccatorum, & accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti*, and according also to the saying of St. *Paul ad Titum* 3 *non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam, salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis & renovationis Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos opilenter per Jesum Christum servatorem nostrum, ut justificati illius gratia hæredes efficiamur juxta spem vitæ eternæ.*

The Sacrament of Penance.

Thirdly, Concerning the Sacrament of Penance, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe, that that Sacrament was instituted of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for mans Salvation, that no man which after his Baptism is fallen again and hath committed deadly Sin, can without the same be saved, or obtain everlasting Life.

Item, That like as such men which after Baptism do fall again into Sin, if they do not Pennance in this Life, shall undoubtedly be damned; even so whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from the said naughty Life, and do such Pennance for the same as Christ requireth of them, they shall without doubt attain remission of their Sins and shall be saved.

Item, That this Sacrament of perfect Penance which Christ requireth

eth of ſuch manner of perſons, conſiſteth of three parts, that is to ſay, Contrition, Confeſſion, with the amendment of the former Life, and a new obedient reconciliation unto the Laws and Will of God, that is to ſay, exteriour Acts in works of Charity according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture, *fructus digni pœnitentia.*

Furthermore, as touching Contrition, which is the firſt part, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that the ſaid Contrition conſiſteth in two ſpecial parts, which muſt always be conjoined together and cannot be diſlevered; that is to ſay, the penitent and contrite man muſt firſt knowledg the filthineſs and abomination of his own Sin, whereunto he is brought by hearing and conſidering of the Will of God declared in his Laws, and feeling and perceiving in his own conſcience that God is angry and diſpleaſed with him for the ſame; he muſt alſo conceive not only great ſorrow and inward ſhame that he hath ſo grievouſly offended God, but alſo great fear of Gods diſpleaſure towards him, conſidering he hath no works or merits of his own which he may worthily lay before God as ſufficient ſatisfaction for his Sins; which done, then afterwards with this fear, ſhame and ſorrow muſt needs ſucceed and be conjoyned, The ſecond part, *viz.* a certain faith, truſt and confidence of the mercy and goodneſs of God, whereby the penitent muſt conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his Sins, and repute him juſtified and of the number of his Elect Children, not for the worthineſs of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and paſſion of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Item, That this certain faith and hope is gotten and alſo confirmed, and made more ſtrong by the applying of Chriſts words and promiſe, of his grace and favour contained in his Goſpel, and the Sacraments inſtituted by him in the New Teſtament; and therefore to attain this certain faith, the ſecond part of Penance is neceſſary, that is to ſay, Confeſſion to a Prieſt if it may be had; for the Abſolution given by the Prieſt was inſtituted of Chriſt to apply the promiſes of God's grace and favours to the Penitent.

Wherefore as touching Confeſſion, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed by us to their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and muſt certainly believe that the words of Abſolution pronounced by the Prieſt, be ſpoken by the Authority given to him by Chriſt in the Goſpel.

Item, That they ought and muſt give no leſs faith and credance to the ſame words of Abſolution ſo pronounced by the Miniſters of the Church, than they would give unto the very words and voyce of God himſelf if he ſhould ſpeak unto us out of Heaven, according to the ſaying of Chriſt, *Quorum remiſeritis peccata*, &c. *& qui vos audit me audit.*

Item, That in no ways they do contemn this Auricular Confeſſion which is made unto the Miniſters of the Church, but that they ought to

to repute the ſame a very expedient and neceſſary mean, whereby they may require and ask this Abſolution at the Prieſts hands, at ſuch time as they ſhall find their Conſciences grieved with mortal Sin, and have occaſion ſo to do, to the intent they may thereby attain certain comfort and conſolation of their Conſciences.

As touching the third part of Penance, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed by us to their ſpiritual charge, that although Chriſt and his death be the ſufficient Oblation, Sacrifice, Satisfaction, and Recompence, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all ſinners not only their ſin, but alſo Eternal Pain due for the ſame; yet all men truly penitent, contrite and confeſſed, muſt needs alſo bring forth the fruits of Penance, that is to ſay, Prayer, Faſting, Almſdeeds, and muſt make Reſtitution or Satisfaction in will and deed to their Neighbour, in ſuch things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and alſo muſt do all other good works of mercy and charity, and expreſs their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of God's Commandments outwardly, when time, power and occaſion ſhall be Miniſtred unto them, or elſe they ſhall never be ſaved; for this is the expreſs Precept and Commandment of God, *Agite fructus dignos pœnitentiæ*; and St. *Paul* ſaith, *Debitores ſumus*, and in another place he ſaith, *Caſtigo corpus meum & in ſervitutem redigo.*

Item, That theſe precepts and works of Charity be neceſſary works to our Salvation, and God neceſſarily requireth that every penitent man ſhall perform the ſame, whenſoever time, power, and occaſion ſhall be miniſtred unto him ſo to do.

Item, That by Penance and ſuch good works of the ſame, we ſhall not only obtain everlaſting Life; but alſo we ſhall deſerve remiſſion or mitigation of theſe preſent pains and afflictions in this World, according to the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *Si nos ipſi judicaremus, non judicaremur, a Domino*; & Zacharias, *Convertimini ad me & ego convertar ad vos*; & Eſajas 58. *frange eſurienti panem tuum* &c. *tunc uris velut hortos irriguus. Hæc ſunt inculcanda eccleſiis & ut exercitentur ad bene operandum, & in his ipſis operibus exerceant & confirment fidem, petentes & expectantes a Deo mitigationem præſentium calamitatum.*

The Sacrament of the Altar.

FOurthly, As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that they ought and muſt conſtantly believe that under the form and figure of Bread and Wine, which we there preſently do ſee and perceive by our outwand ſenſes, is verily, ſubſtantially, and really contained and comprehended, the very ſelf-ſame body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt which was born of the Virgin *Mary* and ſuffered upon the croſs of our Redemption, and that under the ſame form and figure of Bread and Wine, the very ſelf-ſame body and blood of Chriſt is corporally, really, and in the very ſubſtance exhibited, diſtributed and received of all them which receive the ſaid

ſaid Sacrament; and that therefore the ſaid Sacrament is to be uſed with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought firſt to prove and examine himſelf, and religiouſly to try and ſearch his own Conſcience, before he ſhall receive the ſame; according to the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *Quiſquis ederit panem hunc aut biberit de poculo Domini indigne, reus erit corporis & ſanguinis Domini: probet autem ſeipſum homo, & ſic de pane illo edat & de poculo illo bibat: nam qui edit aut bibit indigne, judicium ſibiipſi manducat & bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini.*

Juſtification.

FIfthly, As touching the order and cauſe of our Juſtification, we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that this word Juſtification ſignifieth remiſſion of our Sins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to ſay, our perfect renovation in Chriſt.

Item, That ſinners attain this Juſtification by Contrition and Faith joyned with Charity, after ſuch ſort and manner as we before mentioned and declared; not as though our Contrition, or Faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deſerve to attain the ſaid Juſtification; for the only mercy and grace of the Father, promiſed freely unto us for his Sons ſake Jeſus Chriſt, and the merits of his blood and paſſion be the only ſufficient and worthy cauſes thereof; and yet that notwithſtanding, to the attaining of the ſaid Juſtification, God requireth to be in us not only inward Contrition, perfect Faith, and Charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other ſpiritual graces and motions, which, as we ſaid before, muſt neceſſarily concur in remiſſion of our Sins, that is to ſay, our Juſtification: but alſo he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be juſtified we muſt alſo have good works of charity, and obedience towards God, in the obſerving and fulfilling outwardly of his Laws and Commandments: for although acceptation to everlaſting Life be conjoyned with Juſtification, yet our good works be neceſſarily required to the attaining of everlaſting Life; and we being juſtified, be neceſſarily bound, and it is our neceſſary duty to do good works, according to the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *Debitores ſumus non carni ut ſecundum carnem vivamus, nam ſi ſecundum carnem vixerimus moriemur, ſin autem ſpiritu facta corporis, mortificaverimus, vivemus; etenim quicunque ſpiritu Dei ducuntur hi ſunt filii Dei*: and Chriſt ſaith, *ſi vis ad vitam ingredi ſerva mandata*: and St. *Paul* ſaith, *de malis operibus, qui talia agunt Regnum Dei non poſſidebunt.* Wherefore we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that God neceſſarily requireth of us to do good works commanded by him; and that not only outward and civil works, but alſo the inward ſpiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghoſt; that is to ſay, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and truſt in God, to invocate and call upon God, to have patience in all adverſities, to hate Sin, and to have certain purpoſe and will not to ſin again, and ſuch other like motions, and vertues: for Chriſt ſaith, *Niſi abundaverit*

rit justitia vestra plusquam Scribarum & Pharisæorum, non intrabitis in Regnum Cœlorum; That is to say, we must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions consenting and agreeable to the Law of God.

Of Images.

AS touching Images, truth it is that the same have been used in the old Testament, and also for the greater abuses of them sometimes destroyed and put down; and in the new Testament they have been also allowed, as good Authors do declare. Wherefore we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People, committed by us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And *First*, That this may be attributed unto them, that they be representers of vertue and good example, and that they also be by occasion the kindlers and stirers of Mens minds, and make Men often remember and lament their Sins and Offences, especially the Images of Christ and our Lady; and that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the Churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed: And to the intent the rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition, as in time past it is thought that the same hath used to do, we will that our Bishops and Preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this Doctrine reform their abuses; for else there might fortune Idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for Censing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entred by devotion, and fallen to custome; yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no ways do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same Images, but only to be done to God, and in his Honour, although it be done before the Images, whether it be of Christ, of the Cross, or of our Lady, or of any other Saint beside.

Of Honouring of Saints.

AS touching the Honouring of Saints, we will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach Our People, committed by Us unto their Spiritual Charge, that Saints now being with Christ in Heaven, be to be honoured of Christian People on Earth; but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had only of God, but that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the Elect Persons of Christ, because they be passed in Godly Life out of this transitory World, because they already do Reign in Glory with Christ: and most specially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent vertues which he planted in them, for example, of and by them to such as are yet in this World to live in Vertue and Goodness, and also not to fear to dye for Christ and his Cause, as some of them did; and finally to take them, in that they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these ways and such like be Saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.

Of Praying to Saints.

AS touching Praying to Saints, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that albeit Grace, remiſſion of Sin and Salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only by the Mediation of our Saviour Chriſt, which is only ſufficient Mediator for our Sins; yet it is very laudable to pray to Saints in Heaven everlaſtingly living, whoſe Charity is ever permanent, to be interceſſors, and to pray for us and with us, unto Almighty God after this manner: All holy Angels and Saints in Heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, we may have Grace of him, and remiſſion of our Sins, with an earneſt purpoſe, not wanting Ghoſtly Strength, to obſerve and keep his holy Commandments, and never to decline from the ſame again unto our lives end: And in this manner we may pray to our *Bleſſed Lady*, to St. *John Baptiſt*, to all and every of the Apoſtles or any other Saint particularly, as our Devotion doth ſerve us; ſo that it be done without any vain Superſtition, as to think that any Saint is more merciful, or will hear us ſooner than Chriſt, or that any Saint doth ſerve for one thing more than another, or is Patron of the ſame. And likewiſe we muſt keep Holy-days unto God, in memory of him and his Saints, upon ſuch days as the Church hath ordained their Memories to be celebrated; except they be mitigated and moderated by the aſſent or commandment of the Supream Head, to the Ordinaries, and then the Subjects ought to obey it.

Of Rites and Ceremonies.

AS concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of Chriſt's Church, as to have ſuch Veſtments in doing God ſervice as be and have been moſt part uſed, as Sprinkling of Holy-water to put us in remembrance of our Baptiſm, and the Blood of Chriſt ſprinkled for our Redemption upon the Croſs; Giving of holy Bread to put us in remembrance of the Sacrament of the Altar, that all Chriſten Men be one Body Myſtical of Chriſt, as the Bread is made of many grains, and yet but one Loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving the holy Sacrament and Body of Chriſt, the which we ought to receive in right Charity; which in the beginning of Chriſts Church, Men did more often receive than they uſe now a days to do; bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-day*, in memory of Chriſt the ſpiritual Light, of whom *Simeon* did propheſie as is read in the Church that day; Giving of Aſhes on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, to put in remembrance every Chriſten Man in the beginning of Lent and Penance, that he is but Aſhes and Earth, and thereto ſhall return; which is right neceſſary to be uttered from henceforth in our Mother-tongue always on the ſame day; Bearing of Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, in memory of receiving of Chriſt into *Jeruſalem* a little before his death, that we may have the ſame deſire to receive him into our Hearts; creeping to the Croſs, and humbling our ſelves to Chriſt on *Good-Friday* before the Croſs, and offering thereunto Chriſt before the ſame, and kiſſing of it in memory of our Redemption by Chriſt made

upon the Croſs; Setting up the Sepulcher of Chriſt, whoſe body after his death was buried; the Hallowing of the Font, and other like Exorciſms and Benedictions by the Miniſters of Chriſts Church: and all other like laudable Cuſtoms, Rights, and Ceremonies be not to be contemned and caſt away, but to be uſed and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of thoſe ſpiritual things that they do ſignifie, not ſuffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in Oblivion, but renewing them in our Memories from time to time; but none of theſe Ceremonies have Power to remit Sin, but only to ſtir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our Sins be forgiven.

Of Purgatory.

FOraſmuch as due order of Charity requireth, and the Book of *Maccabees*, and divers ancient Doctors plainly ſhewing, that it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for Souls departed, and foraſmuch alſo as ſuch uſage hath continued in the Church ſo many years even from the beginning, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People, committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that no Man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the ſame, and that it ſtandeth with the very due Order of Charity, for a Chriſten Man to pray for Souls departed, and to commit them in our Prayers to Gods mercy, and alſo to cauſe others to pray for them in Maſſes, and Exequies, and to give Alms to others to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved, holpen, of ſome part of their pain: But foraſmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of pains there, alſo be to us uncertain by Scripture; therefore this with all other things we remit to God Almighty, unto whoſe mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, truſting that God accepteth our Prayers for them, referring the reſt wholly to God, to whom is known their eſtate and condition; wherefore it is much neceſſary that ſuch Abuſes be clearly put away, which under the name of Purgatory hath been advanced, as to make Men believe that through the Biſhop of *Romes* Pardon, Souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatory, and all the pains of it, or that Maſſes ſaid at *Scala Cœli*, or otherwhere, in any place, or before any Image, might likewiſe deliver them from all their pain, and ſend them ſtreight to Heaven, and other like Abuſes.

Signed

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Joannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmen.
Joannes Lincoln.
Joannes Lincoln Nomine procuratorio pro Dom. Joan. Exon.
Hugo Wygornen.
Joannes Roffen.
Richardos Ciceſtren.
Joannes Bathonien.
Thomas Elien.
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Nicholas Sarisburien.
Edwardus Hereforden.
Willielmus Norwicen.
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Robertus Aſſaven.

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Richardus Ab. de Notley.
Hugo Prior de Huntingtoun.
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Bartholamæus Pr. de Overhey.
VVillielmus Pr. de Burgaveny.
Thomas Ab. de Abendon.

Inferior Domus.

C R. *Gwent Archidiaconus London, & Breck.*
Robertus Alridge Archid. Coleceſt.
Thomas Bedyl Archid. Cornub.
Richardus Street Archid. Derbiæ.
David Pole Ar. Salop. Procurator.
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Thomas Baghe Archid. Surr.
Richardus Rawſon Archid Eſſex.
Edmundus Cranmer Archid Cant.
Polidorus Virgilius Archid Wellen
Richardus Coren Archid. Oxon.
Henricus Morgan Procurator Cleri Lincoln.
Petrus Vannes Archid. Wygornen.
Georgius Hennage Decanus Lincoln.
Nilo Spencer Procurator Cleri Norwicen.
Guilielm. Knight Archid. Ceſtriæ.
Gamaliel Clyſton Decanus Hereford. & Proc. Capit.
Joannes London Decanus Wallingford.
Richardus Layton Archid. Bucks.
Hugo Coren Proc. Cleri Hereford.
Richardus Spareheford Proc. Cleri. Hereford.
Mauritius Griffith Proc. Cleri. Roffen.
Gulielmus Buckmaſtr. Procurator. cleri London.
Richardus Shelton Mag. Colleg. de Melyngham.
Per me Willielmum Glyn. Archi. Angleſſem.
Robertus Evans Decan. Bangoren.
VValterus Cretyng Ar. Bathonien.
Thomas Bogard Procurator cleri VVygornen.
Joannes Naſe Proc. Cleri Bathon. & VVellen.
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Edmundus Cranmer Archid Cant.
Polidorus Virgilius Archid Wellen
Richardus Coren Archid. Oxon.
Henricus Morgan Procurator Cleri Lincoln.
Petrus Vannes Archid. Wygornen.
Georgius Hennage Decanus Lincoln.
Nilo Spencer Procurator Cleri Norwicen.
Guilielm. Knight Archid. Ceſtriæ.
Gamaliel Clyſton Decanus Hereford. & Proc. Capit.
Joannes London Decanus Wallingford.
Richardus Layton Archid. Bucks.
Hugo Coren Proc. Cleri Hereford.
Richardus Spireheford Proc. Cleri. Hereford.
Mauritius Griffith Proc. Cleri. Roffen.
Gulielmus Buckmaſtr. Procurator. Cleri London.
Richardus Shelton Mag. Colleg. de Melyngham.
Per me Willielmum Glyn. Archi. Angleſſem.
Robertus Evans Decan. Bangoren.
Walterus Cretyng Ar. Bathonien.
Thomas Bogard Procurator Cleri Wygornen.
Joannes Naſe Proc. Cleri Bathon. & Wellen.
Georgius Wyndham Archid. Norwicen.

Nicolaus Metcalfe Archid. Roffen.
Gulielmus Hedge Procurator Cleri Norwicen.
Adam Traves Archid. Exon.
Richardus Woleman Dec. Wellen.
Tho. Brerewood Archidiacan Har. Procur. Capituli & Cleri Exon.
Georgius Carew Archid. Totten Proc. Capituli & Cleri Exon.
Thomas Bennet Proc. Cleri & Capit. Sarum.
Richardus Archid. Proc. Cleri & Capit. Sarum.
Petrus Lighman Pr. Cleri Cant.
Edmundus Stewart Proc. Cleri Winton.
Joannes Rayne Pr. Cleri Lincoln.
Leonardus Samill Proc. Cleri Archid. Lewen.
Simon Matthew Pr. Cleri London.
Ranfrid Ogle Archid. Salop.
Gulielmus May Proc. Cleri Elien.
Rol. Philips Proc. Eccleſ. St. Pauli Lond n.
Joannes Bell Ar. Gloceſt.
Joannes Chamber Dec. St. Stephani Archid. Bedford.
Nicolaus Wilſon.

Some Obſervations on the former Subſcriptions.

A The Abbots of *Gloſſenbury* and *Reading* ſubſcribe with the reſt: by which it appears that they complied in the changes that were made, as readily as others did.

B The Abbots writ generally ſo ill that it is very hard to read their Subſcriptions: Some of them I could by no means know what to make of.

C There are of 50 of the lower houſe of Convocation: of thoſe there are 25 Archdeacons, 4 Deans of Cathedrals, 3 Deans of Collegial Churches, 17 Procurators for the Clergy, and one Maſter of a Colledge.

II. Some *Queries* put by *Cranmer* in Order to the Correcting of ſeveral Abuſes.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

Firſt, What Cauſes, Reaſons, or Conſiderations hath or might move any man to deſire to have the Biſhop of *Rome* reſtored in any point to his pretended Monarchy, or to repugn againſt the Laws and Statutes of this Realm made for the ſetting forth of the Kings Title of Supream Head?

2. *Item*, Whether a Man offending deadly after he is Baptized, may obtain remiſſion of Sins, by any other way than by Contrition, through Grace?

3. *Item*, If the Clergy know that the common ſort of Men have them in a higher eſtimation, becauſe they are perſwaded, that it lyeth in the Will and Power of Prieſts to remit, or not remit Sins at their pleaſure, whether in ſuch caſe the ſaid Clergy offend if they wink at this, and voluntarily ſuffer the People to continue in this Opinion?

4. *Item*, Whether a Sinner being ſorry and contrite for his Sins, and forthwith dying, ſhall have as high a place in Heaven, as if he had never offended?

5. *Item*, Whether any, and what difference may be Aſſigned betwixt two Men, whereof the one being very ſorry and contrite for his Sins dieth without Abſolution of the Prieſt, and the other which being contrite is alſo abſolved by the Prieſt and ſo dieth?

Item,

Item, If it may appear that the common people have a greater affiance or truſt in outward Rites or Ceremonies than they ought to have, and that they eſteem more vertue in Images and adorning of them, kiſſing their feet, or offering Candles unto them, than they ſhould eſteem, and that yet the Curats knowing the ſame, and fearing the loſs of their offerings, and ſuch other temporal commodities, do rather encourage the People to continue after this ſort, than teach them the Truth in the premiſes according to Scripture; what the Kings Highneſs and his Parliament may do, and what they are bound in Conſcience to do in ſuch caſe? 6.

Item, Whether now in time of the new Law the Tithes or Tenth be due to Curats by the Laws of God, or of Man; and if the ſame be due by the Laws of Man, what Mans Laws they be? 7.

Item, Whether the Clergy only, and none but they ought to have voices in general Councils? 8.

Item, Whether the 19*th* Canon in the Council of *Chalcedon*, wherein is contained that one Clerk may not ſue another before any ſecular Judge, but only before his Biſhop, and ſuch other Canons of like effect, have been generally received or not? and whether the ſame be contrary to the Kings Prerogative and Laws of this Realm, and whether it be expedient that it were declared by the Parliament that the ſaid Canons being at no time received, eſpecially within this Realm, be void and of none effect? 9.

Item, Of the 24*th* Canon of the ſaid Council, wherein is contained that Monaſteries once conſecrated, by the Biſhop, may not after be made dwelling houſes for Laymen, whether that Canon have been received and obſerved, and whether the ſame be againſt the Power of the King and Authority of his Parliament? 10.

Item, If it may appear that the Biſhops have not, ne yet do maturely examine and diligently inquire of the Converſation, and Learning of ſuch as be ordered or admitted to Cures by them, but rather without examination or inquiſition indiſtinctly admit perſons unable, whereof enſueth great peril of Souls, and innumerable inconveniences otherways, what the Kings Highneſs or his Parliament ought to do, or may do for reformation in the Premiſſes? 11.

Item, If ſuch as have Deanries, Arch-Deaconries, Chanterſhips, and other Offices or Promotions of the Clergy, uſe not themſelves in their own perſons after ſuch ſort as the primary inſtitution of theſe Offices of Promotions require, and according to the Wills of them that endowed them, what the King and his Parliament may do or ought to do in this caſe? 12.

Item, For what cauſes and to what ends and purpoſes ſuch Offices and Promotions of the Clergy were firſt inſtituted? 13.

Item, If Curates having Benefices with cure, for their more bodily eaſe, refuſe to dwell upon any of their ſaid Cures, and remain in idleneſs continually in Cathedral or Collegial Churches upon their Prebends, whether it be in this caſe expedient, that the Kings Highneſs or his Parliament take any Order for the redreſs of the ſame? 14.

Item,

15. *Item*, Of the Sacraments of Confirmation, Order, Matrimony, and extream Unction, what the external Signs and inward Graces be in every of the ſaid Sacraments, what promiſes be made to the receivers of them by God, and of what efficacy they be of and energy of themſelves?

III. Some Queries concerning Confirmation, with the Anſwers which were given to them by *Cranmer*, and *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*.

AN ORIGINAL.

Written with *Cranmers* hand. *Cotton* Libr. *Cleo. E.* 5.

WHether Confirmation be Inſtituted by Chriſt?

Reſpon. There is no place in Scripture that declareth this Sacrament to be inſtituted of Chriſt.

Firſt, For the places alledged for the ſame, be no Inſtitutions but Acts and Deeds of the Apoſtles.

Secondly, Theſe Acts were done by a ſpecial Gift given to the Apoſtles for the confirmation of God's Word at that time.

Thirdly, The ſaid ſpecial Gift doth not now remain with the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles.

What is the External?

The Church uſeth *Chriſma* for the exterior Sign, but the Scripture maketh no mention thereof.

What is the Efficacy of this Sacrament?

The Biſhop in the name of the Church doth invocate the Holy Ghoſt to give Strength and conſtancy, with other ſpiritual Gifts, unto the perſon confirmed: ſo that the efficacy of this Sacrament is of ſuch value, as is the Prayer of the Biſhop made in the name of the Church.

Hæc reſpondeo, ſalvo ſemper eruditiorum & Eccleſiæ orthodoxa judicio.

Stokeſley's Paper.

The firſt Queſtion, *VVhether the Sacrament of Confirmation be a Sacrament of the New Teſtament inſtituted by Chriſt?*

To this I anſwer, *That it is.*

The ſecond Queſtion, *VVhat is the outward Sign, and the inviſible Graces which be conferred in the ſame?*

To this I anſwer, That the Words *Signo te Signo Sanctæ crucis, & confirmo te*, &c. With the conſignation, with the Cream, impoſition of hands of the Prelates, be the Signs: and the increaſe of the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and eſpecially of Fortitude, to ſpeak, ſhew, and defend the Faith, and to ſuffer for the ſame in caſe need be.

The

The third Question, What promiſes be made of the ſaid Graces?

I Anſwer, That the facts and deeds that be expreſſed in the Books of the Apoſtles, with the effects enſuing, by the impoſition of their Hands, upon them that before had received Remiſſion of their Sins, joyned with the promiſes of Chriſt, made to his Church, and the continual belief of the Univerſity of the ſame Catholick Church from the time of the Apoſtles hitherto, without contradiction of any Man (ignorants and ſuſpects of Hereſie only excepted) maketh us, and in my opinion, without prejudice of other Mens opinion, ought to ſuffice, to make all Men that hath promiſed to believe the Catholick Church, aſſuredly to think that God hath made the promiſes of the ſaid Grace.

Ego Joannes London. *ſic reſpondeo, fretus auteritate & teſtimonio antiquiſſimorum, eorumque Doctiſſimorum pariter ac Sanctiſſimorum virorum, & præcipue Sanctæ matris noſtræ Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, cui etiam in non expreſſis in Sacra Scriptura, non multo minus quam ſcriptis, fides adhibenda eſt; niſi tam de Baptiſmo parvulorum, quam de perpetua Dieparæ virginis integritate, & id genus compluribus, quibus ſine ſalutis periculo nemo diſcrepat, licebit ſalva Fide contradicere.*

IV. Some Conſiderations offered to the King by *Cranmer*, to Induce him to proceed to a further Reformation.

PLeaſeth it your Highneſs graciouſly to conſider, deeply to ponder and weigh by your high Wiſdom theſe Conſiderations following. *Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.*

Firſt, How no great thing is to be determined, principally matters of Chriſts Religion, without long, great, and mature deliberation.

Secondly, How evil it hath ſucceeded when in Provincial, yea or yet in General Councils, Men have gone about to ſet forth any thing as in the force of Gods Law, without the manifeſt Word of God, or elſe without apparent Reaſons infallibly deduced out of the Word of God.

Thirdly, How all Chriſtened Regions are now full of Learned Men in the Scripture, which can well eſpie out and judge how things that be, or ſhall be ſet forth, are agreeable with Scripture or not.

Fourthly, Of what Audacity Men be of now adays, which will not ſpare to write againſt high Princes, as well as againſt private perſons, without any reſpect to their high Eſtates, only weighing the equity or the iniquity of the Cauſe.

Fifthly, How not only Men of the New Learning (as they be called) but alſo the very Papiſtical Authors, do allow that by the Word of God, Prieſts be not forbidden to Marry, although they were not ignorant that many expounders of Scripture were of the contrary judgment.

Sixthly, How that it is not poſſible that all Learned Men ſhould be of

15. *Item*, Of the Sacraments of Confirmation, Order, Matrimony, and extream Unction, what the external Signs and inward Graces be in every of the ſaid Sacraments, what promiſes be made to the receivers of them by God, and of what efficacy they be of and energy of themſelves?

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Secondly, Theſe Acts were done by a ſpecial Gift given to the Apoſtles for the confirmation of God's Word at that time.

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The

The third Question, What promises be made of the said Graces?

I Answer, That the facts and deeds that be expressed in the Books of the Apostles, with the effects ensuing, by the imposition of their Hands, upon them that before had received Remission of their Sins, joyned with the promises of Christ, made to his Church, and the continual belief of the University of the same Catholick Church from the time of the Apostles hitherto, without contradiction of any Man (ignorants and suspects of Heresie only excepted) maketh us, and in my opinion, without prejudice of other Mens opinion, ought to suffice, to make all Men that hath promised to believe the Catholick Church, assuredly to think that God hath made the promises of the said Grace.

Ego Joannes London. *sic respondeo, fretus autoritate & testimonio antiquissimorum, eorumque Doctissimorum pariter ac Sanctissimorum virorum, & præcipue Sanctæ matris nostræ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, cui etiam in non expressis in Sacra Scriptura, non multo minus quam scriptis, fides adhibenda est; nisi tam de Baptismo parvulorum, quam de perpetua Deiparæ virginis integritate, & id genus compluribus, quibus sine salutis periculo nemo discrepat, licebit salva Fide contradicere.*

IV. Some Considerations offered to the King by *Cranmer*, to Induce him to proceed to a further Reformation.

PLeaseth it your Highness graciously to consider, deeply to ponder and weigh by your high Wisdom these Considerations following. *Cott.* Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4.

First, How no great thing is to be determined, principally matters of Christs Religion, without long, great, and mature deliberation.

Secondly, How evil it hath succeeded when in Provincial, yea or yet in General Councils, Men have gone about to set forth any thing as in the force of Gods Law, without the manifest Word of God, or else without apparent Reasons infallibly deduced out of the Word of God.

Thirdly, How all Christened Regions are now full of Learned Men in the Scripture, which can well espie out and judge how things that be, or shall be set forth, are agreeable with Scripture or not.

Fourthly, Of what Audacity Men be of now adays, which will not spare to write against high Princes, as well as against private persons, without any respect to their high Estates, only weighing the equity or the iniquity of the Cause.

Fifthly, How not only Men of the New Learning (as they be called) but also the very Papistical Authors, do allow that by the Word of God, Priests be not forbidden to Marry, although they were not ignorant that many expounders of Scripture were of the contrary judgment.

Sixthly, How that it is not possible that all Learned Men should be of

of one mind, ſentence, and opinion, as long as the cockle is mingled with the wheat, the Godly with the Ungodly, which certainly ſhall be as long as the World endureth.

Seventhly, How variety of Opinions have been occaſion of the opening of many Verities heretofore taken for Hereſie, yea and yet ſo eſteemed and taken of many, in other Regions; as namely the uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, hath by that occaſion come into Light, with the effuſion of the blood not of a few, ſuch as were the firſt ſtirrers up thereof.

Laſtly, There be alſo other Opinions not ſpoken of, which have made, and yet will make as much variance in your Graces Realm as any of them treated of, namely, Whether the Holy Scripture teacheth any Purgatory to us after this Life or not? Whether the ſame Scripture teacheth the Invocation of dead Saints? Whether there be any unwritten Verities neceſſary to be believed not written in Scripture, nor deducted by infallible Arguments out of the open places of Scripture? Whether there be any ſatisfactions beſide the ſatisfaction of Chriſt? Whether Free-Will by its own ſtrength may diſpoſe it ſelf to Grace of a conveniency (as it is ſaid) *de congruo*? Whether it be againſt Scripture to kiſs the Image of Chriſt in the Honour of him? And generally whether Images may be uſed any other way than your Grace ſetteth forth in your Injunctions?

Whether in conſideration of the Premiſſes it may pleaſe your Highneſs to ſuſpend your judgment for a time, and not to determine the Marriage of Prieſts to be againſt Scripture, but rather to put both parts to ſilence, commanding them neither to preach, diſpute, nor openly to talk thereof under pain of, *&c.* And in caſe theſe Premiſſes do not move your Highneſs to ſtay, that then it may pleaſe the ſame to grant that the Article of Prieſts Marriage may be openly diſputed in both Univerſities, under indifferent Judges, before it be determined. All the Arguments of the contrary Party firſt to be delivered in writing to the Defenders twelve days before the Diſputation; to the intent they may the more maturely and deliberately make anſwer to the ſame; and they that ſhall enter as Defenders into this diſputation, to do it under this condition, that if their Judges decern them to be overcome, they be right well contented to ſuffer death, therefore: And if their Adverſaries cannot prove their purpoſe, their deſire is no more but that it may pleaſe your Highneſs to leave your moſt humble Subjects to the liberty that Gods Word permitteth them in that behalf; and your ſaid humble Subjects ſhall pray unto Almighty God for the preſervation of your moſt Royal Eſtate long to continue to Gods Glory and Honour.

V. A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Inſtitution of Biſhops and Prieſts.

AN ORIGINAL.

AS touching the Sacrament of Holy Orders, we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our People committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge.

Firſt, How that Chriſt and his Apoſtles did inſtitute and ordain in the New Teſtament, that beſides the Civil Powers and Governance of Kings and Princes, which is called in Scripture, *Poteſtas gladij*, the Power of the Sword, there ſhould be alſo continually in the Church Militant, certain other Miniſters or Officers, which ſhould have Spiritual Power, Authority and Commiſſion under Chriſt, to preach and teach the Word of God, unto his People, and to diſpence and adminiſter the Sacraments of God unto them; and by the ſame to confer and give the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, to conſecrate the bleſſed body of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, to looſe and abſoil from Sin, all Perſons which be duly penitent and ſorry for the ſame; to bind and excommunicate ſuch as be guilty in manifeſt Crimes and Sins, and will not amend their Defaults; to order and conſecrate others in the ſame Room, Order and Office, whereunto they be called and admitted themſelves; and finally to feed Chriſts People like good Paſtors and Rectors, as the Apoſtles calleth them, with their wholſome doctrine, and by their continual exhortations and monitions to reduce them from Sin and Iniquity, ſo much as in them lyeth, and to bring them unto the perfect knowledg, the perfect love and dread of God, and unto the perfect charity of their Neighbours. *Cott: Libr. Cleop. E. 5.*

Item, That this Office, this Miniſtration, this Power and Authority is no tyrannical Power, having no certain Laws or Limits, within the which it ought to be contained, nor yet none abſolute Power, but it is a moderate Power, ſubject, determined, and reſtrained unto thoſe certain Limits and Ends for the which the ſame was appointed by Gods Ordinance; which, as was ſaid before, is only to adminiſter and diſtribute unto the members of Chriſts Myſtical Body, ſpiritual and everlaſting things; that is to ſay, the pure and heavenly doctrine of Chriſts Goſpel, and the Graces conferred in his Sacraments: And therefore this ſaid Power and Adminiſtration is called in ſome places of Scripture *Donum & Gratia*, a Gift and a Grace; in ſome places it is called *Claves ſive poteſtas Clavium*, that is to ſay, the Keys, or the Power of the Keys, whereby is ſignified a certain limited Office reſtrained unto the execution of a ſpecial Function or Miniſtration, according to the ſaying of

St. *Paul* in his first Chap. of his Epistle to the *Romans*, and in the fourth Chap. of his Epistle to *Timothy*, and also in the fourth Chap. of his Epistle to the *Ephes.* Where he writes in this Sentence; *Quum ascendisset Christus in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem, & dedit Dona hominibus, dedit autem, alios quidem Apostolos, alios vero Prophetas, alios vero Evangelistas, alios autem Pastores ac Doctores, ad instaurationem sanctorum, in opus Administrationis, in ædificationem corporis Christi, donec perveniamus omnis in unitatem Fidei & agnitionis Filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in mensuram ætatis plene adultæ Christi.* That is to say, "when Christ ascended into Heaven, he subdued and vanquished very Captivity herself, and led or made her thrall and captive, and distributed and gave divers heavenly Gifts and Graces unto Men here on Earth; and among all, he made some the Apostles, some Priests, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Doctores, to the intent they should execute the work and office of their Administration, to the instauration, instruction, and edifying of the Members of Christs Mystical Body: And that they should also not cease from the Execution of their said Office, until all the said Members were not only reduced and brought unto Unity of the Faith, and the knowledg of the Son of God, but also that they were come unto a perfect State, and full Age therein, that is to say, until they were so established and confirmed in the same, that they could no more afterwards be wavering therein, and be led or carried like children, in any contrary Doctrine or Opinion, by the craft or subtile Perswasion of the false Pastors and Teachers, which go about by craft, to bring them into erroneous Opinions, but that they should constantly follow the true Doctrine of Christs Gospel, growing and encreasing continually by Charity unto a perfect Member of that Body, whereof Christ is the very Head, in whom if the whole Body, that is to say, If every part and member be grown and come unto his perfect Estate, not all in like, but every one according to the Gift and Quality which is deputed unto it, and so to be compacted, united, and corporated together in the said Body, no doubt but that whole Body and every part thereof shall thereby be made the more perfect and the more strong, by reason of that natural Love and Charity, which one Member so united in the Body hath unto the other. By which words it appeareth evidently not only that St. *Paul* accounted and numbred this said Power and Office of the Pastors and Doctors among the proper and special Gifts of the Holy Ghost, but also it appeareth that the same was a limited Power and Office, ordained specially and only for the causes and purposes before rehearsed.

Item, That this Power, Office, and Administration is necessary to be preserved here in Earth for three special and principal Causes. *First*, for that it is the Commandment of God it should be so, as it appeareth in sundry places of Scripture. *Secondly*, for that God hath instituted and ordained none other ordinary mean or instrument, whereby he will make us partakers of the Reconciliation which is by Christ, and confer and give the Graces of his holy Spirit unto us, and make us the right Inheritors of everlasting Life, there to Reign with him for ever

ever in Glory, but only his Word and Sacraments; and therefore the Office and Power to minister the said Word and Sacraments, may in no wise be suffered to perish, or to be abolished, according to the saying of St. *Paul*, *Quomodo credent in eum de quo non audierunt? quomodo autem audient sine prædicante? quomodo autem prædicabunt nisi missi fuerint? sicut scriptum est, quam speciosi super montes pedes Evangelizantium Pacem, Annunciantium bona! Thirdly*, Because the said Power and Office or Function hath annexed unto it assuredly Promises of excellent and inestimable things; for thereby is conferred and given the Holy Ghost with all his Graces, and finally our Justification and everlasting Life, according to the saying of St. *Paul*, *Non me pudet Evangelii Jesu Christi, potentia siquidem est Dei ad salutem omni credenti*; that is to say, I am not ashamed of the Room and Office which I have given unto me by Christ, to preach his Gospel, for it is the Power of God, that is to say, the elect Organ or Instrument ordained by God and endued with such vertue and efficacy, that it is able to give and minister effectually everlasting Life unto all those that will believe and obey unto the same.

Item, That this Office, this Power and Authority was committed and given by Christ and his Apostles unto certain Persons only, that is to say, unto Priests and Bishops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto by their Prayers and Imposition of their hands.

Secondly, We will that all Bishops and Preachers shall instruct and teach our People committed unto their Spiritual Charge, that the Sacrament of Order may worthily be called a Sacrament, because it is a holy Rite, or Ceremony instituted by Christ and his Apostles in the New Testament, and doth consist of two parts, like as the other Sacraments of the Church do; that is to say, of a Spiritual and an Invisible Grace, and also an outward and a visible Sign. The invisible Gift or Grace conferred in this Sacrament, is nothing else but the Power, the Office and the Authority before mentioned: the visible and outward Sign, is, the Prayer and Imposition of the Bishops hands, upon the person which receiveth the said Gift or Grace. And to the intent the Church of Christ should never be destituted of such Ministers, as should have and execute the said power of the Keys, it was also ordained and commanded by the Apostles, that the same Sacrament should be applyed and ministred by the Bishop from time to time, unto such other persons as had the Qualities which the Apostle very diligently descryve; as it appeareth evidently in the third Chap. of the first Epistle of St. *Paul* to *Tim.* and his Epistle unto *Titus*. And surely this is the whole vertue and efficacy, and the cause also of the institution of this Sacrament as it is found in the New Testament; for albeit the Holy Fathers of the Church which succeeded the Apostles, minded to beautifie and ornate the Church of Christ with all those things which were commendable in the Temple of the *Jews*, did devise not only certain other Ceremonies than be before rehearsed, as Tonsures, Rasures, Unctions, and such other Observances to be used in the Administration of the said Sacraments, but did also institute certain inferiour orders or degrees, as *Janitors*, *Lectors*, *Exorcists*, *Acolits*, and *Subdeacons*, and deputed

to

to every one of thoſe certain Offices to execute in the Church, wherein they followed undoubtedly the Example and Rites uſed in the Old Teſtament; yet the truth is, that in the New Teſtament there is no mention made of any degrees or diſtinctions in Orders, but only of Deacons or Miniſters, and of Prieſts or Biſhops: nor is there any word ſpoken of any other Ceremony uſed in the conferring of this Sacrament, but only of Prayer, and the Impoſition of the Biſhops hands.

Thomas Cromwell.
T. Cantuarien.
Edwardus Ebor.
Joannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmenſis
Joannes Lincoln.
Joannes Bathonienſ.
Thomas Elien.
Joannes Bangor.
Nicolaus Sarum.
Edwardus Hererfoden.
Hugo Wygorn.
Joannes Roffen.
Rich. Ciceſtr.
Richardus Wolman.
Joannes Bell.
Willielmus Clyffe.
Robertus Aldridge.
Gilfridus Downes.
Joannes Skip.
Cuthbertus Marſhall.
Marmaduke Waldeby.
Robertus Oking.
Nicolaus Heyth.
Rodulphus Bradford.
Richardus Smith.
Simon Matthew.
Joannes Prynn.
Gulielmus Buckmaſtre.
Willielmus Maye.
Nicolaus Wotton.
Richardus Cox.
Joannes Redman.
Thomas Robertſon.
Thomas Baret.
Joannes Naſe.
Joannes Barbar.

(Some other hands there are that cannot be Read.)

Sacræ Theologiæ, Juris Eccleſiaſtici, & Civilis Profeſſores.

VI.

VI. *A Letter of* Melanthons, *to perſwade the King to a further Reformation. An Original.*

S. D. Sereniſſime & Inclyte Rex, Etſi audieramus Romanum Epiſcopum omnibus artificiis incendere Cæſaris Carololi & Regis Gallici animos adverſus Britannos & Germanos, tamen quia ſpero Deum hæc pericula gubernaturum eſſe, & defenſurum tranquilitatem tuam, ſcripſi in alteris literis de Eccleſiarum emendatione, quam ſi tempora ſinent, rogo ut Regia Majeſtas tua ſuſcipiat. Poſtea adjeci hanc Epiſtolam, non impudentia, ſed optimo ſtudio, & amore cum Eccleſiarum, cum Regiæ Majeſtatis tuæ incitatus: quare per Chriſtum obteſtor Regiam Majeſtatem tuam ut meam libertatem boni conſulat. Sæpe cogito Britannicæ Eccleſiæ primordia, & cæteras laudes: hinc enim propagata eſt doctrina Chriſtiana in magnam Germaniæ & Galliæ partem; imo Britannicæ Eccleſiæ beneficium fuit, quod primum Romanæ Provinciæ liberatæ ſunt perſecutione. Hæc primum nobis Imperatorem pium Conſtantinum dedit: magna hæc gloria eſt veſtri nominis. Nunc quoque Regia Majeſtas tua primum heroica magnitudine animi oſtendit ſe veritati patrocinaturum eſſe excuſſit Romani Epiſcopi tyrannidem, quare veterem puritatem Eccleſiæ veſtræ maxime optarim reſtitui integram. Sed animadverto iſtic eſſe quoſdam qui veteres abuſus ortos aut confirmatos a Romano Epiſcopo adhuc mordicùs tenent. Mirum eſt autem Autore abuſuum ejecto ipſa tamen venena retineri; qua in re illud etiam periculi eſt, quod illi ipſi aut eorum imitatores aliquando revocaturi poteſtatem Romani Epiſcopi videntur, ſi populus hunc putavit eſſe Magiſtrum Eccleſiarum, incurrunt enim Ritus in oculos & admonent de autore, ut Solonis memoria cum legibus Athenis & propagata & jucunda fuit. *Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.*

Gaudebam igitur in Edicto recens iſtic propoſito de Religione, promitti publicam deliberationem & emendationem de Eccleſiarum Ritibus & Legibus, eaque ſententia mitigavit Decreti acerbitatem; quanquam enim laudo pietatem, quod errores prohibentur, qui pugnant cum doctrina Catholicæ Eccleſiæ quam & nos profitemur; tamen doleo ad eas cauſas adjectum eſſe articulum, in quo precipitur omnium Rituum uſitatorum & Cælibatus obſervatio. Primum enim multi transferrent Edicti Autoritatem ad ſtabiliendos abuſus Miſſæ. Deinde in univerſum confirmatur pertinacia eorum quâ Doctrinæ noſtræ ſunt iniquiores, & debilitantur ſtudia piorum. Auguſtinus queritur ſua ætate jam duriorem fuiſſe ſervitutem Chriſtianam quam Judaicam, quanto erit aſperior ſervitus, ſi ſuperſtitioſiores inepiæ, ut reptatio ad crucem aut res ſimiles, munientur corporum ſuppliciis? Gerſon ſcribit prodeſſe piis, qui tamen ſuperſtitioſius obſervant Ritus, ut invitentur ad eos violandos, ut uſu & exemplo dediſcant ſuperſtitionem.

Sed munio tranquilitatem, dices, & nolo diſſimilitudine Rituum excitari diſcordias. Ego de piis & modeſtis loquor qui humanas traditiones ſine tumultibus violant, non de his qui in cætu publico ſeditioſe tranquillum populum aut concitant aut perturbant. Extant autem antea leges de ſeditioſis, nec ſtatim violatio inepti & non neceſſarii Ritus judicanda eſt ſeditioſa, attamen hac in re non ſolum tranquilli-

tatis, ſed etiam piarum Conſcientiarum ratio habenda eſt: eſt enim tenera res Conſcientia, facile langueſcit perculſa potentum judiciis.

Nec ignoro quoſdam novo jam uti genere ſapientiæ, excuſant abuſus, & leniunt eos aſtute affictis interpretationibus, ut habeant ſpecioſam cauſam cur eos retineant; ſicut nefarios abuſus excuſat Autor reformationis Colonienſis, ut campanarum conſecrationem & ſimiles impoſturas. Quam multa ſunt in fabuloſis hiſtoriis Sanctorum, ut Chriſtophori, Georgii, quæ, ut Poemata, continent venuſtiſſimas Allegorias; nec tamen propter has cogendæ ſunt Eccleſiæ ut illas poeticas perſonas colant.

Erat in Egypto Sacrum cum fici maturuiſſent, populus enim in templo edens recentes ficus, addebat canticum his verbis, Dulcis veritas. Huic Ritui facile eſt bellam ſignificationem addere, eumq; accommodare ad laudem Verbi Dei, nec tamen propterea hic mos in Eccleſias revocandus eſt; atqui hanc novam ſophiſticam exoriri paſſim videmus. Sic in Italia dicuntur abuſibus patrocinari, Contarenus, Sadoletus, & Polus Cardinalis; nam hi præcipue ſuſceperunt ſibi jam has partes defendendæ Romanæ impietatis, & hanc ducunt eſſe magnam ingenii laudem fucos illinire vitioſis Ritibus, putant q; ſe his ineptiis Dionyſii Theologiam Myſticam renovare. Hæc Sophiſtica, niſi prudentes gubernatores Eccleſiarum obſiſtent, parit horribilem confuſionem religionum, & rurſus obruet veritatem. Donec flagitantur humani Ritus tanquam neceſſarii, confirmatur prava opinio de cultu; ideo Paulus tam vehementer non modo opinionem, ſed Ritus ipſos Leviticos inſectatus eſt, prævidebat enim non excuti poſſe ſuperſtitionem, ſi Ritus manerent, quare graviſſime inquit, *ſi circumcidimini, Chriſtus vobis nihil proderit.*

Retineatur ergo ſimplex & perſpicua ſententia de libertate in adiaphoris, & doceant concionatores quæ ſcandala vitanda ſint; retineantur Ritus divinitus inſtituti, & aliquæ humanæ traditiones utiles ad bonum ordinem, ut Paulus loquitur, & ſit modus Cæremoniarum quæ habeant conjunctam gravitatem & elegantiam; decet autem abeſſe ab Eccleſiis barbariem: Cæteri inutiles & inepti Ritus non duriter flagitentur.

Deinde quantum periculi adfert conſcientiis prohibitio conjugii, nec ignorat Regia Majeſtas tua, Legem de cælibatu perpetuo tantum Romæ natam eſſe: extant Epiſtolæ Epiſcopi Tarraconenſis defendentes conjugia Presbyterorum in Hiſpania contra Romanum Epiſcopum. In Germania ante annos quingentos adhuc Sacerdotes fuerunt mariti, adeoque ægre tulerunt ſibi eripi hanc libertatem, ut in Epiſcopum Moguntinum recitantem Edictum Romanum tumultuantes impetum fecerint, quara Epiſcopus fugere coactus recitationem omiſit. Erat Autor Edicti Gregorius ſeptimus qui cuilibet Tyrannorum veterum audacia & impietate par fuit. Hic cum longo & funeſto bello civili noſtros Germanicos imperatores implicuiſſet, ſimul etiam Eccleſias Tyrannide oppreſſit. Audio & in Anglia Sacerdotes fuiſſe maritos: deniq; notæ ſunt Hiſtoriæ, quæ exempla ſatis multa continent; quare miror in Edicto citari Epiſtolam ad Corinthios, cum hæc longe aliud tradat de conjugio, ac præcipiat conjugium iis qui non ſunt idonei ad cælibatum.

Nec objicienda ſunt vota quæ & expreſſe pugnant cum divinis mandatis, & trahunt ſecum multiplicem ſuperſtitionem & morum corruptionem; videmus enim qualis ſit vita multorum Sacerdotum cælibum:

itaq;

itaq; non ſine dolore aliquo legi in Edicto, quod hi qui Uxores duxerunt accuſantur Levitatis, nam hoc convicio cauſâ noſtra prægravari videtur, quæ tamen Eccleſiæ neceſſaria eſt, ut Conjugii dignitas clarius conſpiciatur, ut ſuperſtitioſi cultus votorum reprehendantur, ut arceantur libidines. Non enim impurus cœlibatus, ſed honeſta & pia conjugum conſuetudo, eſt caſtitas Deo grata, ſicut Chriſtus ſua voce divinam conjunctionem appellat connubium, inquiens, *Quos Deus conjunxit*, &c. Diſcamus Dei Ordinationem in natura magnifacere, eaque reverenter uti, non fingamus ipſi novos cultus ſine Verbo Dei; de quo genere Paulus nominatim concionatur, cum ad Timotheum ſcribens duriter reprehendit eos qui prohibent nuptias.

Propheta Daniel inſignes notas addidit Antichriſto duas, cum ait colet Deum Maoſim argento & auro; & Deum Patrum ſuorum non intelliget, & Mulieres non curabit. Hæc quadrant maxime ad Romanos mores: Miſſarum abuſus & Sanctorum cultus pepererunt immenſas opes & Regiam potentiam. Nova numina confecta ſunt, adorantur aureæ & argenteæ ſtatuæ, & auro atque argento ornantur. Deinde accedit Lex de cœlibatu, unde magna corruptio morum orta eſt. Hæ notæ cui genti, cui Regno uſquam competunt niſi factioni Epiſcopi Romani? qui cum ſit Antichriſtus, pio & forti animo ipſius autoritati & legibus adverſandum eſt.

Porro fœliciter cœpit Regia Majeſtas tua quædam emendare, ſuſtulit aliqua idola quæ impie colebantur: Obteſtor ergo Regiam Majeſtatem tuam, ut reliquam Impietatem Romanam etiam ex Eccleſiis tollat. Exempla teſtantur ingentibus victoriis ornatos eſſe Reges qui ſuſtulerunt Idololatriam, ac ſæpe teſtatur Deus quantopere requirat hunc cultum, ut removeantur ſuperſtitiones, & pro hoc officio ingentia præmia pollicetur: quare Deus etiam defendet Regiam Majeſtatem tuam, ſi ut Ezechias & cæteri pii Reges impios ritus ſuſtuleris. Audit Regia Majeſtas tua in Belgico & alibi immanem ſævitiam exerceri adverſus pios; & hæc Tyrannis gignit alia multa vitia, ſtabilit Idololatriam, delet veram invocationem, extinguit penitus veram Religionem; cumq; deſint boni Doctores, multi in populo fiunt palam ἄθεοι. Conſtat enim pæne Ethnicam licentiam eſſe in Belgico, alii ſuperſtitioſi natura, alii Fanaticas opiniones Anbaptiſtarum amplectuntur. Talis eſt in Belgico ſtatus, quod quidem floret pace, otio, opibus; adfluunt luxu ditiores, ita ſe beatos eſſe putant, nec interea proſpiciunt quot pœnæ ipſis impendeant: Deus autem haud dubie tantam impietatem & crudelitatem atrociter puniet. Nollem igitur in Regno tuo renovari aſperitatem adverſus pios, quam ita prohibebit Regia Majeſtas tua ſi Edictum leniet & Eccleſias conſtituere perget. Deinde ut etiam ad poſteritatem, animi abhorreant a Tyrannide Romani Epiſcopi, plurimum refert illas leges tolli, quæ ſunt nervi autoritatis ipſius; magna vero adminicula potentiæ Romanorum Epiſcorum fuerunt, Miſſarum abuſus, & Cœlibatus, quæ ſi durabunt aliquando poterunt præbere occaſionem iis qui depravatæ ſunt opinionis Romanæ Aulæ, ut ad eam rurſus inclinationem faciant. Id caveri quantum referat, ſi Doctrinæ Puritas conſervanda eſt, ſatis intelligit Regia Majeſtas tua. Verum adhuc eſt quod *Juvenalis* de Romana Aula ſcripſit, *hic fiunt homines, &c.* imbuti eo loci malis artibus, contumaciam ſingularem adverſus Reges inde referunt, ut multa exempla teſtantur. Hanc Epiſtolam loquaciorem ac liberiorem ut Regia Majeſtas tua

tatis, ſed etiam piarum Conſcientiarum ratio habenda eſt: eſt enim tenera res Conſcientia, facile langueſcit perculſa potentum judiciis.

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itaq; non ſine dolore aliquo legi in Edicto, quod hi qui Uxores duxerunt accuſantur Levitatis, nam hoc convicio cauſa noſtra prægravari videtur, quæ tamen Eccleſiæ neceſſaria eſt, ut Conjugii dignitas clarius conſpiciatur, ut ſuperſtitioſi cultus votorum reprehendantur, ut arceantur libidines. Non enim impurus cœlibatus, ſed honeſta & pia conjugum conſuetudo, eſt caſtitas Deo grata, ſicut Chriſtus ſua voce divinam conjunctionem appellat connubium, inquiens, *Quos Deus conjunxit*, &c. Diſcamus Dei Ordinationem in natura magnifacere, eaque reverenter uti, non fingamus ipſi novos cultus ſine Verbo Dei; de quo genere Paulus nominatim concionatur, cum ad Timotheum ſcribens duriter reprehendit eos qui prohibent nuptias.

Propheta Daniel inſignes notas addidit Antichriſto duas, cum ait colet Deum Maoſim argento & auro, & Deum Patrum ſuorum non intelliget, & Mulieres non curabit. Hæc quadrant maxime ad Romanos mores: Miſſarum abuſus & Sanctorum cultus pepererunt immenſas opes & Regiam potentiam. Nova numina confecta ſunt, adorantur aureæ & argenteæ ſtatuæ, & auro atque argento ornantur. Deinde accedit Lex de cœlibatu, unde magna corruptio morum orta eſt. Hæ notæ cui genti, cui Regno uſquam competunt niſi factioni Epiſcopi Romani? qui cum ſit Antichriſtus, pio & forti animo ipſius autoritati & legibus adverſandum eſt.

Porro fœliciter cœpit Regia Majeſtas tua quædam emendare, ſuſtulit aliqua idola quæ impie colebantur: Obteſtor ergo Regiam Majeſtatem tuam, ut reliquam Impietatem Romanam etiam ex Eccleſiis tollat. Exempla teſtantur ingentibus victoriis ornatos eſſe Reges qui ſuſtulerunt Idololatriam, ac ſæpe teſtatur Deus quantopere requirat hunc cultum, ut removeantur ſuperſtitiones, & pro hoc officio ingentia præmia pollicetur: quare Deus etiam defendet Regiam Majeſtatem tuam, ſi ut Ezechias & cæteri pii Reges impios ritus ſuſtuleris. Audit Regia Majeſtas tua in Belgico & alibi immanem ſævitiam exerceri adverſus pios; & hæc Tyrannis gignit alia multa vitia, ſtabilit Idololatriam, delet veram invocationem, extinguit penitus veram Religionem; cumq; deſint boni Doctores, multi in populo fiunt palam ἄθεοι. Conſtat enim pæne Ethnicam licentiam eſſe in Belgico, alii ſuperſtitioſi natura, alii Fanaticas opiniones Anbaptiſtarum amplectuntur. Talis eſt in Belgico ſtatus, quod quidem floret pace, otio, opibus; adfluunt luxu ditiores, ita ſe beatos eſſe putant, nec interea proſpiciunt quot pœnæ ipſis impendeant: Deus autem haud dubie tantam impietatem & crudelitatem atrociter puniet. Nollem igitur in Regno tuo renovari aſperitatem adverſus pios, quam ita prohibebit Regia Majeſtas tua ſi Edictum leniet & Eccleſias conſtituere perget. Deinde ut etiam ad poſteritatem, animi abhorreant a Tyrannide Romani Epiſcopi, plurimum refert illas leges tolli, quæ ſunt nervi autoritatis ipſius; magna vero adminicula potentiæ Romanorum Epiſcorum fuerunt, Miſſarum abuſus, & Cœlibatus, quæ ſi durabunt aliquando poterunt præbere occaſionem iis qui depravatæ ſunt opinionis Romanæ Aulæ, ut ad eam rurſus inclinationem faciant. Id caveri quantum referat, ſi Doctrinæ Puritas conſervanda eſt, ſatis intelligit Regia Majeſtas tua. Verum adhuc eſt quod *Juvenalis* de Romana Aula ſcripſit, *hic fiunt homines, &c.* imbuti eo loci malis artibus, contumaciam ſingularem adverſus Reges inde referunt, ut multa exempla teſtantur. Hanc Epiſtolam loquaciorem ac liberiorem ut Regia Majeſtas tua

boni consulat oro. Precor autem Deum & Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, ut Regiam Majestatem tuam servet & defendat, ac gubernet ad salutem Ecclesiæ. Bene & feliciter valeat Regia Majestas tua. Ex Francofordia

Cal. Aprilis 1539.

Regiæ Majestatis tuæ

Addictissimus

Philippus Melanthon.

Directed thus on the back;

Serenissimo & Inclyto Angliæ & Franciæ Regi D. Henrico Octavo Walliæ & Cornubiæ Principi, Capiti Anglicæ Ecclesiæ post Christum Supremo,

Principi Clementissimo.

VII. *A Letter written by the German Ambassadors to the King, against the taking away of the Chalice, and against private Masses, and the Celibate of the Clergy, &c. An Original.*

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

SErenissime & Potentissime Rex, Domine Clementissime, etsi Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem vestram maximorum negotiorum mole, tum ad Regnum ac Provincias proprias Majestatis Vestræ pertinentium, tum etiam exterorum Regum, Principum, & Potentatuum gravissimis causis, quæ ad Regiam Majestatem Vestram pæne quotidie devolvuntur, obrui non ignoremus; nosque pro nostra erga Regiam Majestatem Vestram debita observantia ut par est, nihil minus velimus aut cogitemus, quam Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram vel mittendis literis crebrioribus, vel ulla alia re interturbare & a Reipublicæ curis impedire, tamen certis quibusdam de causis, quas Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Vestræ probaturos nos speramus, duximus iterum ad Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram literas dandas esse, nihil dubitantes quin Vestra Serenissima Regia Majestas eas pro sua insigni bonitate, sapientia, doctrina, atque favore sinceriores Religionis, benigne acceptura sit. Cum enim ab Illustrissimis Principibus nostris nobis injuncta mandata Vestræ Serenissimæ Majestati jampridem exposuerimus, & præterea postulante Majestate Vestra cum quibusdam ejusdem Reverendissimis & Eruditissimis Episcopis & Theologiæ Doctoribus, de Articulis Religionis Christianæ per duos pæne menses sermones contulerimus, ac Dei beneficio res eo perducta fuerit, ut nihil ambigamus, quin inter Serenissimam Regiam Majestatem Vestram & Principes nostros, ac eorum in causa religionis confœderatos utrorumq; Episcopos, Theologos & Subditos firma

ma atq; perpetua concordia in ſinceriore Evangelii Doctrina, in laudem Dei Optimi Maximi, ſalutem Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ, ac perniciem Romani Antichriſti, ſecutura ſit, noſque reliquam diſputationem de abuſibus non expectare queamus, exiſtimavimus non eſſe alienum ab officio noſtro, ut ante diſceſſum noſtrum Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ, quæ per Dei Gratiam indefeſſa cura & diligentia ſinceram Evangelii Doctrinam promotam cupit, debitam obſervantiam, atque perpetuum ſtudium noſtrum literis noſtris teſtatum relinqueremus, & Majeſtati Veſtræ noſtrorum etiam ſententiam de quibuſdam Articulis abuſuum, de quibus Majeſtas Veſtra poſt abitum noſtrum haud dubie curabit eoſdem Epiſcopos & Theologos pro inquirenda veritate, ſermones conferre & diſputare, declararemus: nihil ambigentes, quin ea etiam in re Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra pro Chriſti gloria id præſtitura ſit, ut non tantum Doctrinam puram habeat, verum etiam abolitis aliquando impiis cultibus & abuſibus per Romanum Epiſcopum in Eccleſiam introductis, cultus ac Cæremonias conſentaneas Verbo Dei conſtituat: facile enim Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra pro ſua ſumma ſapientia perſpicit, non poſſe unquam Doctrinæ puritatem, vel conſtitui, vel conſervari, niſi tollantur è medio etiam hi abuſus, qui prorſus & ex diametro, ut dici ſolet, cum Verbo Dei pugnant, & Romani Antichriſti Tyrannidem ac Idololatriam, tum pepererunt, tum etiam hactenus conſervarunt; nam ut radicibus demum reſectis, neceſſe eſt arbores & herbas penitus exareſcere & perire, ita dubium non eſt, quin impiis Romani Epiſcopi abuſibus & Idololatria, ut fundamento ſtabilitatis ipſius labefactis & everſis, etiam Tyrannis ejuſdem prorſus ruitura & interitura ſit; quod niſi fiat perpetuo metuendum eſt, ne levi aliqua occaſione iterum repullulaſcat & tanquam à radice reviviſcat.

Sunt vero hæc tria pæne capita & fundamentum Tyrannidis & Idololatriæ Pontificiæ, quibus ſtantibus, neque Doctrina Religionis integra permanere, neque unquam Romani Epiſcopi improbiſſimus dominatus, penitus extirpari poterit: nempe, Prohibitio utriuſque ſpeciei Sacramenti in cœna Domini, Miſſa Privata, & Interdictio conjugii Sacerdotum, quæ quidem uſque adeo Dei Verbo adverſantur, adeoque etiam honeſtati publicæ repugnant, ut vel ex his ſolis apertiſſime intelligi poſſit Romanum Pontificem verum Antichriſtum, & omnis Idololatriæ, impietatis, erroris, & turpitudinis, in Chriſti Eccleſiam introductæ auctorem eſſe; de quibus ſane Articulis nos pauca quædam Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ optimo ſtudio ſcribemus, & ejuſdem ut Regis ſumma ſapientia, acerrimo judicio, & excellenti Doctrina præditi, cenſuræ committemus, perſuaſiſſimum nobis habentes Veſtram Majeſtatem Illuſtriſſimam Principum noſtrorum, & Statuum confœderatorum Conſilium & Inſtitutum, in hiſce Articulis non improbaturam eſſe.

Primum enim, Sereniſſime ac Potentiſſime Rex, non exiſtimamus quenquam inficias iturum, quin Chriſti Doctrina, mandata, & ordinationes omnibus aliis præceptis, traditionibus aut cæremoniis humanis præferri debeant; hic enim cum ipſe ſit vita & veritas, errare non poteſt, humana vero omnia, præcipue in rebus divinis, incerta & dubia ſunt. Porro conſtat Chriſtum ipſum utramq; ſpeciem inſtituiſſe, cum ait, Bibite ex hoc omnes; & Paulum idem docuiſſe, cum inquit, 2 Cor. 11. Probet ſeipſum homo, & ſic de pane comedat & poculo bibat. Quibus ſane locis, non de una parte Eccleſiæ, id eſt, de Sacerdotibus tantum, *De utraque ſpecie.*

ſed

ſed de tota Eccleſia mentio fit: Nam quod quidam ita Argumentantur ſolis Apoſtolis Chriſtum id dixiſſe, eaque de cauſa utramq; ſpeciem ad ſolos Sacerdotes pertinere, infirmum admodum eſt Argumentum; quia eadem ratione ſequeretur, quod Laicis ne altera quidem ſpecies danda eſſet; neque enim alio loco Chriſtus mandavit ſolum corpus Laicis dari, & utramque ſpeciem pro Sacerdotibus inſtituit: ſed hoc fatendum eſt, quod illud mandatum Chriſti de Sacramento, aut ad omnes, hoc eſt, Laicos & Sacerdotes pertineat, aut Laici prorſus a Sacramento Corporis etiam arcendi fuerint, cum nuſquam alibi in Evangelio, niſi tunc cum dedit Apoſtolis ſimul Corpus & Sanguinem, Sacramentum pro Laicis inſtitutum reperiatur; idque ad omnes pertinere Paulus declarat, cum addit, & de poculo bibat, &c. Quod enim dicunt Sacramenti diviſionem, urgentibus quibuſdam cauſis, ab Eccleſia inſtitutam eſſe, & ſub una ſpecie, non minus quam utraque contineri, non multum ad rem facit: Quis enim non intelligit hic de Chriſti inſtituto & mandato agi, idque humanæ auctoritati & opinionibus longe præferendum eſſe; neque enim Eccleſia ſumit ſibi hanc libertatem ex Chriſti Ordinationibus res indifferentes conſtituendi; & rationes illæ vel de diſcrimine ordinum, ſeu dignitate Sacerdotali, vel periculo effuſionis & ſimiles, nullo modo tantam queunt vim habere, ut propterea Divinæ Ordinationes mutandæ ſint; neque ulla etiam conſuetudo contra mandata Dei introducta, ipſis canonibus Pontificiis atteſtantibus, probanda eſt. Conſtat vero uſum utriuſque ſpeciei, & clarum habere mandatum Chriſti, & adprobationem Sanctorum Patrum, ac conſuetudinem veteris Eccleſiæ; ſic enim, inquit Divus Hieronymus, Sacerdotes qui Euchariſtiæ ſerviunt, & Sanguinem Chriſti populis diſtribuunt: & Gelaſius Pontifex, Sacramenti Corporis & Sanguinis Domini diviſionem prohibet, eamque grande Sacrilegium adpellat.

Adhæc, durat hodie hic mos Communionis utriuſque ſpeciei in Græcis Eccleſiis, quæ hac in re Romani Pontificis Tyrannidi ſemper reſtiterunt, neque ejus jugum recipere voluerunt, & teſtantur Hiſtoriæ tum in Germania, tum in multis aliis Regionibus ac Provinciis, verum Communionis uſum diu conſervatum fuiſſe, ſed tandem fulminibus Romani Antichriſti, quibus totum pæne orbem terrarum conterruit & ſubjugavit, homines, ut veriſimile eſt, victi verum Euchariſtiæ uſum mutarunt, ad quem tamen, per ſingularem Dei Gratiam, agnita iterum veritate Evangelica, cum Principes noſtri, tum alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, jam redierunt, & ſeſe ac ſuos in re Univerſæ Eccleſiæ maxime ſalutifera, tanquam in libertatem, excuſſo jugo Pontificio, vendicarunt & aſſeruerunt. Nam quæ cauſæ Pontificem permoverint, ut contra Chriſti mandatum & inſtitutum, contra ſententiam Sanctorum Patrum, contra conſuetudinem Univerſæ Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ, Sacramentum divideret, & Laicos Sanguine Domini nefarie ſpoliaret, facile Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra perſpicit. Veriſimile quidem videtur, eum voluiſſe ſuam, ſuique ordinis auctoritatem ac dignitatem, ea ratione augere, & hoc diſcrimen inter Laicos & Sacerdotes conſtituere; nam etiam nunc clamitant adverſarii, Laicos debere eſſe altera ſpecie contentos; quaſi Regnum aliquod poſſideant, & ita imperare ipſis liberum ſit, ut etiam Chriſti beneficium hominibus eripere queant, ad quod potius ſi ſuo officio fungi vellent, omnes invitare & pellicere deberent. Sed quid Chriſto cum Belial? quid Pontifici cum Chriſti inſtituto, cujus ipſe ſe ſummum adverſarium

eſſe

eſſe ſatis declarat, ideoque tum in hoc, tum aliis ſalutaribus Religionis Chriſtianæ Articulis oportuit ipſum a ſcriptura diſcedere, imo Doctrinam Evangelio conſentaneam damnare, ut manifeſtum fieret, eum eſſe Antichriſtum, de quo paſſim Scriptura talia prædixit.

Porro in altero Articulo, De Miſſa Privata, adhuc magis adparet a Romano Pontifice Religionem Chriſtianam adeo oppreſſam & obſcuratam, ut Chriſti Beneficium, qui ſua morte nos redemit, ſoluſque eſt hoſtia & ſatisfactio pro peccatis noſtris, pœnitus ſuſtulerit, & in ejus locum Idololatricum cultum pro abolendis peccatis in Eccleſiam invexerit eamque ſuis erroribus & prophanationibus miſerabiliter implicaverit, turbaverit & deformaverit. Cum enim Miſſa nihil aliud ſit, nec eſſe debeat, quam Communio ſive Synaxis, ut Paulus adpellat, neque etiam alius ejus uſus fuerit tempore Apoſtolorum & veteris Eccleſiæ, quemadmodum hoc clare ex S. Patribus probari poteſt, plane diverſum quoddam opus, prorſus pugnans cum Communione & vero Miſſæ uſu inde factum eſt, quod docent ex opere operato, ut loquuntur, mereri gratiam, & tollere peccata vivorum & mortuorum. *De Miſſa privata.*

Hæc opinio quantopere diſtet a Scripturis, ac gloriam Paſſionis Chriſti lædat, Sereniſſ. Regia Majeſtas Veſtra facillime judicabit. Si enim hoc verum eſt, quod Miſſa pro aliis applicari poteſt, quod peccata tollit, & prodeſt tam vivis quam mortuis, ſequitur Juſtificationem ex opere Miſſarum contingere, non ex fide; verum hoc omnino Scripturæ repugnat, quæ tradit nos gratis propter Chriſtum per fidem juſtificari, ac peccata nobis condonari, & in gratiam nos recipi, atque ita non alieno opere, ſed propria fide propter Chriſtum, ſingulos juſtos fieri: At illi docent alienum opus pro remittendis peccatis alteri, quod quidem merum eſt ſomnium & figmentum humanum, repugnans Evangelicæ Doctrinæ; nam tunc demum adplicatur gratia per Verbum & Sacramentorum uſum, cum ipſi utimur Sacramentis, ſed iſti pro aliis utuntur, quod perinde eſt ac ſi pro aliis Baptizarentur. Neque vero poteſt dici quantopere deformet Chriſti Gloriam opinio illa de Miſſa, quæ ex opere operato conferat gratiam, aut applicata pro aliis mereatur eis remiſſionem venialium & mortalium peccatorum culpæ & pœnæ; idque aperte adverſari Scripturæ, & a vero uſu Miſſæ ſive Communionis longe diſcidere, vel inde liquet, quia Miſſa ſive Synaxis ideo eſt inſtituta, ut fidelis qui utitur Sacramento recordetur quæ beneficia accipiat per Chriſtum & erigat ac ſoletur pavidam conſcientiam; ideoque ibi porrigi debet Sacramentum, his quibis opus eſt conſolatione, ſicut Ambroſius ait, quia ſemper pecco, ſemper debeo accipere Medicinam. Atque hic uſque ad tempora Gregorii in Eccleſia Miſſæ uſus fuit, neque antea privatæ Miſſæ cognitæ fuerunt; quod quidem cum multis aliis Patrum Sententiis patet, tum Chryſoſtomi, qui inquit, Sacerdotem ſtare ad Altare & alios ad Communionem accerſere, alios arcere: Et ex veteribus Canonibus conſtat, unum aliquem celebraſſe Miſſam, a quo reliqui Presbyteri & Diaconi ſumpſerunt corpus Domini, ſic enim inquit Canon Nicenus, Accipiant Diaconi ſecundum Ordinem poſt Presbyteros ab Epiſcopo vel Presbytero, Sacram Communionem. Et ſcribit Epiphanius, in Aſia Synaxim ter celebratam ſingulis ſeptimanis, nec quotidianas fuiſſe Miſſas, eumque morem ab Apoſtolis traditum eſſe; qui quidem Miſſæ uſus etiam hodie in Græcis Parochiis durare dicitur, nam tantum ſingulis dominicis diebus & feſtis, fit ibi una publica Miſſa, privatas vero

non

non habent: fuitque Græca Ecclesia hoc nomine longe fœlicior quam Latina, quæ meliorem usum cœnæ Domini, Synaxis, sive Missæ retinuerit, neque vel Sacramentum Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, contra claram Evangelii Doctrinam diviserit, ut paulo ante diximus, neque etiam privatas Missas Sacræ Scripturæ acerrime repugnantes, receperit; cujus quidem rei hanc potentissimam causam fuisse arbitramur, quod Græca Ecclesia Romanum Episcopum auctorem perversæ & Idololatricæ Doctrinæ, & omnium pœne abusuum qui in Ecclesiam introducti sunt, pro summo Ecclesiæ Universalis sive Catholicæ Capite, nunquam agnoverit.

Sed concedunt quidam adplicationes quæ fiunt in Missa pro vivis & mortuis, & item opiniones, quod ex opere operato gratiam mereri traduntur, non esse probandas, & disputant abolitis illis opinionibus impiis, alia ratione Missas privatas retinendas, nempe quia sunt gratiarum actiones, quæ possint ab uno vel a pluribus fieri. Hæc sane ratio videtur aliquam habere speciem, estque σοφὸν φάρμακον, ut inquit Sophocles, quo in causis invalidis, & ut ipse ait, morbidis utendum sit. Si Missa tantum esset gratiarum actio, possit fortassis tali aliquo prætextu colorari; verum constat eam principaliter institutam esse, ut sit Sacramentum quod per Ministrum alteri exhibeatur, ut accipens & credens consequatur gratiam. Et hoc quidem principali fine posito, accedit alter de gratiarum actione; quara nullo modo ab institutione Christi recedere, sed modum & formam illius Institutiones, & exemplum veteris Ecclesiæ sequi & retinere debemus: Nulla enim novitas, præsertim in Sacramentis, recipienda est, contra formam a Christo traditam, & contra exempla veteris Ecclesia.

Porro constat privatas Missas esse recentes, & a Romanis Pontificibus introductas, & ne hodie quidem, ut paulo ante dictum est, in Græcis Ecclesiis esse, nisi Parochiales diebus festis, cum quibus adhuc manet vestigium Communionis: Cum igitur contra Dei Verbum Missa privata introducta sit, eamque humanum tantum & commentitium cultum esse appareat, quis dubitat quin talis Missa, sine ullo periculo omitti possit, imo debeat, cum repugnet Evangelio? Estque pium & sanctum opus, verum Missæ sive Synaxis usum Ecclesiæ restituere ac reddere, quo per Romanum Pontificem, hoc est Antichristum, multis jam annis miserabiliter privata fuit, qui quidem adhuc mordicus privatas Missas tenet, adserit, & defendit. Neque id immerito, facile enim sentit quod labefactata Missa privata, labefactetur imo ruat Universum ejus Regnum & Tyrannis, quæ Missis illis nititur; ut enim in seminibus causa est Arborum & stirpium; ita hujus luctuosissimi dominatus, imperii, tyrannidis, nundinationis & Idololatriæ Pontificia semen fuit superstitio Missarum privatarum: Nam hæ pepererunt & sustinuerunt, veluti Atlas quidam, totum Papatum; ad harum normam omnia redacta sunt, siquidem nihil fuit, quod non Missa aliqua expiari posse creditum est. His aucupatus Pontifex Romanus indulgentias, quibus immensam pecuniam ex toto orbe terrarum prædatus est; hæ Monachorum turbas infinitas coacervarunt, cum eorum nullus alius esset usus, quam demurmurandi Missas privatas, & alioquin inutile terræ pondus forent. Hæ sunt & fuerunt universa pietas, quam Pontifex Romanus profitetur, hanc solam novit ille Religionem, quæ in Missis privatis consistit; Doctrinam enim Evangelii non modo non habet, verum acerrime odit & prosequitur, & in

summa

ſumma his Miſſis ipſam prædicationem Verbi Divini Pontifex exterminavit, ut per omnia Antichriſti munere fungeretur: Nam in loco unius concionis Verbi, amplius mille Miſſæ privatæ, hoc eſt, humani & commentitii cultus, contra Divinum Verbum ſucceſſerunt; cum non Miſſas fieri ſed Evangelium prædicare, & Sacramenta rite diſtribuere & adminiſtrare, Chriſtus Apoſtolis, quorum illi volunt eſſe ſucceſſores, mandaverit.

Curarunt igitur illuſtriſſimi Principes noſtri, & alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, Principes & Status, privatas Miſſas penitus aboleri, & verum Miſſæ uſum ſive Synaxim Chriſti inſtitutioni, exemplo Apoſtolorum, veteris Eccleſiæ ac Patrum ſententiis conformem, in Eccleſiam revocarunt & reſtituerunt. Quæ quidem Miſſa ſive Synaxis ſumma cum reverentia celebratur, ſervatis pæne omnibus uſitatis Cæremoniis, quæ non repugnant Pietati; & admiſcentur Germanicæ ſive Vernaculæ cautiones ad docendum populum; præcepit enim Paulus, in Eccleſia uti lingua intellecta à Populo. Porro, quia propter Communionem ſive uſum Sacramenti Miſſa inſtituta eſt, hi qui ſunt idonei & antea explorati, Sacramento utuntur; ac dignitas & uſus Sacramenti, ſumma diligentia ac cura ex Verbo Dei populo commendatur, ut ſciant & intelligant homines, quantam conſolationem pavidis conſcientiis adferat, ac diſcant Deo credere, & optima quæque ab eo expectare & petere.

Et hunc quidem Sacramenti & Miſſæ uſum, Scripturæ conſentaneum, Deo gratum, & Pietati conducibilem eſſe, Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra facile agnoſcit; neque enim hic aliquid contra Dei Verbum admittitur, imo ſecundum Chriſti mandatum & ordinationem, qui hanc Sacram Communionem ad hunc finem inſtituit, omnia geruntur: Nulla eſt hic admixta, prava, aut impia opinio, ut in Miſſa privata Papiſtica, cujus finis & inſtitutio cum Evangelio pugnat. Nihil hic etiam abſque ſumma reverentia, ordine, & decoro, digno Eccleſiæ, fieri cernitur: Audemuſque adfirmare, majore Religione hunc verum Miſſæ uſum exhiberi apud nos, quam hactenus unquam ſub Papatu privatæ Miſſæ celebratæ fuerint, provocamuſque ad teſtimonia doctiſſimorum virorum, qui à Majeſtate Veſtra miſſi in illis locis fuerunt, & hæc omnia coram fieri viderunt & audierunt.

Quod enim Adverſarii clamitant, Noſtros omnes cultus Divinos, omnes Cæremonias, omnem denique Religionem abolere & labefactare, ea in re Principibus noſtris, & aliis Evangelii Doctrinam profitentibus, injuriam faciunt; & hæc eos inſigni quadam malevolentia & odio pluſquam Vatiniano, ut dici ſolet, confingere & comminiſci clare adparet, cum ex Doctrina noſtrorum, quam conſentientem Sacris Literis in lucem ediderunt, & Scriptis ſuis univerſo orbi Chriſtiano promulgarunt, tum etiam exemplis noſtrarum Eccleſiarum, in quibus nolint velint coguntur fateri, omnia Religioſius & ſanctius fieri, quam apud ipſos; immo Dei beneficio univerſus populus, non tantum in templis eſt religioſior, ſed in tota diſciplina publica modeſtius ſe gerit, majoremque erga Magiſtratum civilem, & eos qui Eccleſiis præſunt reverentiam & honorem exhibet, quam unquam antea factum fuerit: & hoc ſincere Evangelii Doctrinæ acceptum referre debemus, quæ ſingulos, rectius omnibus Pontificiis conſtitutionibus, ſui officii admonet, & ſola in quibus revera pietas ac cultus divinus conſiſtat, tradit ac docet.

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non habent: fuitque Græca Ecclesia hoc nomine longe fœlicior quam Latina, quæ meliorem usum cœnæ Domini, Synaxis, sive Missæ retinuerit, neque vel Sacramentum Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, contra claram Evangelii Doctrinam diviserit, ut paulo ante diximus, neque etiam privatas Missas Sacræ Scripturæ acerrime repugnantes, receperit; cujus quidem rei hanc potentissimam causam fuisse arbitramur, quod Græca Ecclesia Romanum Episcopum auctorem perversæ & Idololatricæ Doctrinæ, & omnium pœne abusuum qui in Ecclesiam introducti sunt, pro summo Ecclesiæ Universalis sive Catholicæ Capite, nunquam agnoverit.

Sed concedunt quidam adplicationes quæ fiunt in Missa pro vivis & mortuis, & item opiniones, quod ex opere operato gratiam mereri traduntur, non esse probandas, & disputant abolitis illis opinionibus impiis, alia ratione Missas privatas retinendas, nempe quia sunt gratiarum actiones, quæ possint ab uno vel a pluribus fieri. Hæc sane ratio videtur aliquam habere speciem, estque σοφὸν φάρμακον, ut inquit Sophocles, quo in causis invalidis, & ut ipse ait, morbidis utendum sit. Si Missa tantum esset gratiarum actio, possit fortassis tali aliquo prætextu colorari; verum constat eam principaliter institutam esse, ut sit Sacramentum quod per Ministrum alteri exhibeatur, ut accipens & credens consequatur gratiam. Et hoc quidem principali fine posito, accedit alter de gratiarum actione; quara nullo modo ab institutione Christi recedere, sed modum & formam illius Institutiones, & exemplum veteris Ecclesiæ sequi & retinere debemus: Nulla enim novitas, præsertim in Sacramentis, recipienda est, contra formam a Christo traditam, & contra exempla veteris Ecclesia.

Porro constat privatas Missas esse recentes, & a Romanis Pontificibus introductas, & ne hodie quidem, ut paulo ante dictum est, in Græcis Ecclesiis esse, nisi Parochiales diebus festis, cum quibus adhuc manet vestigium Communionis: Cum igitur contra Dei Verbum Missa privata introducta sit, eamque humanum tantum & commentitium cultum esse appareat, quis dubitat quin talis Missa, sine ullo periculo omitti possit, imo debeat, cum repugnet Evangelio? Estque pium & sanctum opus, verum Missæ sive Synaxis usum Ecclesiæ restituere ac reddere, quo per Romanum Pontificem, hoc est Antichristum, multis jam annis miserabiliter privata fuit, qui quidem adhuc mordicus privatas Missas tenet, adserit, & defendit. Neque id immerito, facile enim sentit quod labefactata Missa privata, labefactetur imo ruat Universum ejus Regnum & Tyrannis, quæ Missis illis nititur; ut enim in seminibus causa est Arborum & stirpium; ita hujus luctuosissimi dominatus, imperii, tyrannidis, nundinationis & Idololatriæ Pontificia semen fuit superstitio Missarum privatarum: Nam hæ pepererunt & sustinuerunt, veluti Atlas quidam, totum Papatum; ad harum normam omnia redacta sunt, siquidem nihil fuit, quod non Missa aliqua expiari posse creditum est. His aucupatus Pontifex Romanus indulgentias, quibus immensam pecuniam ex toto orbe terrarum prædatus est; hæ Monachorum turbas infinitas coacervarunt, cum eorum nullus alius esset usus, quam demurmurandi Missas privatas, & alioquin inutile terræ pondus forent. Hæ sunt & fuerunt universa pietas, quam Pontifex Romanus profitetur, hanc solam novit ille Religionem, quæ in Missis privatis consistit; Doctrinam enim Evangelii non modo non habet, verum acerrime odit & prosequitur, & in

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piter prophanentur, quodque hic abuſus in omnibus pæne templis latiſſime pateat, non eſt obſcurum: Nam Chriſti beneficium qui nos pretioſo ſuo ſanguine redemit, idque gratuito pro vili ſtipe & mercede vendere, & tale etiam opus inde conſtituere velle, quod ex ſui natura, hoc eſt ex opere operato, mereatur gratiam, & poſſit adplicari pro peccatis aliorum, mortuorum & vivorum, quis non videt ſummam eſſe impietatem? Quid enim eſt corpus Domini indigne tractare & ſumere, ſi hoc non eſſet? An poteſt etiam magis impium quidquam dici, quam illi de Miſſis iſtis docuerunt? Nempe quod Chriſtus ſua paſſione ſatisfecerit pro peccatis Originis, & inſtituerit Miſſam, in qua fieret Oblatio pro quotidianis delictis mortalibus & venialibus: cum Chriſtus pœnitentiam & remiſſionem peccatorum prædicari mandaverit; Miſſam vero, hoc eſt Synaxim, ad alium plane finem inſtituerit, viz. ut porrigatur Sacramentum his quibus opus eſt conſolatione, & ut per Verbum & Sacramentum credentes gratiam recipiant, & remiſſionem peccatorum conſequantur, non ut ipſi ſuum opus, quod quale quale ſit, humanum figmentum, humanus cultus eſt, contra Scripturam Deo offerant ac ſacrificent. Hoc enim non placat Deum, ut Chriſtus ipſe inquit, ſe fruſtra coli mandatis hominum: Nam Miſſam non eſſe tale opus ſive Sacrificium, quod mereatur gratiam & proſit etiam aliis, inde adparet, quia Miſſa ſive Synaxis ad hoc eſt inſtituta, non ut Deo aliquid offeratur, ſed ut communicantes conſolationem hauriant, & veluti pignus ſeu certum ſignum gratiæ ac bonæ voluntatis Dei erga ſe recipiant, atque ita recordentur mortis Chriſti, hoc eſt, beneficiorum quæ per Chriſtum accipiunt, qui quidem pro nobis mortuus eſt, ſoluſque pro peccatis noſtris ſatisfecit; idque probant Verba ipſa quibus & Chriſtus & Paulus de Miſſa ſive Synaxi uſi ſunt.

Primum enim inquit Chriſtus, hoc eſt Corpus meum, quod pro vobis traditur. Hæc ſunt Verba Promiſſionis Divinæ quæ ſolam fidem exigunt, quibuſque offertur nobis gratia & remiſſio peccatorum, ergo non eſt Sacrificium, hoc eſt, opus quod Deo offeratur & quidem pro abolendis peccatis. Item Paulus ait, Annunciantes mortem Domini: Annunciare autem non eſt ſacrificare, hoc eſt tale opus Deo reddere, quo peccata deleantur. Præterea Evangelii textus ita ſonat, Fregit & dedit Diſcipulis, inquiens, accipite & comedite, &c. item bibite ex hoc omnes, &c. accipere autem, comedere, & bibere, non eſt ſacrificare, quia hæc opera ex opere operato non delent peccata.

Neque mandatur hiſce verbis, ut nos Deo aliquid offeramus, ſed potius ut ab eo accipiamus, quia addit, pro vobis traditum, & ſanguis qui pro vobis effunditur; quæ Verba oſtendunt, non exhiberi a ſumentibus Euchariſtiam Deo Sacrificium, ſed donum hominibus datum. Præterea vero nemo dicit Laicos cum ſumunt Sacramentum, Sacrificare: at quantum ad hanc Sacram Communionem, Miſſam, ſive Synaxim pertinet, nulla eſt ratio diverſitatis, cum idem Chriſtus uno eodemque tempore ac momento, propter eundem finem & uſum, hoc Sacramentum abſque differentia utentium Sacerdotum vel Laicorum inſtituerit. Et quemadmodum prohibitio utriuſque ſpeciei, humanum tantum commentum & mandatum eſt; ita quod de Sacrificio Miſſæ ex opere operato gratiam promerente traditur, humana tantum opinio eſt, contra Verbum Dei, à quo in rebus maximis, nempe ad remiſſionem peccatorum, ſalutem animarum, & vitam æternam pertinentibus, nullo modo eſt diſcedendum:

Non

Non enim fruſtra Paulus inquit & bis repetit, ſi nos aut Angelus de Cœlo evangelizet vobis præter id qd. evangelizavimus, & accepiſtis, Anathema ſit.

Præterea nec poteſt ratio diverſitatis aſſignari ex Sacris Literis, cur magis dicant eos qui Sacramento Euchariſtiæ fruuntur ſacrificare, quam illos qui alio Sacramento, ut Baptiſmo, utuntur, cum utrumq; nihil aliud ſit, quam Sacramenta, quæ Chriſtus horum inſtitutor & auctor prorſus ad alium finem, quam ut ſint talia Sacrificia, qualia illi comminiſcuntur, ordinavit. Sed oportuit, Romanum Pontificem Miſſas privatas, ad opprimendam Chriſti, cum ipſe hoſtis eſt, gloriam attollere, ut populum Chriſtianum à veritate Evangelica & agnitione Chriſti, & Sacramentorum legitimo uſu, prorſus abduceret, Chriſtique bonitatem & miſericordiam obliteraret. Qui enim Miſſam tale Sacrificium eſſe cogitant, quo Deus placetur, hi non queunt Chriſti beneficium expendere pro dignitate, & in terroribus ac doloribus iræ & judicii Dei non habebunt refugium, neque bona conſcientia poterunt dona & ſigna amoris divina agnoſcere, ſi alieno opere Deum placari & peccata remitti ſibi perſuaſum habeant: Nam illi ipſi qui nituntur impias opiniones de Miſſa privata excuſare, hoc prætextu, quaſi Miſſa ideo vocetur Sacrificium, quia ſit gratiarum actio & Sacrificium Laudis, hi convincuntur propriis ipſorum Teſtimoniis & Scriptis quæ de Miſſa extant, hæque perſuaſiones hominum animis etiam hodie de Miſſis privatis inhærent: ſic enim Thomas inquit in Opuſculo de Sacramento Altaris, cur Miſſa inſtituta ſit? Corpus Domini ſemel oblatum eſt in cruce, pro debito originali, ſic offeratur jugiter pro quotidianis delictis in Altari, ut habeat in hoc Eccleſia munus ad placandum ſibi Deum, ſuper omnia legis Sacrificia precioſum & acceptum.

Alexander Papa, nihil in Sacrificiis Eccleſiæ majus eſſe poteſt, quam Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti, nec ulla oblatio hac potior eſt, ſed omnes præcellit: item ipſa veritas nos inſtruit, Calicem ac panem in Sacramento offerre, quando ait, accipite & comedite, nam crimina atq; peccata, oblatis his Domino Sacrificiis, delentur. Et rurſus, inquit, talibus hoſtiis delectabitur & placabitur Deus, & peccata dimittet ingentia. Gabriel de Canon. Miſſæ, Sacramentum Euchariſtiæ veluti Sacrificium ſummo patri oblatum, nedum veniale ſed etiam mortale, non dico ſumentium ſed omnium eorum pro quibus offertur, & quantum ad reatum culpæ & pœnæ, plus vel minus ſecundum diſpoſitionem eorum pro quibus offertur, tollit: unde Thomas in Quarto Diſt. 1, 2. q. 2. Euchariſtia in quantum eſt Sacrificium, habet effectum etiam in aliis pro quibus offertur, in quibus non præ-exigit vitam ſpiritualem in actu, ſed in potentia, & ideo ſi eos diſpoſitos inveniat, eis gratiam obtinet, virtute illius veri Sacrificii a quo omnis gratia in nos fluxit, & per conſequens peccata mortalia in eis delet, non ſicut cauſa proxima, ſed in quantum gratiam contritionis eis impetrat.

His & ſimilibus omnes libri Scholaſticorum pleni ſunt, quibus uno ore docent, Miſſam tale eſſe Sacrificium, quo gratiam homines mereantur ex opere operato, quod ad delenda aliorum peccata adplicari poſſit. Quæ Doctrina aut potius perverſum & impium figmentum, an pugnet cum Sacris Literis necne? An verum Miſſæ ſeu Communionis uſum tradit necne? An Chriſti beneficium non magis obſcuret quam illuſtret, imo etiam prorſus tollat? Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati dijudicandum relinquimus, quæ pro ſua ſapientia, & non tantum in rebus politicis, ſed etiam Sacris & in omni genere doctrinarum acerrimo judicio, facile cenſebit, juſtiſſimã cauſam habuiſſe Principes noſtros & alios Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes,

Miſſas privatas abrogandi, & verum Miſſæ ſive Communionis uſum, pro Chriſti gloria & conſolatione totius Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ, reſtituendi & revocandi, poſtquam ex Dei Verbo cognoverunt, quantum privatæ Miſſæ à veritate Evangelica diſtent, quantumq; in iis inſit Impietatis & Idololatriæ: fuit enim unicum Sacrificium propitiatorium in mundo, viz. Mors Chriſti, qui, ut Paulus inquit, ſemel eſt pro nobis oblatus, & factus hoſtia pro peccatis noſtris, quod cætera legis Sacrificia propitiatoria ſignificarunt, quæ ſimilitudine quadam, erunt ſatisfactiones redimentes juſtitiam Legis, ne ex politia excluderentur illi qui peccaverant, eaque ceſſaverunt poſt Revelatum Evangelium: in Novo Teſtamento, neceſſe eſt cultum tantum eſſe Spiritualem, hoc eſt, juſtitiam Fidei & fructus Fidei, quia adfert juſtitiam & vitam ſpiritualem & æternam, juxta, Dabo Legem meam in cordibus eorum; & Chriſtus ait, veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in ſpiritu & veritate, i. e. vero cordis adfectu, qua de cauſa abrogati ſunt Levitici cultus, quod debeant ſuccedere cultus Spirituales mentis, & horum fructus ac ſigna; ut in Epiſtola ad Hebræos manifeſte docetur.

Ex quibus omnibus ſequitur Miſſam non eſſe Sacrificium, quod ex opere operato mereatur, faciente vel aliis remiſſionem Peccatorum, ut illi docuerunt. Et quocunque quidam fuco nitantur excuſare Miſſas privatas, ſemper eis refragatur & reclamat Doctrina ipſorum de Miſſa, qua eam aliis poſſe adplicare tradiderunt, & peccata delere hominibus perſuaſerunt. Hæc opinio niſi reſtituto vero Miſſæ uſu, nunquam ex animis hominum delebitur, ſed perpetuo manet & redit is error, quod oporteat talem eſſe cultum in Eccleſia, quo Deus placetur.

Et ut videatur fictione juris; Jureconſulti loquuntur, Miſſam poſſe vocari ſacrificium memoriale ſive Laudis: at cum id non ſit ſatisfactorium pro facientibus, vel adplicabile pro aliis, quo quis mereatur remiſſionem Peccatorum, quorſum attinebit, relicto vero ejus uſu & inſtitutione, id in Eccleſiam introducere, ubi propter nullam humanam rationem, commentum, aut opinionem, à Chriſti mandato & ordinatione eſt diſcedendum? Eadem enim ratione; Natalis Domini & ſimilia Feſta, quæ in Chriſti memoriam celebrantur, ſacrificia memorialia ſive Euchariſtica dici poſſent; imo talia Sacrificia verius ſunt, Evangelii prædicatio, fides, invocatio, gratiarum actio, adflictiones, aut adplicationes pro aliis; & Miſſæ principalis finis, ut ſupra diſſeruimus, is eſt, ut ſit Sacramentum, quod per Miniſtrum alteri exhibeatur, quare non poteſt dici Sacrificium; cum nemo ignoret magnum inter Sacrificia & Sacramenta diſcrimen eſſe, his enim nos dona à Deo oblata accipimus, illis vero noſtrum Deo reddimus & offerimus.

Neque vero habent privatæ Miſſæ alios auctores quam Pontifices, qui à tempore Gregorii, nunc hanc, nunc illam Cæremoniam, Cantionem, aut Orationem, ſinguli pro ſua ſanctitate & opinione adjecerunt, ut hiſtoriæ uno conſenſu teſtantur, donec eandem, egregium, illud opus, dignum iſtis auctoribus exædificarunt, & relicto vero Miſſæ ſive Communionis uſu, ac obliterata doctrina de Chriſto, Univerſa Eccleſia Miſſis privatis in qua ſola omnem pæne Sanctitatem poſuerunt, repleta & obruta fuit.

Hæc Sereniſſime ac Potentiſſime Rex noſtrorum Principum & aliorum Imperii ordinum, Evangelicam Doctrinam profitentium, Theologi & Doctores, juſtis voluminibus explicarunt, quæ quidem hac Epiſtola nos breviter attingenda duximus; non quod Sereniſſimam Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram hæc latere penitus putemus, neq; enim ignoramus Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ & veterum & recentium ſcripta, de his & aliis Contro-

Controverſiis Eccleſiaſticis diligentiſſime cognita eſſe, de quibus etiam Majeſtas Veſtra ſapientiſſime, eruditiſſime ſæpe cum doctis viris conferre & diſputare ſolet: ſed hæc ideo fecimus ut Majeſtati Veſtræ, quam poſſet fieri breviſſime, occaſionem & cauſas quaſdam abolitarum, privatarum Miſſarum apud nos, ſumma cum obſervantia ut decet exponeremus; & adverſariorum calumnias, quibus cum apud Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram, tum alias, undecunque quæſita & arrepta occaſione, variis technis & figmentis, doctrinam ſinceriorem gravare & in odium omnium perducere conantur, declinaremus.

Neque vero ambigimus, quin Majeſtas Veſtra, ut Rex eruditiſſimus & veritatis Evangelicæ amantiſſimus, facillime judicabit, quod non temere privatæ Miſſæ apud nos abrogatæ ſint, ſed juſtiſſimis & firmiſſimis rationibus, ex Dei Verbo quod ſolum errare non poteſt, ſincere & abſque ſophiſtica deductis, pro conſervanda & illuſtranda Chriſti Gloria, & hominum ſalute id factum eſſe: Et opponantur qualeſcunq; excogitari poſſint Cavillationes & Sophiſmata, tamen adparebit noſtros hoc agere quod ſit tutius, dum retinent modum & formam inſtitutionis Chriſti. Ac maxima pars Sacerdotum ſua ſponte apud nos deſiit Miſſas privatas celebrare, poſteaquam intellexerunt ex Evangelica Doctrina, quantum in iis erroris & impietatis eſſet; & plurimi ac doctiſſimi quique, qui Sacerdotia aut Parochias ſub Magiſtratibus alienis à ſincera Evangelii Doctrina tenebant, ea deſeruerunt, ne cogerentur facere contra ſuas Conſcientias, ſeque ad ea loca in quibus Evangelii Doctrina libere prædicatur contulerunt; graviſſimum enim eſt quenquam in re præſertim tali, quæ Dei gloriam lædit, ac Divino Verbo repugnat, tanquam ad cultum divinum adigi, & compelli.

Sed ne Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ prolixitate literarum ſimus moleſti, deſinemus plura de hoc articulo impræſentiarum diſſerere.

Reſtat tertius locus inſtituti Argumenti, viz. de Conjugio Sacerdotum, quod itidem Romanus Epiſcopus contra Scripturam, contra Leges Naturæ, & contra omnem Honeſtatem prohibuit, ac multorum peccatorum, ſcelerum & turpitudinis occaſionem præbuit: ſed fortaſſe ne poſſit dubitari eum eſſe Chriſti adverſarium, de quo cum illam ipſam prohibitionem, tum alia quædam quæ in illum ſolum adperte quadrant, Scriptura clare prædixit, oportuit eum talem Legem Cœlibatus Sacerdotalis ſancire, ut ſicut leo ex unguibus, ita Papa, hoc eſt, Antichriſtus, ab hac prohibitione Sanctiſſimi & in omnibus honorabilis conjugii, agnoſceretur; ſic enim Paulus inquit, Spiritus autem manifeſte dici, quod in noviſſimis temporibus diſcedent quidam à fide, attendentes Spiritibus Erroris & Doctrinis Dæmoniorum, in hypocriſi loquentium mendacium, cauteriatam habentium Conſcientiam ſuam, prohibentium nubere: hæc ſi non in Romanum Epiſcopum congruunt, in quem alium convenient? nemo enim alius quam ipſe conjugium Sacerdotibus injuſtiſſime eripuit, & cœlibatum impuriſſimum ſub ſpecie Sanctitatis, &, ut Paulus ait, in Hypocriſi & per mendacium introduxit. *De Conjugio Sacerdotum.*

Scriptura non minus Sacerdotibus, quam alterius ſortis hominibus matrimonium liberum permittit, ſunt enim de eadem carne, quæ totum genus humanum veſtit & continet, nati: non poſſunt igitur naturam ſuam mutare, non poſſunt carnem abjicere, nec abſque ſingulari Dei dono cœlibes vivere, nam non quilibet, ut Chriſtus inquit, capit Verbum hoc: & Paulus, propter Fornicationem unuſquiſque ſuam Uxorem habeat; & peculiariter de Sacerdotibus ait, conſtituas per civitates Preſbyteros ſicut

diſpoſui

diſpoſui tibi, ſi quis ſine crimine eſt, unius Uxoris vir, Filios habens fideles, non in accuſatione luxuriæ; item, oportet Epiſcopum eſſe irreprehenſibilem, unius Uxoris virum: patet igitur hanc prohibitionem non ex jure Divino, ſed potius contra Sacram Scripturam decretum eſſe.

At ſolet à quibuſdam Pontificiis defenſoribus opponi, quod licet conjugium Sacerdotum non videatur vetitum Divinis Literis, tamen Sacerdotes à veteribus temporibus in hunc uſq; diem in cœlibatu vixiſſe, eaq; de cauſa addunt non eſſe diſcedendum hac in re à tali exemplo, neq; permittendum conjugium Sacerdotibus. His, Sereniſſime ac Potentiſſime Rex, adperte refragantur hiſtoriæ, tum Eccleſiaſticæ tum aliæ, ex quibus clare patet, Epiſcopos & Sacerdotes veteribus temporibus conjugatos fuiſſe.

Primum enim Spiridion Cyprius Epiſcopus, vir unus ex ordine Prophetarum, ut Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica ait, Uxorem habuit ex qua filiam nomine Irenen ſuſcepit; deinde ordine pæne omnes Epiſcopi Uxorati fuerunt, quorum plurimi Filii poſtea, tum Romani, tum alii Epiſcopi creati ſunt: fuit enim Sylverius Papa Hormiſdæ Epiſcopi Filius, Papa Theodorus Theodori Epiſcopi Hieroſolymitani, Papa Adrianus ſecundus Talari Epiſcopi, Joannes decimus Papa Sergii Papæ, Gelaſius Valerii Epiſcopi, Papa Joannes decimus quintus Leonis Preſbyteri Filius; & ne omnes enumeremus, patet vel unica hiſtoria Polycratis, ex cujus parentibus ſeptem fuerunt per ordinem Epiſcopi, ipſe vero fuit octavus: at non eſt credibile omnes illos ex illegitimis nuptiis prognatos eſſe, cum ipſi canones & decreta Synodorum doceant, conjugia Sacerdotum eſſe licita; ſic enim inquit Canon Apoſtolorum, ſi quis docuerit Sacerdotem ſub obtentu Religionis propriam Uxorem contemnere, Anathema ſit.

Item extat præclarum exemplum de Paphnutio confeſſore, qui univerſæ Synodo Nicenæ prohibitionem conjugii diſſuaſit, & obtinuit ne hac ex parte ſancitum, ſed hoc in uniuſcujuſque voluntate non neceſſitate permiſſum fuerit. Quæ Hiſtoria etiam in jure Pontificio recenſetur, extatque decretum quoddam ſextæ Synodi, in quo palam damnatur prohibitio conjugii Sacerdotalis.

Sed objicitur iterum, propter votum caſtitatis, quod Sacerdotes præſtiterunt, non poſſe eis permitti nuptias. Hoc quale votum ſit, quamque obligatorium, quod ſine peccato ſervari non poteſt, Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra pro Summa Sapientia & Doctrina, facile æſtimabit: neq; enim donum caſtitatis omnibus datum eſt, idq; cœlibatus ipſe Sacerdotum, & quotidiana experientia etiam nunc teſtatur; & quid de tali voto ſentiendum ſit, Sanctorum Patrum ſententia declaravit, ſic enim Auguſtinus ait, quidam nubentes poſt votum adſerunt adulteros eſſe, ego autem dico vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt. Et Cyprianus de virginibus qui continentiam voverunt, ſic inquit, ſi præſervare nolunt, vel non poſſunt, melius eſt ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis ſuis cadant.

Cenſent itaque prædicti Sancti Patres tale votum non debere impedire Matrimonium, ſicut revera etiam non poteſt obſtare quo minus hi quibus donum continentiæ non contigit, matrimonium contrahant: nam melius eſt nubere quam uri, ut inquit Paulus; Quid autem eſt impurius cœlibatu illo Sacerdotali? quam pauci vero continent? quam plurimi in fornicationibus, adulteriis, & id genus ſimilibus ac gravioribus peccatis & flagitiis pæne quotidie deprehenduntur, contra quod ſi leges ſevere animadverterent, non habituri eſſent, quo de illo ficto & hypocritico cœlibatu adeo gloriarentur.

Ac

Ac tradunt Hiſtoriæ in Germania triennium aut amplius, Sacerdotes acerrime reſtitiſſe Sanctioni Pontificis Hildebrandi de cœlibatu, qui ſumma vi eis Uxores adimere conatus eſt, hique juſtiſſimas cauſas contra illam conſtitutionem ac tyrannidem Pontificiam, pro Matrimonio defendendo allegarunt, in qua re cum nihil æqui obtinere potuerint, tandem ingens orta eſt ſeditio contra Archiepiſcopum Moguntinum, qui decretum pontificium detulerat, adeo ut is ab incœpto deſtiterit; & vix tandem Papa poſt multas diras Execrationes & Bullas, quibus etiam Cœlum ipſum expugnare conatus eſt, miſeris Sacerdotibus facultatem liberam conjugii, contra divina & humana jura abſtulerit, & omnis generis libidinis & impuritatis exercendæ occaſionem præbuerit: Extat quoque Epiſtola ad Nicolaum Epiſcopum Romanum I. Divi Udalrici Epiſcopi Auguſtenſis, qua is graviſſimis & optimis argumentis diſſuadet & damnat prohibitionem conjugii Sacerdotum.

Cum igitur Principes noſtri, & alii profitentes Evangelii Doctrinam, patefacta per Dei Gratiam iterum veritate, intellexerint quid de prohibitione illa Pontificia conjugii Sacerdotalis ſentiendum eſſet, & palam viderent & experirentur, quod non poſſet cœlibatus ille ſine peccatis & ſcandalis conſiſtere, ruperunt in ea etiam vincula Pontificia, ac Matrimonium Sacerdotibus, ſicut hoc Scriptura Sacra & exempla Sanctorum Patrum ac veteris Eccleſiæ exigunt & teſtantur, liberum permiſerunt. Exiſtimarunt enim hoc quoque ad ſuum officium pertinere, ut infinitorum ſcandalorum & ſcelerum, quæ neceſſario ſecum trahit cœlibatus Sacerdotalis, occaſionem & materiam præſcinderent & auferrent, publicæque honeſtati hac quoque in re conſulerent; maxime cum animadverterent quantæ etiam abominationes, & in ordine Sacerdotali, & in Monaſteriis Veſtalium ac Monachorum evenerint, in quibus compertum eſt ſæpe infantes crudeliter necatos, pharmacis fœtus depulſos, & ſimilia nefaria crimina commiſſa, quos ſolos fructus cœlibatus ille protulit: ideoque plurimi nunc ſunt conjugati Sacerdotes apud nos, multi etiam cœlibes, idque cujuſque Conſcientiæ ut vel ducat Uxorem vel a Conjugio abſtineat, permittitur; modo ita vivat ne ſit aliis offendiculo, alioqui enim non minus in Sacerdotes quam reliquum vulgus, hac quoque parte, ſecundum Leges politicas animadvertitur. Ac per Dei Gratiam, hoc inde ſecutum eſt, quod eorum Conſcientiis, quibus continentiæ donum non contigit, conſultum fuerit, plurimorum flagitiorum & ſcelerum occaſio ceſſaverit, matronis ac puellis quibus plerique iſtorum ſub ſpecie Pietatis ſæpiſſime inhiabant, & laqueos nectebant, nihil ejuſmodi periculi ſit; & in ſumma, quod quum tum Officia Eccleſiaſtica, tum politica majore reverentia & honeſtate tractentur, quodque ab univerſis in majore honore & favore habeantur Sacerdotes, quam antea in illo pleno ſcandalis cœlibatu acciderit, id quoque magna ex parte honeſtum conjugium Sacerdotum præſtat.

Adhæc, nulli acrius & conſtantius oppugnant Romanum Pontificem, & tum Matrimonii libertatem, tum ſanam Doctrinam ab illo obſcuratam & oppreſſam defendunt, quam hi qui ab ejus jugo impuri illius cœlibatus liberati ſunt: & honeſte etiam ſuos liberos, quos ex conjugio ſuſcipiunt educare ſolent, quibus haud dubie Deus etiam poſt mortem parentum, ubi in timore Domini aliti & edocti fuerint, proſpiciet; graviſſimum enim eſſe, Sacerdotes ideo à conjugio arcere, quia ſua munia ſive officia tantum ad vitam ſuam, non autem jure hæreditario tenent;

eadem

eadem ratione multis aliis qui ſunt aut in publicis muneribus, aut in privatis Miniſteriis, Matrimonium interdicendum foret. Quod quidem ſi fieret, Reip. plus incommodi quam boni allaturum eſſet; cum & Sacrarum Literarum Auctoritate, Sanctiſſimorum Patrum Sententiis, Legum, Naturæ & Gentium teſtimonio, & omnium ſapientiſſimorum virorum judicio ac ſuffragiis conſtet, Matrimonium ſemper iis, qui cœlibes vivere non queant, ad vitanda graviora pericula, conceſſum & liberum eſſe debere.

Hæc, Sereniſſime ac Invictiſſime Rex, coram Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtate Veſtra, breviter diſſerenda duximus, ut Majeſtati Veſtræ rationes quaſdam commemoraremus, cur Illuſtriſſimi Principes noſtri, & alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes Principes & Status Imperii, in his tribus Articulis adeo diſſentiant à Romano Pontifice, ut ſicut in reliquis Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ partibus a veritate vel latum digitum non diſcedendum eſſe exiſtiment, ita in his etiam decreverint, abjecta ejus Tyrannide, pro Gloria Evangelii, & ad vitanda infinita ſcelera, perdurare: neque vero hic dicemus de aliis abuſibus à Romano Pontifice introductis, in quos imprimis Confeſſio Auricularis recenſeri meretur, qua ille, & Poteſtatem clavium tantum ad turpiſſimum quæſtum & Tyrannidem redegit, & Confeſſionem ipſam, quæ informandarum & conſolandarum Conſcientiarum gratia ſalubriter inſtituta fuit, carnificinam tantum Conſcientiarum reddidit, perque eam tum omnes Reges, Principes, & Potentatus ſub ſuo jugo tenuit, tum multorum malorum auctor extitit; de qua quid noſtri ſentiant, ac qua reverentia in Eccleſiis retineant, edita ipſorum ſcripta teſtantur.

Ac gratulamur nobis datam occaſionem hæc Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ exponendi, ejuſq; cenſuræ committendi: Cum enim Majeſtas Veſtra & ſumma Doctrina, Sapientia ac ſtudio Veritatis prædita ſit, & Romani Epiſcopi Tyrannidem (haud ſine mente Deum, ſive numine Divum, ut Poeta inquit) itidem ex ſuis ampliſſimis Regnis exterminari curaverit, neque amplius per Dei Gratiam illius impiis opinionibus captiva teneatur; perſuaſiſſimum nobis habemus Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtatis hiſce de rebus maximis, quæ ad Dei Gloriam, ſalutem Eccleſiæ, & perpetuam profligationem Romani Antichriſti pertinent, æquiſſimum ac liberrimum fore judicium, quod ſane ii, quibus vel Doctrina aut veritatis ſtudium deeſt, vel animum habent addictum Pontificiis Opinionibus, vel metu interdum prohibentur, aut etiam ab affectibus diverſe trahuntur, non adeo facile præſtare poſſunt; & plurimi interdum inſervientes tempori, fingunt ſe odiſſe Pontificem, ſimulantque ſtudium veritatis, quibus tamen revera aliud eſt cordi, hi vero quum non poſſint nec debeant de hiſce controverſiis ferre ſententiam, Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra nequaquam ignorat.

Non autem dubitamus, quin ut quiſque eſt eruditiſſimus, & veritatis Evangelicæ amantiſſimus, ita facillime eum cauſam noſtram, imo Chriſti & Eccleſiæ, adprobaturum eſſe, neque enim ea ullum commodum aut emolumentum privatum quæritur, ſed ſolum agitur de abolendis impiis abuſibus in Chriſti Eccleſiam per Antichriſtum invectis, & Chriſti Gloria illuſtranda, ac veris Cultibus reſtituendis, & ut hominum Conſcientiæ Jugo ac Tyrannide pontificia liberentur, ac ſcandala publica, quantum fieri poſſit, è medio tollantur. Quarum quidem rerum ſtudium quo jure reprehendi queat, ut etiam magis favore & imitatione dignum cenſendum

dum ſit ; Cum enim omnium bene conſtitutarum Rerumpub. hic præcipue finis & ſcopus eſſe debeat, ut & Dei Gloria ornetur, & publica ſalus, honeſtas, pax & tranquillitas conſervetur, quis dubitat eos qui ſedent ad gubernacula Rerumpub. & ad hæc tanquam ad Cynoſuram, ut dici ſolet, curſum ſuum & omnem rationem regendi Rempublicam inſtituunt, maximis Laudibus dignos eſſe? Et quoniam Sereniſſima Regia Veſtra Majeſtas, ut Rex ſapientiſſimus & eruditiſſimus, hunc quoque ſcopum in gubernandis ampliſſimis & laudatiſſimis Regnis & Provinciis ſuis ob oculos habere, Luce meridiana clarius adparet, non poſſumus non nobiſipſis, quum in hac honeſtiſſima cauſa promovendæ Chriſti Gloriæ & Publicæ utilitatis, ad Sereniſſimam Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram Oratores miſſi ſumus, non gratulari ; non poſſumus etiam non fœlices judicare univerſos ſubditos, Majeſtatis Veſtræ, quibus divina bonitate talis Rex & Princeps contigerit, qui cum aliis regiis Virtutibus excellit, tum ſtudio veræ pietatis & veritatis Evangelicæ omnibus modis admirandus conſpicitur.

Sunt quidem illa maxima Remp. certis & juſtis Legibus civilibus conſtituere, bonos tueri & juvare, improbos pœnis adficere, arcere injurias, Pacem & Concordiam ſubditorum conſervare ; quis enim non tanquam Deum aliquem talem Principem amplectendum & honorandum putet, a quo iſta præſtentur : ſed adhuc ſunt majora, ſi vera pietas acceſſerit, ſi Chriſti Gloria ornetur, ſi Dei Verbum in pretio habeatur, ſi cultus Divinæ Voluntati conſentanei inſtituantur, ſi hominum conſcientiis conſulatur, & publica ſcandala è medio tollantur ; illa enim tantum hanc civilem vitam attingunt, quam unumquemq; quum tempus præfinitum advenerit, deſerere oportet ; hæc vero ad æternam ſalutem pertinent quæ bonos & pios, ceſſante hac miſera conditione humanæ Vitæ, expectat, quibuſq; & in hoc, & in futuro ſæculo, maxima præmia propoſita ſunt. Hoc eſt cur Deus Reges honore ſui nominis ornat, cum ait, Ego dixi, Dii eſtis, maxime ut res divinas intelligant, & veram Religionem in Mundo conſervent ; huc præcipue Scriptura hortatur, cum inquit, Nunc Reges intelligite, & erudimini qui judicatis terram, ſervite Domino, &c. huc invitant exempla præſtantiſſimorum Regum in Sacris Literis, qui ſumma cura, opera, ac ſtudio veram Religionem promoverunt, & impios cultus abrogarunt : hoc David, hoc Joſias, hoc Joſaphat, hoc Ezechias, & deinceps omnes Sanctiſſimi Reges præſtiterunt. Eadem cum Sereniſſ. R. M. Veſtra haud dubie etiam cogitet, imo jam nunc in hoc totis viribus incumbat, ut ſincera Evangelii Doctrina Papæ Tyrannide oppreſſa reſtituatur, Gloria Chriſti itidem à Pontifice obſcurata iterum illuſtretur, & impii abuſus ab illo ipſo Antichriſto in Eccleſiam tanquam venenum quoddam peſtilentiſſimum ſparſi & introducti aboleantur, ac veri & Divinis Literis conſentanei Cultus & Cæremoniæ conſtituantur, non dubitamus quin Deus Opt. Max. Sereniſſ. R. Majeſtatis Veſtræ conatus & conſilia, in hiſce rebus Sanctiſſimis & Honeſtiſſimis fortunaturus ſit, & pro ſua bonitate clementer effecturus, ut inter Sereniſſ. R. M. Veſtram & Principes noſtros, ac eorum in cauſa Religionis conſœderatos, talis concordia conſtituatur, quam & Laudem Evangelii, & publicam totius Chriſtiani Orbis utilitatem ceſſuram, & majori exitio Romano Antichriſto futuram eſſe, minime ambigimus ; eſtque optima ſpes, ut volente Deo, plures Reges, Principes, & Potentatus, ad hanc Sanctiſſimam cauſam accedant, ac Evangelicæ veritatis Doctrinam agnoſcant &

recipiant, ſicut etiam hactenus per Dei Gratiam, maximi progreſſus facti ſunt, & non tantum in Germania, verum etiam extra Germaniam, Potentiſſimi Reges, Principes & Civitates, Divini Verbi Doctrinam receperunt.

Adparetque homines paſſim agnita veritate, ex Scriptis eorum qui Evangelii Doctrinam profitentur & docent, per totum pæne orbem terrarum ſparſis ſanioris Doctrinæ admodum cupidos eſſe, quorum preces aliquando Deus pro ſua benignitate exaudiet, ac ſuum Verbum illuminatis mentibus Regum & Principum latiſſime propagabit, ut ſi unus Paſtor, hoc eſt Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus, & unum Ovile quod eſt Eccleſia Catholica, quæ profitetur ſincerum Chriſti Evangelium, & illi conſentaneum uſum Sacramentorum retinet, non Papiſtica aut Romana, quæ utrumque reprobat, odit, & oppugnat.

Quod reliquum eſt, Sereniſſime ac Potentiſſime Rex, Domine Clementiſſime, precamur & optamus ut Sereniſſ. Regia Majeſtas Veſtra in cœpto negotio veritatis Evangelicæ pro illuſtranda Chriſti Gloria & ſalute publica, per Dei Gratiam fortiter pergat, quod quidem Majeſtatem Veſtram, ut Regem veræ Pietatis & omnis virtutis ac Doctrinæ amantiſſimum, facturam nihil dubitamus: Oramuſque ut Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra dato benigno reſponſo, ad Illuſtriſſimos Principes noſtros, quam primum fieri queat, ne commodam præſentis Navigationis occaſionem negligamus, clementer nos dimittat; & ut Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra, erga quam noſtra debita officia atque ſervitia ſumma cum obſervantia perpetuo conſtabunt, has noſtras Literas pro ſua inſigni humanitate, bonitate ac clementia, in optimam partem accipiat, noſque etiam clementer commendatos habeat. Bene valeat Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra, quam Deus Opt. Max. pro illuſtranda & propaganda nominis ſui Gloria & publica ſalute, diu ſervet incolumem. Datæ Londini quinto die Auguſti Anno Dom. 1538.

Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ Regiæ

Majeſtatis

Addictiſſimi & obſequentiſſimi,

Franciſcus Burgratus
Vicecancellarius.

Georgius a Boyneburgh
D. Oratores.

Friderichus Myconius
Eccleſiaſtes Gothanus.

VIII. *The King's Anſwer to the former Letter.*

LIteras Veſtras, Egregii ac præſtantiſſimi Oratores, per miniſtrum veſtrum nuper ad nos miſſas, ſumma humanitate plenas, atque ingentem erga nos benevolentiam ſpirantes, tum libenter accepimus, tum magna cum voluptate legimus; quibus ſignificatis vos, poſt expoſita nobis mandata, cum quibuſdam Epiſcopis & Theologiæ Doctoribus à nobis deſignatis de Chriſtianæ Religionis nonnullis Articulis per duos menſes contuliſſe; non dubitare quoque quin inter Principes veſtros & nos, atq; utrorumq; Epiſcopos, Theologos & ſubditos, firma perpetuaq; concordia in Evangelii Doctrina ad laudem Dei, & Romani Antichriſti perniciem ſit ſequutura: Verum quia reliquam diſputationem de abuſibus expectare non poteſtis, cum jam naves appulerint vos in patriam deportaturæ, ante diſceſſum Veſtrum exiſtimatis veſtri officii eſſe ut ſententiam veſtram de quibuſdam abuſuum Articulis nobis declaretis, de quibus nos poſt diſceſſum veſtrum cum Epiſcopis & Theologis noſtris conferre poſſemus. Et quia tria capita præcipua putatis quæ fundamentum Pontificiæ Tyrannidis ſuſtentare videntur, nempe Prohibitionem utriuſque ſpeciei in cœna Domini, Miſſas privatas, & Prohibitionem Conjugii Sacerdotum; de his Articulis ſententiam veſtram ingenue aperitis, atque eam judicio noſtro quantumcunq; id ſit, & cenſuræ committitis: Quis non hanc veſtram benevolentiam, Egregii Oratores, ſummopere amplectatur? Quis non hanc Veſtram Gratitudinem modis omnibus admiretur? Qui nobiſcum ea communicare ſtudetis, quæ non modo ad præſentem vitam tranſigendam, ſed ad futuram quoque aſſequendam conferunt? Enimvero ſi illos non abs re exiſtimamus amicos, qui in Regionum commerciis ea quæ ſunt grata atque commoda important, ne quid uſquam deſit quod ad præſentem vitam degendam pertinet; quanto magis illi ſunt amici judicandi, qui quæ ad æternam vitam conferunt, impertiri non gravantur! nam quæ præſentis vitæ ſubſidia parantur durabilia diu non ſunt, quæ vero ad æternam promovent nunquam intermoriuntur? quinimo amicitia ipſa terrena, quantumvis ingens, quantumvis firma, finem habet è vita exceſſum, charitas vero quæ nunquam excidit poſt hanc vitam ſplendeſcit magis. Et quia noſtrum judicium non aſpernari videmini, quod nos ipſi indignum exiſtimamus, ut de rebus tam arduis judicemus, atque ea proponitis quæ putatis inprimis amplectenda, qua in re non vulgarem ſed ingentem vim erga nos amoris oſtenditis, ne nos non reſpondere hinc veſtræ tantæ gratitudini videremur, ſi quæ nobis ad præſens videntur vobiſcum non communicaremus, decrevimus itidem de his tribus Articulis nonnihil attingere, & pectus noſtrum ingenue vobis aperire: Quo fiet ut mutuus inter nos & Principes veſtros amor eo magis augeſcat, eo diutius foveatur, ſi nihil occultum inter amicos retentetur, ſed ſumma ſinceritate gerantur omnia, id quod nos cum omnibus amicis ſemper facere conſuevimus; quod noſtrum perpetuum inſtitutum in præſentia apud Amiciſſimos, eoſque quos habemus chariſſimos, mutare nequaquam libuit. Verum de Articulis ipſis tandem agamus.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

De utraque Specie.

Quod imprimis ſub utraq; Specie ſemper Euchariſtiam populis ſecundum primariam Chriſti inſtitutionem dandam eſſe exiſtimetis, & nullo pacto ſub altera tantum, non poſſumus quovis pacto adduci, egregii & præſtantiſſimi Oratores, ut putemus vos id ſerio affirmaſſe, ſed forſan probandi cauſa nobis id potuiſſe, ut quid ſentiamus intelligeritis; nam ipſa opinio tam aliena eſt à recta Scripturæ intelligentia, ut vix quivis id ſerio affirmare præſumeret, quod latius in hac Epiſtola declarabimus. Nec nobis perſuadere poſſumus, etſi occaſio ſit, vos non nobiſcum credere, quod ſub ſpecie Panis ſit realiter & ſubſtantialiter verum & vivum Corpus Chriſti, & una cum Corpore Sanguis verus, alioqui fatendum eſſet Corpus ibi exſangue eſſe, quod nefas eſſet dicere, cum Caro illa Chriſti non modo viva, ſed & vivificatrix ſit; & quod ſub ſpecie vini non modo vivus & verus Chriſti Sanguis ſit, ſed etiam una cum vero Sanguine viva & vera etiam Corporis ſit Caro. Quod cum ita ſit, neceſſario conſequetur etiam eos qui ſub altera ſpecie communicant, & ſolum ſub ſpecie Panis Corpus Chriſti ſumunt, non fraudari Communione Sanguinis Chriſti, atque eos etiam qui ſub ſpecie vini Communicant non fraudari Communione Corporis Domini; Quocirca cum ſub alterutra ſpecie utrumq; contineatur, viz. & Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti, utravis ſolum ſpecies porrigatur populis, utrumque, id eſt tam Sanguis quam Corpus Chriſti, per hoc eiſdem exhibeatur. Nam Chriſtus ipſe ſub altera ſpecie dediſſe legitur in Evangelio Lucæ Diſcipulis duobus in Emaus euntibus, quando agnitus eſt in fractione Panis; ſcribitur enim, quod cum recumberet cum eis, accepit Panem & benedixit, ac fregit & porrigebat illis, & aperti ſunt oculi eorum, & cognoverunt eum fractione Panis. Ubi de Euchariſtia cum locum vetuſtiſſimi Authores Chryſoſtomus, Theophylactus, & Auguſtinus intelligunt, & tamen de vini poculo nulla ibi fit mentio: Unde Chriſtus qui in altera ſpecie miniſtravit Euchariſtiam, libertatem Eccleſiæ ſponſæ ſuæ reliquiſſe videtur, ut imitetur ſponſi ſui veſtigia, ac ſimiliter ſub altera ſpecie, ſicut ſub utraque, communicare libere poſſit. Nam Chriſtus qui ſub utraq; ſpecie Communionem docuit, etiam de Communione ſub altera ipſe exemplum reliquit, qui ſecum tamen nuſquam vel in præceptis, vel in exemplis diſſidet.

Simile idem Lucas in Actis Apoſtolorum citat, quando poſt adventum Spiritus Sancti, prædicante Petro, appoſitæ ſunt animæ circiter tria millia, inquiens, Erant autem perſeverantes in Doctrina Apoſtolorum & Communicatione & fractione Panis & orationibus; Ubi ſimiliter de Euchariſtia eum locum intelligunt veteres, & de poculo nulla ſit ibi mentio. Jam ſi Chriſtum ipſum Autorem, ſi Apoſtolos ab eo ad docendum orbem miſſos Patronos habet, Communio ſub una ſpecie nempe Panis, uſitata in Eccleſia non eſt tanquam Evangelicis præceptis contraria, ſtatim repudianda; nam Apoſtoli, qui per adventum Spiritus edocti ſunt omnem veritatem, nunquam in fractione Panis Communionem dediſſent populo, ſi utraq; ſpecies de præcepto Chriſti ſemper neceſſario ſumſiet porrigenda, ne Chriſti jubentis parum memores inſtitutum ejus mutaſſe viderentur.

Porro ipſa Chriſti Verba, quæ poſt Evangeliſtas Paulus totam cœnam dominicam Corinthiis enarrans citat, nos admonent Chriſtum ſeparatim de

de alterutra ſpecie locutum eſſe; ait enim, Dominus Ieſus in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit Panem & Gratias agens fregit, & dixit, accipite & manducate, Hoc eſt Corpus meum quod pro vobis traditur, hoc facite in mei Commemorationem. Ecce Chriſtus de Corpore ſuo ſub ſpecie Panis ſumendo ſeparatim locutus eſt, inquiens, Hoc facite, priuſquam ullam de poculo faceret mentionem. Poſtea autem de Calice ait Paulus, Similiter & Calicem poſtquam cœnavit accepit dicens, Hic Calix Novum Teſtamentum eſt in meo Sanguine, hoc facite quotieſcunq; bibetis in mei Commemorationem: Nec dixit ſicut de corpore dixerat ſimpliciter, Hoc facite in mei Commemorationem, ſed dixit, Hoc facite, cum hac adjectione, nempe quotieſcunq; bibetis in mei Commemorationem, per hoc nobis indicans, non ſemper ſub ſpecie vini ſumendum eſſe ſanguinem una cum Corpore ſub ſpecie Panis, ſed quotieſcunq; ſumeretur Sanguis ſub ſpecie Vini in Commemorationem Chriſti, id faciendum.

Ecce rurſum Chriſtus poſt diſtributionem corporis ſui, peracta cœna in qua corpus ſuum ſub ſpecie Panis ſeparatim prius dederat, iterum ſeparatim ſub ſpecie Vini Sanguinem ſuum offert, inquiens, Hoc facite quotieſcunq; bibetis in mei Commemorationem, ſignificans nobis & ſeorſum nonnunquam alterum porrigi poſſe, & tamen cum ita ſit, utriuſq; vim integram Populis dari, alioqui ſuffeciſſet ſemel duntaxat de utroq; fuiſſe dictum, Hoc facite, nec de Calice adjeciſſet Hoc facite quotieſcunq; bibitis, cum prius de ſpecie Panis ſimpliciter dixiſſet Hoc facite, niſi ſeparatim ea ſumi poſſe judicaret.

Neque quiſquam negare poteſt Diſcipulos in cœna ſub ſpecie Panis ſumpſiſſe Corpus Chriſti, cœnantibus illis, accepit Panem & benedixit, ac fregit dediſq; illis, dicens, Hoc eſt Corpus meum; Calicem autem non niſi poſt intervallum ac peracta cœna porrexit, niſi quis adeo ſtupidus eſſet, ut crederet poſt ſumptionem ſpeciei Panis non prius eos ſumpſiſſe Corpus Chriſti, quum poſtquam cœnavit porrexiſſet Calicem; quaſi vero priora Verba Chriſti irrita fuiſſent, cum de ſpecie Panis diceret Hoc eſt Corpus meum, aut ipſa diſtributio facta Diſcipulis nullam vim haberet, priuſquam de Calice peracta Cœna bibiſſent; Quod cum impium ſit ſentire, tum ipſum Verbum & Factum Chriſti, proh nefas! evacuat. Denique ipſe Paulus, poſtquam etiam de utraque ſpecie conjunctim locutus eſt, rurſum de ipſis ſpeciebus disjunctim infert, inquiens ὥστε ὃς ἂν ἐσθίῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, ἢ πίνῃ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναξίως, ἔνοχος ἔσται τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου.

Quæ verba latine ſic tranſtulit Eraſmus, Itaq; quiſquis ederit Panem hunc aut de Calice biberit indigne, reus erit Corporis & Sanguinis Domini; ubi ex Pauli verbis aperte liquet, Quiſquis indigne Panem hunc ſumpſerit, reum eſſe Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, aut ſiquis de Calice biberet indigne, ſimiliter reum eſſe Sanguinis & Corporis Domini quod tamen nullo modo crimini daretur, niſi ſeorſum ſub ſpecie Panis eſſet & Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti, atque itidem ſub ſpecie Vini ſeorſum eſſet & Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti; nec disjunctim de ſpecie Panis locutus fuiſſet Paulus, ſi nunquam niſi conjunctim cum Calice ſumeretur: Neq; rurſum disjunctim de Calice diciſſet, ſi nunquam niſi conjunctim cum ſpecie Panis eſſet ſumendus. Quorſum enim ea disjunxiſſet ſi nunquam niſi conjuncta eſſe poſſent? An Verba ipſa Scripturæ ſingula ſunt attendenda, nam Propheta inquit, Inclinate aurem Veſtram in Verba oris mei; & Moiſes in Deuteronomio ait, Ponite corda veſtra in omnia Verba quæ ego teſtificor

teſtificor vobis hodie, quia non incaſſum præcepta ſunt vobis. Et iterum, non addetis ad verbum quod vobis loquor, nec auferetis ab eo. Verba igitur Domini atque ipſius Pauli, & ſeparatim de alterutra ſpecie primum poſita, & poſt utriuſque conjunctionem etiam iterum disjuncta, ſignificare nobis videntur, & poſſe alterutram ſpeciem ſeorſum porrigi ſecundum Verbum Chriſti.

Nec per hoc quod Chriſtus dixit, Bibite ex hoc omnes, ſtatim conſequetur Chriſtum juſſiſſe Communionem cuilibet de populo ſemper ſub utraq; ſpecie & nunquam ſub altera dandam eſſe: Nam illorum Verborum ſenſum non alium eſſe apparet, quam quem ipſe Dominus Apoſtolum ſuum Paulum, qui à Domino de hoc Sacramento omnia ſe accepiſſe teſtatur, edocuit, nempe quod quotieſcunq; de Calice hoc quiſquam biberet, id in Chriſti memoriam faceret, ſicuti fecerunt Diſcipuli, qui tunc aderant præſentes & de eo biberunt omnes: Itaque quotieſcunque Sanguis Chriſti bibendus à quoquam eſſet, in memoria Paſſio Chriſti recordanda eſt; ſicut ſimiliter quiſquis Corpus Chriſti ſumpſerit, ad memoriam paſſionem ejus revocare debet: Neque ex præcepto Chriſti toties bibendum eſſe de hoc Calice, quotieſcunq; Corpus Chriſti ſumendum eſt, apparet per ea quæ de verbis & de exemplo Chriſti ſupradicta ſunt. Certe quicquid Chriſtus omnino obſervari præcepit, non poſſe ulla humana ſanctione prohiberi putamus, cum humana Lex divinam abolere non poſſit. Similiter etiam exiſtimamus, nec morem ullum, nec ullam conſuetudinem tantopere apud homines valere, ut Dei Verbum expugnet & Chriſti præceptum ſubvertat.

Verumtamen cum Chriſtus nobis libere reliquerit ut eum tribus modis corporaliter ſumere poſſimus, & quarto ſpiritualiter, nempe primo ſub utraque ſpecie, ſecundo, ſub Panis ſpecie tantum; tertio, ſub Vini; quarto voluntate & deſiderio ſolo cum aliter neceſſitate coacti eum ſumere nequimus; exiſtimamus pro primo, ut ſiquis fidelis ardenti in Deum amore flagrans, pietateq; ingenti æſtuans, magnopere deſideraret Sacramentum ſub utraq; ſpecie ſumere, ſi nullum vel valetudinis vel imbecillitatis obſtaret impedimentum, ei ſub utraq; ſpecie Communio præberi poſſit, dummodo neq; poſtulans neq; miniſtrans Sacramentum in ſcandalum Populi, aut in contemptum Eccleſiæ id faciat, neque ſuo jure Leges Religionis in qua degit ſive Eccleſiaſticas ſive Laicas infringere præſumat.

Pro ſecundo & tertio ſic, Quod ſi impedimentum aliquod hujuſmodi intervenit, ut in utraque ſpecie abſq; periculo ſumi non poſſit, ut ſiquis Paralyſi correptus, aut ab alio quovis naturæ aut morborum impedimento utramq; ſpeciem recipere commode non poſſit, hic ſi deſideret Sacram Communionem ſumere, ei ſub altera tantum ſpecie porrigatur. Pro quarto autem, Quod ſiquis nauſea, vel alia corporis moleſtia adeo ſit infeſtatus, ut nihil in ſtomachum receptum non rejectet, huic ſi id petat, Sacramentum ſaltem oſtendi poſſet, ut viſo eo mortem Chriſti redemptoris ſui citius revocans in memoriam compunctus corde ſpiritualiter communicet.

Plurimum igitur demiror, quod hi qui Chriſtianæ Libertatis aſſertores & acerrimi propugnatores videri volunt, libertatem hanc noſtram in hoc uno Corporis & Sanguinis Domini Sacramento, quo nihil ſuperexcellentius, nihil celebrius, nihil incomparabilius, nihil deniq; ad conſolandos fidelium animos ſolidius, Chriſtus hinc abiturus Eccleſiæ ſuæ reliquit, nobis

nobis tollere velint, Quid enim majus donare potuit Chriſtus in hoc Sacramento ſumendum quam ſeipſum? Deinde cum ipſe omnino liberum nobis reliquerit, & poſſe aliquos ſub utraq; ſpecie Communionem accipere, & poſſe alios ſub altera, nonnullos quoq; morborum neceſſitate impeditos, ſaltem in conſpectum prolato Corpore Domini compuncto corde poſſe Spiritualiter communicare, quanta immodeſtia, quanta inclementia eſſet, libertate hac fraudare Chriſtianos? Ut quibus ſub utraq; ſpecie, ob impedimenta quæ ſunt innumera, Communio præberi non poſſet, his ſummi boni fruitione privatis ſub neutra daretur! Nec adhuc fatentur etſi non corporaliter ſumatur, ſaltem Spiritualiter capi poſſe. Qua non ſervitute durior eſſet hæc conditio, ut Chriſti redemptoris noſtri corpus, quod ille a fidelibus ſumi voluit, nobis id ſummopere deſiderantibus violenter eripiatur; quis ingenue Chriſtianus libertatem fruitionis hujus ſibi extortam non omni morte intolerabiliorem putaret? Itaq; libertas hæc a Chriſto nobis relicta omni conatu retinenda eſt, omnibus viribus amplectenda, nec ipſis mea opinione fidendum eſt, qui eam nobis tollere velint.

Præterea, quid fiat apud ſeptentrionales Populos? quid apud Populos Aphricæ & qui intra Tropicos habitant? apud quos non ea vini copia eſt ut Populis omnino ſub ſpecie vini præberi poſſit, (nam his Populis cerviſia ex frugibus eſt potui) an ideo quia ſub utraq; ſpecie his miniſtrari Sacramentum non poteſt, ab utraq; arcendi eſſent? aut ſub una non integrum Chriſtum capere poſſent? id quod abſit.

Quando autem primum Populus priſcum morem deſerere, & ſub altera tantum Panis ſpecie Communionem ſacram ſumere cœpit, nobis eſt incompertum; credibile eſt majores noſtros auctoritate Scripturæ motos, quæ alteram nonnunquam ſpeciem per Chriſtum & Apoſtolos datam memorat, propter periculum effuſionis in terram Sanguinis Chriſti, cum liquida omnia levi membrorum trepidante motu facile effundantur, religioſa quadam & pia reverentia, non mediocriq; Dei timore abſtinuiſſe in Sacramento a vini ſpecie, nec Chriſtum qui ſe cum Eccleſia uſque in finem omnibus diebus manſurum promiſit, tot ſæculis eam deſeruiſſe, ut ſi neceſſarium præceptum de utraq; ſpecie ſemper ab omnibus ſumenda dediſſet, in re tanti momenti eam permiſiſſet turpiter labi; ſed magis Eccleſiæ ſuæ liberum reliquiſſe videtur, ut cum in alterutra ſpecie totus & integer Chriſtus contineatur, ſub altera etiam ſumi poſſit.

Qui vero ſit mos hodie de utraq; ſpecie in Eccleſiis Græcis, quæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Tyrannidem nunquam admiſerunt, non ſatis nobis eſt compertum, cum Græcia tota Turcarum ſubſit imperio, nec liberam habeant facultatem Chriſtum ut libet profitendi, quando nec Verbum Dei publice prædicare, nec ad Campanarum ſonitum Populum convocare, nec publicas Litanias crucis vexillo præeunte facere, his ullo pacto eſt conceſſum.

Illud quoq; imprimis eſt obſervandum, nempe quod in Univerſis Eccleſiis in die Paraſceves Sacerdos & omnis Populus ſub una tantum ſpecie Panis communicant, non ſub ſpecie vini, ut cum is dies repræſentat mortem Chriſti in qua Sanguis ejus pretioſus pro noſtra ſalute effuſus eſt & ſeparatus a corpore, ſeparatim illo die ſub altera ſolum ſpecie communicarent omnes ſive Sacerdos ſive Populus; qui mos per univerſam Eccleſiam nunquam fuiſſet admiſſus, niſi ſub altera tantum ſpecie integer Chriſtus contineretur, atq; niſi ſub altera Sacramentum Populis miniſtrari poſſet.

De

De Miſſa Privata.

Per Miſſas autem privatas multos abuſus introductos eſſe dicitis, quas velut Atlantem quendam Papatum ſuſtinuiſſe, indulgentias invexiſſe, orbem expilaſſe, utpote quæ ad quæſtum pateant, Monachorum turbas coacervaſſe, Verbum Dei exterminaſſe aſſeritis, atq; ideo Germanos Principes Synaxim veteri more reduxiſſe quam Lingua vernacula facere, ritu ſatis decoro atque decenti commemoratis; privatas vero Miſſas apud vos in totum abolitas eſſe, quæ tot pepererunt abuſus & fœtus malignos. Qua de re nobiſcum diu multumq; cogitantes, conſideramus inprimis nihil unquam in Eccleſia ſua Chriſtum ordinaſſe quo malignus ſerpens aliquando non ſit abuſus, neque tamen propterea rejiciendum eſt quicquid ſancte eſt ordinatum, alioqui Sacramenta omnia antiquanda eſſent; quin magis reputavimus longe ſatius eſſe abuſus omnes in totum removere, quæ vero Sancte & pie introducta ſunt in Eccleſiam, illa ipſa ſtabilia manere.

Nam ſi ideo Miſſæ privatæ abolendæ ſunt in totum, quia de illis Thomas Aquinas, Gabriel, atque alii Doctrinas ut dicitis impias induxerunt, viz. Miſſas ex opere operato gratiam mereri, & tollere peccata vivorum & mortuorum, & applicari poſſe alienum opus ad alterum, Quicquid ſit, quod illi aſſerunt, hoc de omni Miſſa aſſerunt, non de privata duntaxat; Quapropter ſi ad tollendas illas opiniones qualeſcunque Miſſa privata eſſet abroganda, eadem ratione abroganda eſſet Synaxis & Miſſa publica, quam vos ipſi retinetis nec cenſetis abolendam, quicquid de ea alii opinentur. Miſſa vero privata, velut privata quædam eſt Communio & Synaxis, quæ ſi recte atque ut decet fiat, quicunque fideles illi intereſſe decreverint, ſi pœnitentes convenerint contriti de peccatis, Deiq; implorent Miſericordiam cum Filio prodigo dicentes, Pater peccavi in Cœlum & coram te, haud dubie quin ipſi Spiritualiter cum Sacerdote communicant, offerentes ſe & animas ſuas, hoſtias vivas & acceptabiles Deo, tametſi pauci fuerint, atq; à corporali Sacramenti ſumptione abſtinuerint: ac per hoc Miſſa privata Eccleſiæ adeo non obeſt, ut non parum & ad vitam corrigendam, & ad fidem in Chriſtum corroborandam prodeſſe videatur; quippe Chriſtiani per hoc peccatores ſe agnoſcunt quotidie delinquentes, quotidie veniam poſtulant, quotidie per peccatum in ſalebroſo vitæ hujus curſu cadentes, quotidie pœnitentes reſurgunt, & velut alacriores redditi, devicto ſæpius hoſte, fiunt ad pugnam audentiores.

Porro ſtatim in exordio omnis Miſſæ privatæ publica eſt peccatorum omnium generalis Confeſſio, venia poſtulatur à Deo, abſolutio impartitur à Sacerdote ſecundum Dei Verbum, quemadmodum in Miſſa publica.

Et ſi in Miſſa publica & quantumcunq; ſolenni nemo adſit alius præter Sacerdotem qui communicare velit in eſu Sacramenti, quid quæſo differet Miſſa publica à privata? An Sacerdos in ſolenni die populo ad Sacra conveniente, ſi nemo alius communicare velit, abſtinet à Miſſa publica? Atque inter Græcos ipſos, ubi ſingulis dominicis diebus fit una Miſſa publica uti aſſeritis, raro admodum communicat in eſu Sacramenti quiſquam è Populo, uti à Fide dignis accepimus, qui ipſi Græcorum Sacris interfuerunt.

Quod

Quod vero Epiphanium citatis qui ſingulis ſeptimanis ter celebratam Synaxim in Aſia aſſerit, eumq; morem ab Apoſtolis inductum, cum jam tantum in Græcia ſingulis Dominicis fiat Populi conventus ad Sacra, ſi mutari mos potuit ab Apoſtolis inductus, ut rarius quam ſtatuerant Apoſtoli Populus congregatur, cur non etiam mutari potuit ut ſæpius conveniret, quando per hoc celebrior fit mortis Chriſti memoria, id quod in Miſſa fit etiam privata.

Jam vero ſi Sacramentum hoc à fidelibus exerceri Chriſtus in mortis ſuæ memoriam præcepit, inquiens, Hoc facite in meam Commemorationem, ne mors ejus raro admodum commemorata in Oblivionem tranſiret, quo crebrius, quo frequentius, memoria ejus in Sacramento repetitur, eo mandatum ejus ſervatur magis: Etenim ſicut raro admodum memorata Oblivioni ſunt obnoxia, ita crebro frequentata radices in mente agunt altius, ne obliterari unquam poſſint; itaq; ut mos Chriſti crebra memoria illuſtretur, Miſſa etiam privata non parum confert.

Certe Paulus Apoſtolus ſingulas domos privatas, ubi credentium numerus aliquis erat, Eccleſias vocat, membra Majoris Eccleſiæ, Civitatis illius in qua eſſent, ſicut majores ipſas Civitatum Eccleſias, membra Catholicæ & univerſalis Eccleſiæ appellat, ſcribens ad Corinthios; at quæ Eccleſia arcenda eſt à Communione Corporis Domini? Chriſtus etiam ipſe inſtituendo Sacramentum hoc Corporis & Sanguinis ſui, inquit, Hoc quotieſcunq; facitis, facite in meam Commemorationem; nec tempus nec locum ullum cohibuit, quo fieri id non poſſet, quonam modo igitur arcebimus quenquam à Miſſis privatis? Et ad dies feſtos publicamq; Synaxim eum relegabimus? Cujus arbitrio Chriſtus liberum reliquit, quando & ubi id vellet decenter exequi, dum inquit quotieſcunque? nam ſi certa tempora ſervanda eſſent, non indefinite locutus fuiſſet Chriſtus ipſum Dei Verbum, ipſa ſapientia Patris.

Jam vero ab initio naſcentis Eccleſiæ per ſingulas domos ubi erant fideles fiebat Communio, atq; id quotidie, teſte Luca in Apoſtolorum Actis, ubi ait, Quotidie quoq; perdurantes unanimiter in templo, & frangentes circa domos Panem; quem locum etiam de Communione veteres interpretes intelligunt, & tamen ſingulis diebus non agebant publice dies feſtos, ſed privatim per domos communicabant: Etſi terrenorum Regum atq; Principum Miniſtri pleriq; omnes nullum diem tranſigere cupiunt, quo non fruantur vel ſolo aſpectu ſui Domini, tametſi propior congreſſus non contingat, quis fidelis Chriſtianus non omnibus optabit votis, ut quando in hac vita Chriſtum Regem Regum, & Dominum Dominantium, in Majeſtate gloriæ regnantem cernere mortales oculi non poſſunt, ſaltem per Fidem in Sacramento Corporis Domini, quod ille fidelibus in memoriam ſui frequentandam reliquit, interim quotidie Regem gloriæ videat?

Quod vero Chryſoſtomus Sacerdotem ad altare ſtare, & alios ad Communionem accerſere, alios arcere ſcribit, enarrat morem publicæ Communionis, qui in initio naſcentis Eccleſiæ crebrius quam nunc fit frequentabatur; qui mos nunc in Paſchate, quando ubiq; communicat Populus, apud omnes ſervatur Eccleſias: Cæterum ille ipſe expoſtulat cum fidelibus ſui temporis, quod rarius communicent, quam vel oporteret, vel vetus mos erat; cæterum nuſquam is privatas Miſſas vetuit.

At Canon Nicenus Diaconis in Communione publica ſuum locum de-

De Miſſa Privata.

Per Miſſas autem privatas multos abuſus introductos eſſe dicitis, quas velut Atlantem quendam Papatum ſuſtinuiſſe, indulgentias invexiſſe, orbem expilaſſe, utpote quæ ad quæſtum pateant, Monachorum turbas coacervaſſe, Verbum Dei exterminaſſe aſſeritis, atq; ideo Germanos Principes Synaxim veteri more reduxiſſe quam Lingua vernacula facere, ritu ſatis decoro atque decenti commemoratis; privatas vero Miſſas apud vos in totum abolitas eſſe, quæ tot pepererunt abuſus & fœtus malignos. Qua de re nobiſcum diu multumq; cogitantes, conſideramus inprimis nihil unquam in Eccleſia ſua Chriſtum ordinaſſe quo malignus ſerpens aliquando non ſit abuſus, neque tamen propterea rejiciendum eſt quicquid ſancte eſt ordinatum, alioqui Sacramenta omnia antiquanda eſſent; quin magis reputavimus longe ſatius eſſe abuſus omnes in totum removere, quæ vero Sancte & pie introducta ſunt in Eccleſiam, illa ipſa ſtabilia manere.

Nam ſi ideo Miſſæ privatæ abolendæ ſunt in totum, quia de illis Thomas Aquinas, Gabriel, atque alii Doctrinas ut dicitis impias induxerunt, viz. Miſſas ex opere operato gratiam mereri, & tollere peccata vivorum & mortuorum, & applicari poſſe alienum opus ad alterum, Quicquid ſit, quod illi aſſerunt, hoc de omni Miſſa aſſerunt, non de privata duntaxat; Quapropter ſi ad tollendas illas opiniones qualeſcunque Miſſa privata eſſet abroganda, eadem ratione abroganda eſſet Synaxis & Miſſa publica, quam vos ipſi retinetis nec cenſetis abolendam, quicquid de ea alii opinentur. Miſſa vero privata, velut privata quædam eſt Communio & Synaxis, quæ ſi recte atque ut decet fiat, quicunque fideles illi intereſſe decreverint, ſi pœnitentes convenerint contriti de peccatis, Deiq; implorent Miſericordiam cum Filio prodigo dicentes, Pater peccavi in Cœlum & coram te, haud dubie quin ipſi Spiritualiter cum Sacerdote communicant, offerentes ſe & animas ſuas, hoſtias vivas & acceptabiles Deo, tametſi pauci fuerint, atq; à corporali Sacramenti ſumptione abſtinuerint: ac per hoc Miſſa privata Eccleſiæ adeo non obeſt, ut non parum & ad vitam corrigendam, & ad fidem in Chriſtum corroborandam prodeſſe videatur; quippe Chriſtiani per hoc peccatores ſe agnoſcunt quotidie delinquentes, quotidie veniam poſtulant, quotidie per peccatum in ſalebroſo vitæ hujus curſu cadentes, quotidie pœnitentes reſurgunt, & velut alacriores redditi, devicto ſæpius hoſte, fiunt ad pugnam audentiores.

Porro ſtatim in exordio omnis Miſſæ privatæ publica eſt peccatorum omnium generalis Confeſſio, venia poſtulatur à Deo, abſolutio impartitur à Sacerdote ſecundum Dei Verbum, quemadmodum in Miſſa publica.

Et ſi in Miſſa publica & quantumcunq; ſolenni nemo adſit alius præter Sacerdotem qui communicare velit in eſu Sacramenti, quid quæſo differet Miſſa publica à privata? An Sacerdos in ſolenni die populo ad Sacra conveniente, ſi nemo alius communicare velit, abſtinet à Miſſa publica? Atque inter Græcos ipſos, ubi ſingulis dominicis diebus fit una Miſſa publica uti aſſeritis, raro admodum communicat in eſu Sacramenti quiſquam è Populo, uti à Fide dignis accepimus, qui ipſi Græcorum Sacris interfuerunt.

Quod

Quod vero Epiphanium citatis qui ſingulis ſeptimanis ter celebratam Synaxim in Aſia aſſerit, eumq; morem ab Apoſtolis inductum, cum jam tantum in Græcia ſingulis Dominicis fiat Populi conventus ad Sacra, ſi mutari mos potuit ab Apoſtolis inductus, ut rarius quam ſtatuerant Apoſtoli Populus congregatur, cur non etiam mutari potuit ut ſæpius conveniret, quando per hoc celebrior ſit mortis Chriſti memoria, id quod in Miſſa fit etiam privata.

Jam vero ſi Sacramentum hoc à fidelibus exerceri Chriſtus in mortis ſuæ memoriam præcepit, inquiens, Hoc facite in meam Commemorationem, ne mors ejus raro admodum commemorata in Oblivionem tranſiret, quo crebrius, quo frequentius, memoria ejus in Sacramento repetitur, eo mandatum ejus ſervatur magis: Etenim ſicut raro admodum memorata Oblivioni ſunt obnoxia, ita crebro frequentata radices in mente agunt altius, ne obliterari unquam poſſint; itaq; ut mos Chriſti crebra memoria illuſtretur, Miſſa etiam privata non parum confert.

Certe Paulus Apoſtolus ſingulas domos privatas, ubi credentium numerus aliquis erat, Eccleſias vocat, membra Majoris Eccleſiæ, Civitatis illius in qua eſſent, ſicut majores ipſas Civitatum Eccleſias, membra Catholicæ & univerſalis Eccleſiæ appellat, ſcribens ad Corinthios; at quæ Eccleſia arcenda eſt à Communione Corporis Domini? Chriſtus etiam ipſe inſtituendo Sacramentum hoc Corporis & Sanguinis ſui, inquit, Hoc quotieſcunq; facitis, facite in meam Commemorationem; nec tempus nec locum ullum cohibuit, quo fieri id non poſſet, quonam modo igitur arcebimus quenquam à Miſſis privatis? Et ad dies feſtos publicamq; Synaxim eum relegabimus? Cujus arbitrio Chriſtus liberum reliquit, quando & ubi id vellet decenter exequi, dum inquit quotieſcunque? nam ſi certa tempora ſervanda eſſent, non indefinite locutus fuiſſet Chriſtus ipſum Dei Verbum, ipſa ſapientia Patris.

Jam vero ab initio naſcentis Eccleſiæ per ſingulas domos ubi erant fideles fiebat Communio, atq; id quotidie, teſte Luca in Apoſtolorum Actis, ubi ait, Quotidie quoq; perdurantes unanimiter in templo, & frangentes circa domos Panem; quem locum etiam de Communione veteres interpretes intelligunt, & tamen ſingulis diebus non agebant publice dies feſtos, ſed privatim per domos communicabant: Etſi terrenorum Regum atq; Principum Miniſtri pleriq; omnes nullum diem tranſigere cupiunt, quo non fruantur vel ſolo aſpectu ſui Domini, tametſi propior congreſſus non contingat, quis fidelis Chriſtianus non omnibus optabit votis, ut quando in hac vita Chriſtum Regem Regum, & Dominum Dominantium, in Majeſtate gloriæ regnantem cernere mortales oculi non poſſunt, ſaltem per Fidem in Sacramento Corporis Domini, quod ille fidelibus in memoriam ſui frequentandam reliquit, interim quotidie Regem gloriæ videat?

Quod vero Chryſoſtomus Sacerdotem ad altare ſtare, & alios ad Communionem accerſere, alios arcere ſcribit, enarrat morem publicæ Communionis, qui in initio naſcentis Eccleſiæ crebrius quam nunc fit frequentabatur; qui mos nunc in Paſchate, quando ubiq; communicat Populus, apud omnes ſervatur Eccleſias: Cæterum ille ipſe expoſtulat cum fidelibus ſui temporis, quod rarius communicent, quam vel oporteret, vel vetus mos erat; cæterum nuſquam is privatas Miſſas vetuit.

At Canon Nicenus Diaconis in Communione publica ſuum locum de-

ſignat poſt Preſbyteros; cæterum nec is Canon, nec ullus alius Miſſas privatas abrogat.

Sacramentum autem Euchariſtiæ Sacrificium non eſſe arbitramini, quod unum Sacrificium ſit propitiatorium mors Chriſti, & cum is ultra non moritur, qui ſemel tantum pro nobis oblatus eſt, nullum reſtat ultra Sacrificium, niſi cultus Spiritualis, hoc eſt, juſtitia Fidei & Fructus Fidei. Quid ſibi velit juſtitia quæ ex Fide eſt ſcimus, quippe quam Paulus opponit Juſtitiæ quæ eſt ex Lege: Cæterum qui ſunt fructus Fidei, nobis ex Scripturis non ſatis liquet, ipſam Fidem ſicut charitatem, & multas alias virtutes ſcimus eſſe fructus Spiritus. Verum enimvero non ſatis miramur, cur quiſpiam ægre ferat Miſſam Sacrificium vocari, quando omnis vetuſtas & Græcorum & Latinorum ſic eam appellare conſuevit, quum ibi fiat conſecratio Corporis & Sanguinis Domini in memoriam mortis ejus, qui, ut inquit Paulus, pro peccatis offerens hoſtiam, in ſempiternum ſedet ad dextram Dei, una enim oblatione conſummavit in ſempiternum ſanctificatos; itaq; ſi Chriſtus & Sacerdos eſſet, & Sacrificum, & Hoſtia, ubicunq; eſt Chriſtus, ibi eſt Hoſtia noſtra, ibi eſt Sacrificium noſtrum; at ſi in Sacramento altaris eſt verum Corpus Chriſti, & verus Sanguis Chriſti, quo pacto manente veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, non eſt ibi Sacrificium noſtrum?

Porro quia in Miſſa eſt Chriſtus Sacrificium noſtrum, qui ipſe ultra non moritur, ibiq; cum ipſo capite noſtro, nos illius Corpus & Membra noſmet ipſos Deo Hoſtias vivas offerimus, Græci id totum ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν, id eſt, Sacrificium incruentum vocant: ita veteres omnes intrepide Miſſam Sacrificium vocarunt, quod ibi ſit Chriſtus Sacrificium noſtrum in Sacramento.

Sic Baſilius, ſic Chryſoſtomus, ſic Hieronymus, ſic Auguſtinus, eam appellare non dubitavit; Quocirca quid vetat Miſſam, in qua conſecratur Panis in Corpus Chriſti, & Vinum in Sanguinem ejus, qui vere eſt Sacrificium noſtrum, & hoc fieri in memoriam ſui juſſit, vocari Sacrificium: alioqui ſi id negabimus, non parum verendum eſt, ne cum Sacramentariis quos nunc vocant, qui veritatem Corporis & Sanguinis in Sacramento negant, & cum Anabaptiſtis conſentire videamur, à qua ſuſpicione ſicut in animo noſtro nos profitemur longe abeſſe, ita quoq; cupimus calumniantibus adverſariis omnem obtrectandi anſam auferri: Atqui cum in Miſſa tum Sacerdos, tum Populus contritus de peccatis ſe, ut hortatur Paulus, Hoſtiam vivam, ſanctam atq; Deo placentem exhibeat, Laudes quas Deo canat & in gratiarum actione verſetur, quis dubitare poteſt, ea quoq; ratione, Miſſam jure Sacrificium nominari, cum Propheta appellat Sacrificium Laudis, & Paulus omnes hortetur, ut ſe Hoſtias vivas exhibeant, id quod fit in Miſſa. Malachias etiam propheta inquit, Ab ortu ſolis uſq; ad occaſum, magnum eſt nomen meum in gentibus, & in omni loco Sacrificatur, & offertur nomini meo Oblatio munda, quia magnum eſt nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Dominus exercituum. At quæ alia Oblatio munda in omni loco inter gentes, niſi ſolus Chriſtus aut quod aliud Sacrificium Chriſtianorum, niſi Miſſa, ubi Commemoratio mortis Chriſti agitur? Nam aut aliquot inter gentes Chriſtianorum oportet eſſe Sacrificium, aut mentitus eſt Propheta: quænam quæſo eſt Oblatio munda, niſi ſolus Chriſtus Hoſtia noſtra, qui in Sacramento altaris eſt ſub Panis & Vini ſpeciebus? quippe quantumcunq; nos ipſi nos

Deo

Deo offeramus, hostiæ mundæ non meremur nomen, quorum omnis justitia velut pannus est menstruatæ; Itaque, constat Missam Sacrificium vocari ex Verbo Dei per Malachiam enunciato, quod cum ita sit, cur Missæ invidemus nomen Sacrificii, quod Propheta prædixit, & in qua Christus in Sacramento præsens est ipse mundi Sacrificium.

De Conjugio Sacerdotum.

Cœlibatum Sacerdotum contra Scripturam, contra Leges Naturæ, contra Honestatem, per Pontificem Romanum asseritis introductum, cum Scriptura Sacerdotibus, sicut cæteris hominibus, conjugium permittat, nec possit naturam suam mutare, nec absq; singulari dono cœlibes vivere: nam non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, & Paulus inquit, propter fornicationem unusquisq; Uxorem suam habeat.

Hic primum ordiri juvat, ut locum illum Evangelii de tribus Eunuchorum generibus consideremus, quandoquidem Christus alios à natura Eunuchos esse asserit, alios per vim factos, quorum neutrum genus continentiæ virtute splendet; quoniam alteros ad generandum natura, alteros violentia reddidit inutiles. Tertium vero genus eorum est, qui quanquam terrena generatione uti possunt, malunt continere, & se castrare propter Regnum Cœlorum; de quo genere Christus statim infert; qui potest capere, capiat, id quod nec de primo, nec de secundo Eunuchorum genere intelligi potest, quibus continentiæ palma negata est, cum descendere in certamen nequeunt: tertium vero genus eorum est, qui continentiæ student, & à licitis nuptiis abstinere malunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, quo Christum liberius atq; expeditius sequantur, ne terrenis nuptiis implicati, cogitare cogantur, ut inquit Paulus, quæ sunt mundi; ad quod genus Christus virginitatis autor homines sapientissime invitat, inquiens, Qui potest capere, capiat: per hoc quod inquit, capiat, homines adhortans ad capescendum certamen ut palmam arripiant, nempe Regnum Cœlorum, ad quod neminem hortaretur, si nemo carnem posset vincere; per hoc vero quod ait, qui potest capere, posse capi palmam indicans; alioqui si impossibile esset carnem superare, quorsum attineret dicere, qui potest, si nemo id possit.

Præterea per ea verba, Qui potest capere, quosdam etiam esse declarat, qui non facile possunt, nam nisi aliqui non facile possent capere, cur secerneret eos qui possunt; itaq; considerandas animi vires admonet, priusquam certamen aggrediare, ne temere arrepto certamine turpiter succumbas: Nec dixisset quosdam esse, qui se castraverunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, si caro esset insuperabilis, & nemo se castrare posset. Nec dubitandum est quin is qui hortatur ad subeundum certamen, gratiam suam sine qua nihil possent, his non defuturam demonstrat, qui nomina sua in militiam ei dederunt, quorum ille ipse dux futurus est, qui non modo in periculis suos Milites invocatus nunquam deserit, sed stat ante Januam & pulsat, paratus semper ad succurrendum, siquis ei aperiat: Nam Paulus tentationes superari posse nos admonet, modo Dei auxilium imploremus, inquiens, Tentatio vos non apprehendit nisi humana, fidelis autem Deus qui non patietur vos tentari supra id quod potestis, sed faciet etiam cum tentatione proventum ut possitis sustinere. Quamobrem his qui continentiam semel profitentur, & eam postea turpiter deserunt, etiam atq; etiam considerandum est, ne nomen Dei blasphemare videantur,

tur, Chriſtum accuſantes deſerti auxilii, cum ſint ipſi deſertores militiæ, & primo ſtatim congreſſu terga dantes hoſti: itaq; quod Paulus liberum cuiq; facit, ut propter fornicationem Uxorem ſuam habeat, id de his intelligi, qui continentiam non ſunt profeſſi, Paulus ipſe nos docet, inquiens, de viduis adoleſcentioribus, quæ cum luxuriatæ fuerunt in Chriſto nubere volunt, habentes damnationem quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt. Auguſtinus Pauli Doctrinam ſecutus, Pſal. 83. inquit, alius ex Dei munere majus aliquid vovit, ſtatuit, nec nuptias pati, qui non damnaretur ſi duxiſſet Uxorem; poſt votum quod Deo promiſit ſi duxerit damnabitur: ſic virgo quæ ſi nuberet non peccaret, Sanctimonialis ſi nupſerit Chriſti adultera reputabitur, reſpexit enim retro de loco quo acceſſerat, exemplo Uxoris Loth, & ſicut canis reverſus ad vomitum reputatur.

Itidem Auguſtinus, Pſal. 75. ample aſſerit votum ſemel emiſſum ſervandum eſſe. Hieronymus etiam adverſus Jovinianum inquit, virgo quæ ſe Deo dicavit, ſi nubat, damnationem habet; atq; alio loco adverſus eundem, Virgines tuæ quas prudentiſſimo conſilio (quod nemo unquam legerat, nec audierat de Apoſtolo) docuiſti, melius eſſe nubere quam uri, occultos adulteros in apertos verterunt maritos; non ſuaſit hoc Apoſtolus, non Electionis vas Virgilianum conſilium eſt, conjugium vocat, hoc prætexit nomine culpam. Verbum ipſum Dei palam adverſatur ubique ne rumpantur vota. Propheta inquit, vovete & reddite Domino Deo Veſtro; in Deuteronomio quoq; ſcribitur, cum votum voveris Domino Deo tuo, non tardabis reddere, quia requiret illud Dominus Deus tuus, & ſi moratus fueris, reputabitur tibi in peccatum; ſi nolueris polliceri abſq; peccato eris, quod autem egreſſum eſt de labiis tuis, obſervabis & facies, ſicut promiſiſti Domino Deo tuo & propria voluntate & ore locutus es. Eccleſiaſtes etiam inquit, ſiquid voviſti ne moreris reddere, ſed quodcunq; voveris redde: Et in Numerorum libro ſcribitur, ſiquis virorum votum Domino voverit, aut ſe conſtrinxerit juramento, non faciat irritum verbum ſuum, ſed omne quod promiſit implebit. Quocirca Eccleſia à principio ſicut conjugatos Sacerdotes & Epiſcopos, qui ſine crimine eſſent unius Uxoris viri propter neceſſitatem admiſit, cum tot alii quot poſſent ad edocendum orbem ſufficere tunc non reperirentur idonei, & tamen Paulus ipſe Timotheum cœlibem elegit; Ita quoq; ſiquis ad Sacerdotium cœlebs accerſitus, poſtea Uxorem duxerit, ſemper à Sacerdotio deponebatur, ſecundum Canonem Neocæſarienſis Concilii, quod fuit ante Nicenum. Similiter in Calcedonenſi Concilio, in cujus primo capite priora Concilia confirmantur, ſtatuitur ut Diaconiſſa, ſi ſe nuptiis tradat, maneat ſub Anathemate, & Virgo Deo dicata & Monachus jungentes ſe nuptiis, maneant excommunicati.

Hoc quoq; obſervandum eſt, quod in Canonibus Apoſtolorum habetur, tantummodo Lectores Cantoreſq; non conjugatos poſſe Uxores ducere, cæteris vero in Clerum admiſſis poſtea Uxorem ducere nunquam licuit.

Qui vero conjugati ad Sacerdotium admiſſi erant, Uxores ſuas prætextu Religionis abjicere nequaquam poterant, ut docet Canon Apoſtolicus; cumque in Niceno Concilio proponeretur de Preſbyterorum jam ductis Uxoribus abjiciendis, reſtitit Paphnutius ne legitimæ Uxores pellerentur, cujus ſententiam, cum Canone Apoſtolorum de non

non abjiciendis Uxoribus concordantem, omnes ſunt ſecuti.

Cæterum in Niceno Concilo nihil unquam propoſitum fuit, ut Sacerdotes poſt Sacerdotium Uxores ducerent, quod jam ante ſic erit prohibitum, ut ſiquis contrarium auderet, ducens poſtea Uxorem, deponeretur à Sacerdotio, ut ſupra dictum eſt; itaq; Paphnutius de non abjiciendis jam ductis ante Sacerdotium Uxoribus, non autem de ducendis poſt Sacerdotium aperte locutus eſt.

Itaq; neq; Canon aliquis Apoſtolicus, neq; Concilium Nicenum quicquam habet ejuſmodi ut in Sacerdotium admiſſi, poſtea Uxores ducant, ſicuti vos allegatis.

His concordat ſexta Synodus in qua ſancitum eſt quod ſiquis è Clero vellet Uxorem ducere, ante ſubdiaconatum id faceret, poſtea nequaquam liceret, nec ulla uſquam libertas Sacerdotibus in ſexta Synodo datur poſt Sacerdotium Uxores ducendi, ſicut vos aſſeritis.

Itaq; à principio naſcentis Eccleſiæ, plane compertum eſt nullo unquam tempore licuiſſe Sacerdoti poſt Sacerdotium Uxorem ducere; atq; ubicunq; id fuit attentatum, id non fuit impune, nam tantum nefas auſus deponebatur à Sacerdotio. Paulus Apoſtolus inquit, de conjugibus loquens, nolite fraudare invicem niſi forte ex conſenſu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi. Hieronymus in Apologia ad Pammachium ait, Paulus Apoſtolus dicit, Quando coimus cum Uxoribus nos orare non poſſe, ſi per coitum quod minus eſt impeditur, id eſt orare, quanto plus quod majus eſt, id eſt Corpus Chriſti, prohibetur accipere: idque late proſequitur exemplo Panum Propoſitionis, qui non dabantur niſi continentibus Davidi & Miniſtris, ut ſcribitur in libro Regum; Panes enim Propoſitionis, quaſi Corpus Chriſti, de Uxorum cubilibus conſurgentes edere non poterant, ut inquit Hieronymus, atq; exemplo dationis legis veteris, ante cujus dationem filii Iſrael in Exodo triduo abſtinere ſunt juſſi ab Uxoribus.

Hieronymus etiam adverſus Jovinianum inquit, ſi Laicus & quicunq; fidelis orare non poteſt, niſi careat officio conjugali, Sacerdoti cui ſemper pro Populo offerenda ſunt ſacrificia, ſemper orandum eſt: ſi ſemper orandum eſt, ſemper ergo carendum Matrimonio. Idem aſſerit Ambroſius ample in Epiſtola ad Timotheum prima, cum quo conſentit Auguſtinus.

Paulus Timotheum Diſcipulum in Sacerdotali Officio erudiens, admonet ſecularia negotia fugienda eſſe, inquiens, Labora ut bonus miles Chriſti Ieſu, nemo militans implicat ſe negotiis ſecularibus, ut ei placeat cui ſe probavit; & ſi Sacerdotes Uxores acciperent, curis ſecularibus neceſſe eſt involvantur, nam teſte Paulo, qui cum Uxore eſt, ſolicitus eſt quæ ſunt mundi, quomodo placeat Uxori; qui vero ſine Uxore eſt, ſolicitus eſt quæ Domini ſunt, quomodo placeat Deo: Ideoq; eundem ad cœlibatum hortatur, quando ait Teipſum caſtum cuſtodi, nam Caſtitas, ubi de conjugatis non fit ſermo, cœlibatus intelligitur, ſuum enim Diſcipulum ſui ſimilem reddere cupiebat; atque quodam in loco Corinthiis ſcribens, omnes homines hortatur ad continentiam, ait enim, volo omnes homines eſſe ſicut meipſum, & rurſus dico non-nuptis & viduis bonum eſt, ſi ſic permanſerint ſicut & ego. Alio in loco ſcribens eiſdem, Miniſtros Eccleſiæ ſui officii admonet, adhortans ne in vacuum Gratiam Dei recipiant, & ſubdit, Nemini dantes ullam offenſionem, ut non vituperetur miniſterium, ſe in omnibus exhibeamus noſmetipſos ſicut Dei Miniſtros,

Miniſtros, &c. in vigiliis, in jejuniis, in caſtitate, in ſcientia, in verbo veritatis. Quæ omnia ad Miniſtros Eccleſiæ pertinent quos caſtitatem maxime ſectari convenit, ut impuri non appropinquent altaribus, à quibus ſalaces omnino arceri decet: Nam non niſi de Sacerdotibus ea intelligi poſſunt, quando ſcientia divinæ Legis & Populi inſtitutio ad eos ſpectat, ut inquit Malachias, Labia Sacerdotis cuſtodiunt Scientiam & Legem requirunt ex ore ejus. Et Paulus Timotheum vult ſe exhibere operarium inconfuſibilem, recte tractantem verbum veritatis, viz. in Doctrina populi; igitur Sacerdotes Domini, qui ſe Deo jampridem dedicaverunt, qui ſe caſtraverunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, qui pro ſuis & populi peccatis orare aſſidue debent, quonam pacto, deſerto cœlibatus vexillifero Chriſto, novis nuptiis operam dare ſecularibuſq; moleſtiis quibus ſcaturiunt ſe implicare decet? quid enim eſt ad aratrum manum mittere, retroq; recipere exemplo Uxoris Loth, ſi hoc non eſt? cujuſmodi homines non aptos eſſe Regno Dei, Chriſtus ipſe pronunciat, etenim ſi nemo poteſt Uxori pariter & Philoſophiæ operam dare, ut mundana prudentia docet, quanto magis is qui ſe Deo dicavit, duobus Dominis ſervire non poterit, nempe Deo pariter & mundo, quorum uterq; totum hominem, non dimidiatum, ad ſe raptat?

Quanquam autem & conjugati & cœlibes in initio Eccleſiæ admittebantur ad Sacerdotium, id tamen non ubiq; ita ſervabatur teſte Hieronymo adverſus Vigilantium, ubi inquit, quid facient Orientis Eccleſiæ, quid Egypti, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ quæ aut Virgines clericos accipiunt, aut continentes, aut ſi Uxores habuerint mariti eſſe deſiſtunt? Atque ad Pammachium Hieronymus inquit, Chriſtus Virgo, Virgo Maria, utriuſq; ſexus virginitatem dedicaverunt, Apoſtoli vel Virgines, vel poſt nuptias continentes, Epiſcopi, Preſbyteri, Diaconi, aut Virgines eliguntur, aut vidui, aut certe poſt Sacerdotium in æternum pudici, in morem Eccleſiæ veterem, cujus autor eſt haud dubie Paulus & Scriptura ipſa. Jam vero uti Auguſtinum citatis, qui ait quidam nubentes poſt votum aſſerunt adulteros eſſe, ego dico vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt: at ille ipſe Auguſtinus aſſerit, lapſus & ruinas à caſtitate Sanctiori quæ vovetur Deo adulteriis eſſe pejores, neq; ſtatim legitimum eſt quicquid tolerat Eccleſia.

Cyprianus quoq; ipſe quem citatis, in illa ipſa Epiſtola de Virginibus quæ continentiam voverunt, ubi inquit, ſi perſeverare nolunt, vel non poſſint, melius eſt ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis ſuis ruant; ex quo infertis tale votum non impedire Matrimonium, longe aliud ſentit: nam conſultus à Pomponio Sacerdote, quid ſibi videretur de Virginibus his, quæ cum ſemel ſtatum ſuum continenter & firmiter tenere decreverint, detectæ ſunt poſtea in eodem lecto pariter manſiſſe cum Maſculis; ea de re altius repetens Sermonem, periculoſamq; eſſe Virginum & Maſculorum cohabitationem, confirmans per Scripturas ac graves multorum ruinas ex hoc enatas, aſſerens generaliter de omnibus Virginibus inquit, quod ſi ex fide Chriſto ſe dicaverint caſte & pudice ſine ulla fabula perſeverent, ita fortes & ſtabiles præmium Virginitatis expectent; ſi autem perſeverare nolunt, vel non poſſunt, melius eſt ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis ſuis cadant, certe nullum Fratribus aut Sororibus ſcandalum faciant, cum ſcriptum ſit, &c. Et paulo poſt infert, Chriſtus Dominus & Judex noſter, cum Virginem ſuam ſibi dicatam & ſanctitati ſuæ deſtinatam jacere cum altero cernat, quam indignatur & iraſcitur,

&

& quas pœnas inceſtis hujuſmodi conjunctionibus comminatur! Deinde ad quæſitum reſpondens, jubet obſtetrices adhiberi ut videatur an Virgines illæ ſint corruptæ, ubi inquit, ſi autem aliquæ ex eis corruptæ fuerunt deprehenſæ, agant pœnitentiam plenam, quia quæ hoc crimen admiſit, non mariti ſed Chriſti adultera eſt, & ideo æſtimato juſto tempore & ex Homologeſi facta ad Eccleſiam redeant; quodſi obſtinatæ perſeverent, nec ſe ab invicem ſeparent, ſciant ſe cum hac ſua impudica obſtinatione nunquam à nobis admitti in Eccleſiam poſſe, ne exemplum cæteris ad ruinam delictis ſuis facere incipiant. Ecce quid ſentit Cyprianus de votis ruptis, inceſtuoſos & Chriſti Adulteros hujuſmodi flagitioſos appellat, & niſi ſeparentur, nunquam admittit in Eccleſiam; quomodo erga talia vota non impediant Matrimonium, aut quis ad tale Matrimonium quenquam hortari audebit, quod ſine violatione voti & tranſgreſſione divini mandati, ideoq; ſine graviſſimo ſcelere contrahi non poſſit? Atqui quod Principes Germaniæ, ſcribitis, cum viderent multa flagitia de cœlibatu Sacerdotum provenire, Matrimonia Sacerdotibus libera permiſiſſe, ſi meum, Egregii Oratores, conſilium requiſiſſent veſtri Principes, priuſquam tot Sacerdotes apud vos ruptis vinculis ad nuptias convolaſſent, ad id conſilii dediſſem quod veſtri Principes arripuerunt hæſito magnopere; nam ſi Sacerdotes qui continere nollent, erumpere ad nuptias omnino voluiſſent, quanto ſatius forte fuiſſet, exemplo veterum depoſuiſſe tales à Sacerdotio, ſuæq; de cætero Conſcientiæ quenquam reliquiſſe, ac deinde puriores altaribus admoviſſe, quam libere omnia permittendo peccatis alienis auctores videri, atq; ea ratione aliena peccata noſtra facere: Veruntamen nos qui in aliena Repub. curioſi nunquam fuimus nec eſſe voluimus, omnia Principum veſtrorum acta atq; geſta in optimam partem interpretamur, non dubitantes, quin ad tollendos abuſus omnes ſincerus his animus, atq; ad repurgandam Dei Eccleſiam appoſitus non deſit.

Porro nos qui in Regno noſtro Romani Epiſcopi Tyrannidem profligare magna induſtria ſtuduimus, & Chriſti Gloriam ſinceriter promovere curabimus Deo propitio, quantum humano conſilio fieri poteſt, ne quis abuſus ſive à Romano Epiſcopo ſive à quovis alio inductus non aboleatur, & ſi quos comperiemus tempori inſervientes, fingenteſq; ſe odiſſe Romanum Epiſcopum, atq; in Sermone ſimulare veritatem, quam corde non amplectuntur, ejuſmodi viris conſilia noſtra de rebus ſacris non communicabimus, nec eorum vel de Sacris vel de Prophanis expectabimus ſententiam.

Quæ vero Chriſti purum atq; ſinceram Doctrinam promovere, quæ Chriſti Evangelium dilatare, quæ ad repurganda Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ vitia tendere, quæ ad extirpandos abuſus atq; errores omnes ſpectare, quæ deniq; Eccleſiæ candorem exornare poſſe videbuntur, ea totis viribus ſectabimur, his ſtudebimus, his Deo volente in perpetuum incumbemus.

De Articulis vero quos jam diſſeruimus maturius cum Theologis noſtris quamprimum vacabit agemus, atq; ea demum ſtatuemus quæ ad Chriſti Gloriam Eccleſiæque ſponſæ ejus decorem conducere exiſtimabimus.

Vobis autem, Præſtantiſſimi Oratores qui tot labores terra marique perpeſſi eſtis, ut nos inviſeretis, qui cum Theologis noſtris tamdiu contuliſtis, qui ob Evangelii negotium à Patria abfuiſtis multis menſibus, immenſas atq; innumeras habemus gratias; nec miramur ſi dulcis amor

Patriæ,

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IX. *A Letter written by the King to his Biſhops, directing them how to inſtruct the People. An Original.*

By the KING.

HENRY R.

Cotton Libr. *Cleo.* E. 5.

RIght Reverend Father in God, right truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well: And whereas for the Vertue, Learning and good Qualities which we ſaw and perceived heretofore in you, judging you thereby a Perſonage that would ſincerely, devoutly, purely, and plainly ſet forth the Word of God, and inſtruct our People in the truth of the ſame, after a ſimple and plain ſort, for their better Inſtruction, Unity, Quiet, and Agreement in the Points thereof, we advanced you to the room and office of a Biſhop within this our Realm; and ſo endowed you with great Revenues and Poſſeſſions; perceiving after, by the contrariety of preaching within this our Realm, our ſaid People were brought into a diverſity of Opinion, whereby there enſued Contention amongſt them; which was only engendred by a certain contemptuous manner of ſpeaking, againſt honeſt, laudable, and tolerable Ceremonies, Uſages, and Cuſtoms of the Church; we are enforced, by our ſundry Letters, to admoniſh and command you, amongſt others, to preach God's Word ſincerely, to declare Abuſes plainly, and in no wiſe contentiouſly to treat of matters indifferent, which be neither neceſſary to our Salvation, as the good and vertuous Ceremonies of Holy Church, ne yet to be in any wiſe contemned and abrogated, for that they be incitements and motions to Vertue, and allurements to Devotion: All which our travail notwithſtanding, ſo little regard was by ſome taken and adhibited to our Advertiſements therein, that we were conſtrained to put our own Pen to the Book, and to conceive certain Articles, which were by all you the Biſhops and whole Clergy of this our Realm in Convocation agreed on, as Catholick, meet, and neceſſary to be by our Authority for avoiding of all Contention ſet forth, read and taught to our Subjects, to bring the ſame in Unity, Quietneſs, and good Concord: ſuppoſing then that no Perſon having Authority under us, would either have preſumed to have ſpoken any word, that might have offended the ſentence and meaning of the ſame, or have been any thing remiſs, ſlack, or negligent in the plain ſetting forth of them as they be conceived, ſo as by that mean of abſtinence ſuch Quiet and Unity ſhould not grow thereupon as we deſired and looked for of the ſame; and perceiving eft-ſoons, by credible report, that our labours, travail, and deſire therein, is nevertheleſs defeated, and in manner by general and contemptuous words ſpoken,

ſpoken by ſundry light and ſeditious Perſons, contemned and deſpiſed, ſo that by the abſtinence of direct and plain ſetting forth of the ſaid Articles, and by the fond and contentious manner of ſpeaking, that the ſaid light Perſonages do ſtill uſe againſt the honeſt Rites, Cuſtoms, Uſages, and ceremonial things of the Church, our People be much more offended than they were before; and in a manner exclaim that we will ſuffer that injury at any Man's hand, whereby they think both God, Us, and our whole Realm highly offended, inſomuch that principally upon that ground, and for the Reformation of thoſe Follies and Abuſes, they have made this Commotion and Inſurrection, and have thereby grievouſly offended us, damaged themſelves, and troubled many of our good Subjects: We be now enforced, for our diſcharge towards God, and for the tender Love and Zeal we bear to the Tranquillity and loving Unity of our ſaid People and Subjects, again to readdreſs theſe our Letters to all the Biſhops of our Realm, and amongſt other unto you, as a peremptory Warning to admoniſh you, to demean and uſe your ſelf for the redobbying of theſe things as ſhall be hereafter declared, upon pain of deprivation from the Biſhoprick, and further to be puniſhed for your Contempt, if you ſhall offend in the contrary, as Juſtice ſhall require for your own Treſpaſs.

And firſt, we ſtraitly charge and command you, that plainly and diſtinctly, without any additions, ye ſhall every Holy-day, whereſoever ye ſhall be within your Dioceſs, when ye may ſo do with your Health and convenient Commodity, openly, in your Cathedral Church, or the Pariſh Church of the place where ye ſhall for time be, read and declare our Articles; and in no wiſe, in the reſt of your words which ye ſhall then ſpeak of your ſelf, if you ſpeak any thing, utter any word that ſhall make the ſame, or any word in the ſame, doubtful to the People.

Secondly; We will and command you, That you ſhall in your Perſon travel from place to place in all your Dioceſs, as you may with your Commodity, and endeavour your ſelves every Holy-day to make a Collation to the People, and in the ſame to ſet forth plainly the Texts of Scripture that you ſhall treat of; and with that alſo as well to declare the Obedience due by God's Laws to their Prince and Soveraign Lord, againſt whoſe Commandment they ought in no wiſe, though the ſame were unjuſt, to uſe any violence, as to commend and praiſe honeſt Ceremonies of the Church as they be to be praiſed, in ſuch plain and reverent ſort, that the People may perceive they be not contemned, and yet learn how they were inſtituted, and how they ought to be obſerved and eſteemed; uſing ſuch a temperance therein, as our ſaid People be not corrupted, by putting over-much affiance in them, which a part ſhould more offend, than the clear ſilencing of the ſame, and that our People may thereto the better know their Duties to us, being their King and Soveraign Lord.

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to the contrary of this our Commandment, ne you ſhall keep or retain any Man of any degree, that ſhall in his words privately or openly, directly or indirectly, ſpeak in theſe matters of the Ceremonies, contentiouſly or contemptuouſly; but we will that in caſe ye have, or ſhall have towards you any ſuch Perſon that will not better temper his Tongue, you ſhall, as an Offender and a Seductor of our People, ſend the ſame in ſure cuſtody to us and our Council, to be puniſhed as ſhall appertain; and ſemblably to do with other Strangers whom ye ſhall bear to be notable Offenders in that part.

Fourthly; Our Pleaſure and Commandment is, That you ſhall on your behalf, give ſtrait Commandment upon like pain of deprivation and further puniſhment, to all Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and Governors of Religious Houſes, Colledges, and other places Eccleſiaſtical within your Dioceſs, that they and every of them ſhall, touching the indifferent praiſe of Ceremonies, the avoiding of contentious and contemptuous Communication, concerning any of the ſame, and the diſtinct and plain reading of our ſaid Articles, obſerve and perform, in their Churches, Monaſteries, and other Houſes Eccleſiaſtical aforeſaid, the very ſame order that is before to you preſcribed. And further, that you permit nor ſuffer any Man, of what degree ſoever in Learning, Strangers or other, to preach in any place within your ſaid Dioceſs out of his own Church, by virtue of any Licenſe by us, or any other of our Miniſters, granted before the fifteenth day of this Month, neither in your preſence nor elſewhere, unleſs he be a Man of ſuch Honeſty, Vertue, Learning, and Judgment, as you ſhall think able for that purpoſe, and one whom in manner you dare anſwer for.

Finally; Whereas we be advertiſed that divers Prieſts have preſumed to marry themſelves, contrary to the cuſtom of our Church of *England*, Our Pleaſure is, Ye ſhall make ſecret enquiry within your Dioceſs, whether there be any ſuch reſiant within the ſame or not; And in caſe ye ſhall find that there be any Prieſts that have ſo preſumed to marry themſelves, and have ſithence nevertheleſs uſed and exerciſed in any thing the Office of Prieſthood, we charge you, as ye will anſwer upon the pains aforeſaid, not to conceal their doings therein, but rather to ſignify their demeanour to our Council, or to cauſe them to be apprehended, and ſo ſent up unto us accordingly. Given under our Signet at our Caſtle of *Windſor*, the 19*th* day of *November*, in the 28*th* Year of our Reign.

X. *Tonſtall's* Arguments for the Divine Inſtitution of Auricular Confeſſion; with ſome Notes written on the Margent by King *Henry's* own Hand. An Original.

Quod Confeſſio Auricularis ſit de Jure Divino.

PRobari videtur ex illo loco Matthæi 3. ubi Joanne Baptiſta in deſerto prædicante pœnitentiam, exibat ad eum Hieroſolyma & omnis Judæa, & baptizabantur ab eo in Jordane confitentes peccata ſua; quem locum Chryſoſtomus ita exponit, inquiens, Confeſſio peccatorum eſt Teſtimonium Conſcientiæ confitentis Deum, qui enim timet Judicium Dei peccata ſua non erubeſcat confiteri; qui autem erubeſcit non timet, perfectus enim timor ſolvit omnem pudorem; illic enim turpitudo confeſſionis aſpicitur, ubi futuri judicii pœna non creditur. Nunquid neſcimus quia Confeſſio peccatorum habet pudorem, & quia hoc ipſum erubeſcere pœna eſt gravis, ſed ideo magis non jubet Deus confiteri peccata noſtra, ut verecundiam patiamur pro pœna? nam & hoc ipſum pars eſt judicii, O miſericordia Dei! quem toties ad iracundiam excitavimus, ſufficit ei * ſolus pudor pro pœna. *Cotton* Libr. *Cleop. E.* 5.

* *Nota bene de ſolo pudore.*

Si verecundia pro pœna eſt apud Deum, ea autem non continget ex confeſſione facta ſoli Deo, nam nemo rationis compos ignorat etiam abſque Confeſſione Deum peccata noſtra ſcire, de Confeſſione facta homini neceſſe eſt intelligatur. Præterea ipſa Verba demonſtrant quod Joanni Baptiſtæ confeſſi ſunt peccata ſua, nam dixit eis, facite ergo fructum dignum pœnitentia, quod apte dicere non poterat, niſi pœnitentes eos ex confeſſione ſibi facta reſciviſſet. *Fallax.*

Beda Marci. I.

Et Baptizabantur ab illo in Jordane, flumine, confitentes peccata ſua. * Exemplum confitendum peccata ac meliorem vitam promittendi datur eis, qui Baptiſma accipere deſiderant, ſicut etiam prædicante † Paulo in Epheſo multi credentium veniebant, confitentes & annunciantes actus ſuos, quatenus abdicata vita veteri, renovari mererentur in Chriſto.

* *Exemplum dicit non præceptum.*

† *Non præcepto.*

Scribitur quoq; in Evangelio Joannis 21. Quorum remiſeritis peccata, remittuntur eis, & quorum retinueritis, retenta ſunt: & Matth. 18. Quæcunq; ligaveritis ſuper terram, erunt ligata in Cœlo, & quæcunq; ſolveritis ſuper terram, erunt ſoluta in Cœlo. Remittere autem & ſolvere nemo poteſt id quod ignorat, occulta autem peccata præter peccantem novit niſi ſolus Deus, quare niſi peccata aperiantur Sacerdoti, nec ea ligare nec ſolvere poſſet. Et * quemadmodum Sacratiſſima tua Majeſtas, ſi commiſſionem aliquibus dediſſet audiendi & terminandi negotium aliquod, non poſſent judices rem ignorantes niſi negotio coram eis pateſacto cauſam finire, viz. propter culpam litigatorum non comparentium coram eis; ſic nec Sacerdotes ligare & ſolvere poſſunt peccata quæ ignorant. Itaq; cum Deus Sacerdotem velut medicum Spiritualem Eccleſiæ dederit, ſiquis enim ſua Vulnera celat, ipſe ſua Culpa perit, cum tamen de ſalute ſua deberet eſſe ſolicitus, ſicut Paulus ad Phil. 2. admonet, inquiens, cum metu & tremore Salutem veſtram operamini.

Huic reſpondendum eſt. Abſolutio datur in remediū peccatorum petentibus tantum, nam ſi non petiere.

* *Exemplum bene declarat rem, ſed non petiit poſitum.*

Origenes in Levit. Homilia 2. loquens de Remiſſionibus Peccatorum.

De ſua opinione loquens.

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** Male ſentit qui abutitur Scriptura.*

† Nunquam is modus unctionis in Confeſſione utebatur.

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Intellige mihi fidelem quidem hominem ſed tamen infirmum, qui etiam vinci ab aliquo Peccato potuit, & propter hoc mugientem pro delictis ſuis & omni modo curam vulneris ſui ſanitatemq; requirentem, licet præventus ſit & lapſus, volentem tamen medelam ac ſalutem reparare; ſi ergo hujuſmodi homo memor delicti ſui, confiteatur quæ commiſit, & humana confuſione parvi pendat eos, qui exprobrant eum confitentem, & notant vel irrident, ille autem intelligens per hoc veniam ſibi dari, & in die Reſurrectionis pro his quibus nunc confunditur coram hominibus, tunc ante Angelos Dei confuſionem atq; opprobria evaſurum, ut nolit tegere & occultare maculam ſuam, ſed pronunciet delictum ſuum, nec velit eſſe Sepulchrum dealbatum, quod deforis quidem appareat hominibus ſpecioſum, id eſt ut videntibus ſe quaſi juſtus appareat, intus autem ſit repletus omni immunditie & oſſibus mortuorum.

Non ait, neceſſe eſt ut confiteantur, jam de contemptu loquitur.

Et paulo poſt, Quoniam iniquitatem meam pronuncio. Pronunciationem iniquitatis, id eſt, confeſſionem Peccati, frequentius diximus, vide ergo quid edocet nos Scriptura divina, quia oportet Peccatum non celare intrinſecus; fortaſſis enim ſicut ii qui habent intus incluſam eſcam indigeſtam, aut humoris, vel phlegmatis ſtomacho graviter & moleſte imminentem ſi vomuerunt relevantur, ita etiam hi qui peccarunt, ſi quidem occultant & retinent intra ſe Peccatum intrinſecus urgentur, & propemodum ſuffocantur à phlegmate vel humore Peccati; Si autem ipſe ſui accuſator fiat, dum accuſat ſemetipſum, ſimul evomit & delictum, atq; omnem morbi digerit cauſam. Tantummodo circumſpice diligentius cui debeas confiteri Peccatum tuum, proba prius medicum cui debeas cauſam languoris exponere, qui ſciat infirmari cum infirmante, flere cum flente, qui condolendi & compatiendi noverit diſciplinam, ut ita demum ſiquid ille dixerit, qui ſe prius & eruditum medicum oſtenderit & miſericordem, ſiquid Conſilii dederit, facias & ſequaris, ſi intellexerit & præviderit talem eſſe languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius Eccleſiæ exponi debeat & curari, ex quo fortaſſis & cæteri ædificari poterunt, & tu ipſe facile ſanari, multa hac deliberatione & ſatis perito medici illius Conſilio procurandum eſt.

Cyprianus

Cyprianus in Sermone de Lapſis.

Denique quando & fide majore & timore meliores ſunt, qui quamvis nullo Sacrificii aut Libelli facinore conſtricti, quoniam tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipſum apud Sacerdotes Dei dolenter & ſimpliciter confitentur, Exomologeſin Conſcientiæ faciunt, animi ſui pondus expõnunt, ſalutarem medelam parvis licet & modicis vulneribus exquirunt, ſcientes ſcriptum eſſe, Deus non deridetur; derideri & circumveniri Deus non poteſt, nec aſtutia aliqua fallente deludi: plus imo delinquit qui ſecundum hominem Deum cogitans evadere ſe pœnam Criminis credit, ſi non palam Crimen admiſit. Chriſtus in præceptis ſuis dicit, qui confuſus me fuerit, confundet eum Filius Hominis, & Chriſtianum ſe putat qui Chriſtianus eſſe aut confunditur aut veretur: Quomodo poteſt eſſe cum Chriſto qui ad Chriſtum pertinere aut erubeſcit aut metuit? minus plane peccaverit non videndo idola, nec ſub oculis circumſtantis atq; inſultantis Populi ſanctitatem Fidei profanando, non polluendo manus ſuas funeſtis Sacrificiis, nec ſceleratis cibis ora maculando; hoc eo proficit ut ſit minor Culpa, non ut innocens Conſcientia; facilius poteſt ad veniam Criminis pervenire, non eſt tamen immunis a Crimine, nec ceſſet in agenda pœnitentia, atq; in Domini Miſericordia deprecanda, ne quod minus eſſe in qualitate delicti videtur, in neglecta ſatisfactione cumuletur. Confiteantur ſinguli, quæſo vos fratres, delictum ſuum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in ſæculo eſt, dum admitti confeſſio ejus poteſt, dum ſatisfactio & remiſſio facta per Sacerdotes apud Dominum grata eſt; convertamur ad Dominum mente tota, & pœnitentiam Criminis veris doloribus exprimentes Dei Miſericordiam deprecemur; illi ſe anima proſternat, illi mœſtitia ſatisfaciat, illi ſpes omnis incumbat; rogare qualiter debeamus dicit ipſe, Revertimini, inquit, ad me ex toto corde veſtro, ſimulq; & jejunio, & fletu, & planctu, & ſcindite corda veſtra & non veſtimenta.

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Circa perſonas vero Miniſtrorum quibus fieri deberet Confeſſio, atq; circa tempora Eccleſiæ nonnunquam aliquid immutarunt, & varie pro regionibus ſtatuerunt.

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† Nunquam is modus unctionis in Confeſſione utebatur.

Origenes Homilia 2. in Pſal. 37.

Intellige mihi fidelem quidem hominem ſed tamen infirmum, qui etiam vinci ab aliquo Peccato potuit, & propter hoc mugientem pro delictis ſuis & omni modo curam vulneris ſui ſanitatemq; requirentem, licet præventus ſit & lapſus, volentem tamen medelam ac ſalutem reparare; ſi ergo hujuſmodi homo memor delicti ſui, confiteatur quæ commiſit, & humana confuſione parvi pendat eos, qui exprobrant eum confitentem, & notant vel irrident, ille autem intelligens per hoc veniam ſibi dari, & in die Reſurrectionis pro his quibus nunc confunditur coram hominibus, tunc ante Angelos Dei confuſionem atq; opprobria evaſurum, ut nolit tegere & occultare maculam ſuam, ſed pronunciet delictum ſuum, nec velit eſſe Sepulchrum dealbatum, quod deforis quidem appareat hominibus ſpecioſum, id eſt ut videntibus ſe quaſi juſtus appareat, intus autem ſit repletus omni immunditie & oſſibus mortuorum.

Non ait, neceſſe eſt ut confiteantur, jam de contemptu loquitur.

Et paulo poſt, Quoniam iniquitatem meam pronuncio. Pronunciationem iniquitatis, id eſt, confeſſionem Peccati, frequentius diximus, vide ergo quid edocet nos Scriptura divina, quia oportet Peccatum non celare intrinſecus; fortaſſis enim ſicut ii qui habent intus incluſam eſcam indigeſtam, aut humoris, vel phlegmatis ſtomacho graviter & moleſte imminentem ſi vomuerunt relevantur, ita etiam hi qui peccarunt, ſi quidem occultant & retinent intra ſe Peccatum intrinſecus urgentur, & propemodum ſuffocantur à phlegmate vel humore Peccati; Si autem ipſe ſui accuſator fiat, dum accuſat ſemetipſum, ſimul evomit & delictum, atq; omnem morbi digerit cauſam. Tantummodo circumſpice diligentius cui debeas confiteri Peccatum tuum, proba prius medicum cui debeas cauſam languoris exponere, qui ſciat infirmari cum infirmante, flere cum flente, qui condolendi & compatiendi noverit diſciplinam, ut ita demum ſiquid ille dixerit, qui ſe prius & eruditum medicum oſtenderit & miſericordem, ſiquid Conſilii dederit, facias & ſequaris, ſi intellexerit & præviderit talem eſſe languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius Eccleſiæ exponi debeat & curari, ex quo fortaſſis & cæteri ædificari poterunt, & tu ipſe facile ſanari, multa hac deliberatione & ſatis perito medici illius Conſilio procurandum eſt.

Cyprianus

Cyprianus in Sermone de Lapſis.

Denique quando & fide majore & timore meliores ſunt, qui quamvis nullo Sacrificii aut Libelli facinore conſtricti, quoniam tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipſum apud Sacerdotes Dei dolenter & ſimpliciter confitentur, Exomologeſin Conſcientiæ faciunt, animi ſui pondus exponunt, ſalutarem medelam parvis licet & modicis vulneribus exquirunt, ſcientes ſcriptum eſſe, Deus non deridetur; derideri & circumveniri Deus non poteſt, nec aſtutia aliqua fallente deludi: plus imo delinquit qui ſecundum hominem Deum cogitans evadere ſe pœnam Criminis credit, ſi non palam Crimen admiſit. Chriſtus in præceptis ſuis dicit, qui confuſus me fuerit, confundet eum Filius Hominis, & Chriſtianum ſe putat qui Chriſtianus eſſe aut confunditur aut veretur: Quomodo poteſt eſſe cum Chriſto qui ad Chriſtum pertinere aut erubeſcit aut metuit? minus plane peccaverit non videndo idola, nec ſub oculis circumſtantis atq; inſultantis Populi ſanctitatem Fidei profanando, non polluendo manus ſuas funeſtis Sacrificiis, nec ſceleratis cibis ora maculando; hoc eo proficit ut ſit minor Culpa, non ut innocens Conſcientia; facilius poteſt ad veniam Criminis pervenire, non eſt tamen immunis a Crimine, nec ceſſet in agenda pœnitentia, atq; in Domini Miſericordia deprecanda, ne quod minus eſſe in qualitate delicti videtur, in neglecta ſatisfactione cumuletur. Conſideantur ſinguli, quæſo vos fratres, delictum ſuum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in ſæculo eſt, dum admitti confeſſio ejus poteſt, dum ſatisfactio & remiſſio facta per Sacerdotes apud Dominum grata eſt; convertamur ad Dominum mente tota, & pœnitentiam Criminis veris doloribus exprimentes Dei Miſericordiam deprecemur; illi ſe anima proſternat, illi mœſtitia ſatisfaciat, illi ſpes omnis incumbat; rogare qualiter debeamus dicit ipſe, Revertimini, inquit, ad me ex toto corde veſtro, ſimulq; & jejunio, & fletu, & planctu, & ſcindite corda veſtra & non veſtimenta.

Fatetur Cyprianus Confeſſionem auricularem nobis non plus præcipi quam virginitatem.

Si præceptum haberet non perſuaderet.

Præterea Eſaias Peccatorem admonet Cap. 42. ſecundum 70. inquiens, Dic tu prior iniquitates tuas ut juſtificeris; & Solomon Prov. 18. ait, Juſtus prior eſt Accuſator ſui, atq; ideo ne Satan nos in judicio coram omnibus accuſet, nos illum in hac Vita, per priorem confeſſionem delicti noſtri factam aliis prævenire debemus, nam Deum prævenire in noſtri accuſatione nequimus qui omnia facta noſtra jam novit, imo vero antequam fierent ea præſcivit; quare Confeſſio illa neceſſe eſt, intelligatur, de extranea confeſſione facta Dei Miniſtro qui id ignoravit, nam Deum nihil unquam latuit, non modo jam factum, ſed ne futurum quidem quicquam.

Hi omnes ſuadent, ſed non præcipiunt.

Circa perſonas vero Miniſtrorum quibus fieri deberet Confeſſio, atq; circa tempora Eccleſiæ nonnunquam aliquid immutarunt, & varie pro regionibus ſtatuerunt.

Cum nec cui nec tempus deſignatur non firmum præceptum datur.

Et ne tuam ſolicitudinem, Sacratiſſima Majeſtas, circa publicam Regni tui tranquillitatem ſtabilendam ſanctiſſime occupatam, longa multorum lectione, quæ præter iſta afferre poſſem, remorari videar, plura adjungere ſupersedebo, illud tantummodo precatus, ut meam hanc ſcribendi Temeritatem boni conſulat, quam ego totam perſpicaciſſimo atq; eruditiſſimo Majeſtatis tuæ judicio conſiderandam penſitandamq; committo. Atq; ita fœliciſſime valeat Sacratiſſima tua Majeſtas cujus Regnum & proſperrimum & in ſæculum diuturnum vobis fore precamur.

XI. *A Letter of King* Henry's *to* Tonſtall, *Biſhop of* Dureſme, *againſt Auricular Confeſſion being of Divine Inſtitution. An Original.*

Cot. Libr. *Cleop. E.* 5. SInce me thought (my Lord of *Durham*) that both the Biſhops of *York*, *Wincheſter*, and your Reaſons and Texts were ſo fully anſwered this other day, in the houſe, as to my ſeeming and ſuppoſal, the moſt of the Houſe was ſatisfied; I marvelled not a little why eft-ſoons you have ſent to me this now your writing, being in a manner few other Texts or Reaſons than there were declared both by the Biſhop of *Canterbury* and me, to make ſmally or nothing to your intended purpoſe: but either I eſteem that you do it to prove my ſimple judgment alone, which indeed doth not much uſe (tho not the wiſeſt) to call in aid, the Judgments of other learned Men, and ſo by mine ignorant Anſwer, ſeem to win the Field; or elſe that you be too much blinded in your own Fancy and Judgment, to think that a Truth, which by learning you have not yet proved, nor I fear me cannot by Scriptures, nor any other Directors probable grounds, though I know mine unſufficiency in Learning, if the matter were indifferent, and that the Ballance ſtood equal, ſince I take the verity of the Cauſe rather to favorize the part I take than yours, it giveth me therefore great boldneſs, not preſuming in Learning, but in juſtneſs of the Cauſe, ſeeing by writing you have provoked me to it, to make anſwer to your Arguments: Therefore I beginning now to reply to your firſt Allegation, ſhall eſſay to prove, if I can, that your own Author in place by you alledged, maketh plain againſt your Opinion; for as you alledg him, St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith *Quod ſufficit ſolus pudor pro pœna*, then Auricular Confeſſion is not by commandment neceſſary; for if it were, this word (*Solus*) is by your Author ill ſet; therefore your Author in this place furdereth you but little. To your *Fallax* Argument, I deny your conſequent, founded only upon ſmall Reaſon, which is the ground of your *Fallax* Argument: which Reaſon I need not take away, for your alledged Author doth ſhew too plainly, in his 5. *Homily*, *Tom.* 5. that you gather wrong ſence upon his Words; for he ſaith, with much more touching this matter, theſe few Words, *Non hominibus peccata detegere cogo*; then this other Text before rehearſed, is not to be underſtood as you will by writing it. Further, me thinketh I need not (God thank you) too greatly ſtudy for Authors to conclude your wrong taking of Texts, for thoſe your ſelf alledg ſerveth me well to purpoſe: for all your labour is to prove that Auricular Confeſſion were by God commanded, and both your Authorities of *Bede* and *Paul*, ſheweth nothing but that they did confeſs their Sins, and yet do not they affirm that it was by commandment; wherefore they make for mine Argument and not for yours. Your other Texts of *John* 21. and *Matthew* 10. were ſo throughly anſwered this other day, and ſo manifeſtly declared not to appertain to our grounded Argument, that I marvel you be not aſhamed eft-ſoons to put them in writing, and to found your Argument now ſo fondly on them; for what fonder Argument can be made to prove thereby a neceſſity of Confeſſion, than to ſay, If you confeſs not, I cannot forgive? Would a Thief which committeth

mitteth Fellony, think himſelf obliged by the Law to diſcloſe his Fellony, if the Law ſay no more, but if thou confeſs not I cannot forgive thee? or would Theft the ſooner therefore be forgiven? This is matter ſo apparent, that none can but perceive except he would not ſee. As touching *Origens* places by you alledged; as the firſt, in *Leviticum*, ſheweth that we be as much bound *lavare ſtratum Lacrimis, as dicere Sacerdoti*, which no Man, I think, will affirm that we be bound to do; and yet he affirmeth not that any of them is commanded: The Text alſo whereby ye would approve his ſo ſaying, doth not yet ſpeak *quod pronunciabo juſtitiam meam Sacerdoti*, but *Domino:* The other of *James* ſeemeth better to make for extream Unction, than for Confeſſion; for when was ever the uſe, that Folk comming only to Confeſſion, were wont to be anointed with Oil, therefore this makes nothing to your Argument. As touching *Origen* in *Pſal.* 37. he ſaith not *quod obligamur dicere Sacerdoti*, but *ſi confiteantur*; and ſeemeth rather to perſwade Men that they ſhould not *parvi pendere Confeſſionem*, (as all good Folk would) than that they were obliged to confeſs them to a Prieſt. Though *Cyprian de Lapſis*, doth praiſe them which do confeſs their Faults to Prieſts, yet doth he confeſs that we be not bound to do ſo; for he ſaith in the higheſt of his praiſe theſe Words, *How much be they then higher in Faith, and better in Fear of God, which though they be not bound by any Deed of Sacrifice, or Book, yet be they content ſorrowfully to confeſs to the Prieſt Sins!* He knowledgeth no bond in us by neither fact of Sacrifice or Libel, why alledg you (tho he praiſe Auricular Confeſſion) that we ſhould be bound by God and Law thereto? This is no proof thereof, neither by Reaſon nor by Scripture, nor any good Authority. And whereas he ſaith further, *Confiteantur ſinguli, quæſo vos fratres, delictum ſuum*; this doth not argue a Precept: nor yet the ſaying of *Eſay*, cap. 43. *ſecundum Septuaginta*; nor *Solomon* in the *Proverbs* 10. for theſe ſpeak rather of knowledging our Offence to God in our Heart, than of Auricular Confeſſion; after *David* the Prophet's ſaying and teaching, when he ſaid, *Tibi ſoli peccavi*, that was not to a Prieſt. By the Text alſo which you alledg, beginning, *circa perſonas vero Miniſtrorum*, &c. you do openly confeſs that the Church hath not accepted Auricular Confeſſion to be by God's Commandment; or elſe by your ſaying and Allegation, they have long erred: for you confeſs that the Church hath divers times changed, both to whom Confeſſion ſhould be made, and times when; and that alſo they have changed divers Ways for divers Regions; if it were by God's Commandment they might not do thus: Wherefore, my Lord, ſince I hear no other Allegations, I pray you blame not me tho I be not of your Opinion; and of the both, I think that I have more cauſe to think you obſtinate, than you me, ſeeing your Authors and Allegations make ſo little to your purpoſe. And thus far you well.

XII. *A Definition of the Church, corrected in the Margent by King* Henry's *own Hand. An Original.*

De Eccleſia.

Cotton Libr. *Cleo.* E. 5.

ECcleſia præter alias acceptiones in Scripturis duas habet præcipuas: Unam, qua Eccleſia accipitur pro Congregatione Sanctorum & vere fidelium qui Chriſto capiti vere credunt, & Sanctificantur Spiritu ejus; hæc autem una eſt, & vere Sanctum Corpus Chriſti ſed ſoli Deo * cognitum, qui hominum corda ſolus intuetur. Altera acceptio eſt, qua Eccleſia accipitur pro Congregatione omnium Hominum qui baptizati ſunt in Chriſto, & non palam abnegarint Chriſtum, nec ſunt † excommunitati ‖: quæ Eccleſiæ acceptio congruit ejus Statui in hac vita duntaxat, ubi habet malos bonis ſimul admixtos (*a*), & debet eſſe cognita per Verbum & Legitimum uſum Sacramentorum ut poſſit audiri; ſicut docet Chriſtus, Qui Eccleſiam non audierit. Porro ad veram unitatem Eccleſiæ, requiritur ut ſit conſenſus in recta Doctrina Fidei & adminiſtratione Sacramentorum.

Traditiones vero & Ritus atq; Cæremoniæ quæ vel ad Decorem, vel Ordinem, vel Diſciplinam Eccleſiæ ab hominibus ſunt inſtitutæ, non omnino neceſſe eſt, ut eadem ſint ubiq; aut prorſus ſimiles: hæ enim & variæ fuere & variari poſſunt * pro regionum atq; morum diverſitate & commodo †, ſic tamen ut ſint conſentientes Verbo Dei: & quamvis in Eccleſia ſecundum poſteriorem acceptionem mali ſint bonis admixti, atq; etiam Miniſteriis Verbi & Sacramentorum nonnunquam præſint, tamen cum miniſtrent non ſuo ſed Chriſti nomine, mandato & authoritate, licet eorum Miniſterio uti tam in verbo audiendo quam recipiendis Sacramentis, juxta illud, Qui vos audit me audit; nec per eorum malitiam imminuitur effectus aut gratia donorum Chriſti rite accipientibus, ſunt enim efficacia propter promiſſionem & ordinationem Chriſti etiamſi per malos exhibeantur.

* *Sponſa Chriſti cognita.*

† *Juſte.*
‖ *Aut obſtinati.*
(a) *Et cognitio hujus Eccleſiæ pervenit per uſum Verbi & Sacramentorum, acceptione perfecta, unitate annexa, ac unanimi conſenſu acceptata.*

* *Modo rectoribus placeant quibus ſemper obtemperandum eſt, tamen ut eorum inſtitutio atq; Lex Verbo Dei non adverſetur.*

† *Iſta eſt Eccleſia noſtra Catholica & Apoſtolica, cum qua nec Pontifex* Romanus, *nec quivis alius Prælatus aut Pontifex, habet quicquid agere præterquam in ſuas Dioceſes.*

The end of the Addenda.

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FINIS.

Errata *in the* Collection of Records.

PAge 21. Line 4. *compendio*, read *Compendio*. P. 19. l. 32. *huic*, r. *hic*. P. 21. l. 23. *datum*, r. *datam*. P. 65. l. 30. before *to*, r. *than*. P. 38. l. 5. *and take*, r. *to take*; l. 22. *gently*, r. *generally*. P. 111. the Marginal Note should stand 6 lines higher. P. 124. l. 14. *for*, r. *her*; l. 15. *Word*, r. *were*. P. 128. l. 12, 13, 14, 15, the *Comma's* are all wrong placed. P. 137. l. 42. *other*, r. *Oath*. P. 154. l. 19. *as if*, dele *as*. P. 157. l. 12. *here*, r. *have*. P. 190. l. 18. *our*, r. *your*. P. 220. l. 5. *Quest.* 3. r. *Quist.* 9. P. 269. l. 47. *Variety*, r. *Verity*. P. 285. l. 19, 28, r. 18. P. 305. l. 30. *in any*, r. *many*. P. 311. l. 41. *and*, r. *that*. P. 317. l. 26. *say-men*, r. *Lay-men*; l. 45. *refuge*, r. *refuse*. P. 322. l. 30. *only*, r. *every*. P. 335. l. 35, 36. *fides lis*, r. *fidelis*.

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The Second Part

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION.

By the Lords.

Die Lunæ 3. Januarij 1680.

ORdered by the *Lords Spiritual* and *Temporal* in Parliament Aſſembled, That the Thanks of this Houſe be given to Dr. *Burnet*, for the great Service done by him to this Kingdom, and the Proteſtant Religion, in writing the *Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of England*, ſo truly and exactly; And that he be deſired to proceed in the perfecting what he further intends therein with all convenient ſpeed.

Jo. Browne Cleric. Parliamentorum.

By the Commons.

Jovis 23. *Die* Decemb. 1680.

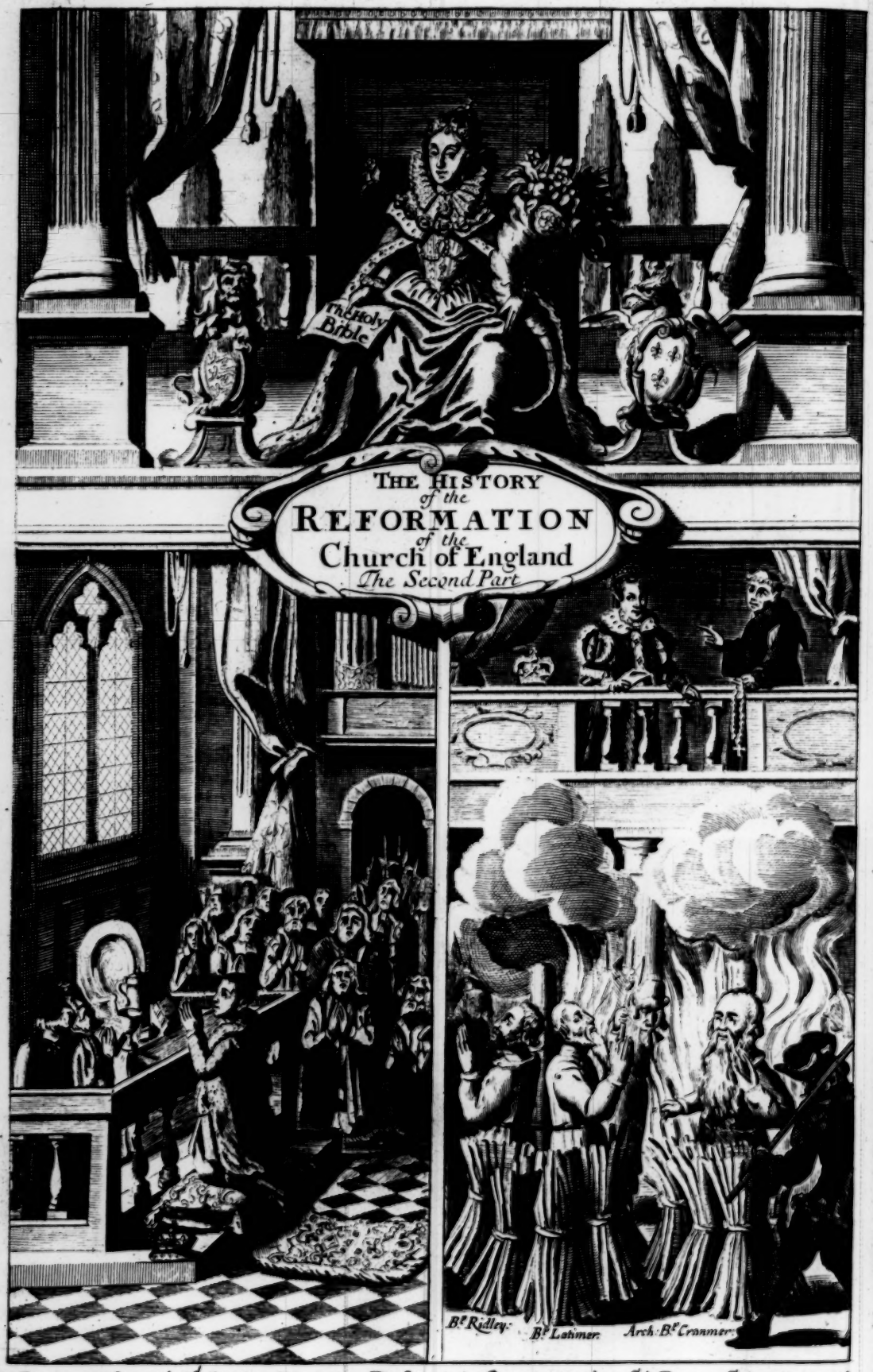
ORdered, That the Thanks of *This Houſe* be given to Dr. *Burnet*, for his Book Intituled *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of* England.

Will. Goldesbrough Cleric. Dom. Com.

Mercurij 5. *Die* Januarij 1680.

ORdered that Dr. *Burnet* be deſired to proceed with, and compleat that good Work by him begun in Writing and Publiſhing *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of* England.

Will. Goldesbrough Cler. Dom. Com.



Printed for Rich.d Chiſwell at the Roſe and Crowne in S.t Pauls Church yard.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

The Second Part.

OF THE

Progreſs made in it till the Settlement of it in the beginning

OF

Q. Elizabeths Reign.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

By *GILBERT BURNET*, D D.

LONDON,

Printed by *T. H.* for *Richard Chiſwell*, at the Roſe and Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, MDCLXXXIII.

THE PREFACE.

THE favourable reception which the former Part of this Work had, together with the new Materials that were ſent me from Noble and Worthy Hands, have encouraged me to proſecute it, and to carry down the Hiſtory of the Reformation of this Church till it was brought to a compleat ſettlement in the beginning of Queen Elizabeths Reign, which I now offer to the World.

The great zeal of this Age for what was done in that, about Religion, has made the Hiſtory of it to be received and read with more than ordinary attention and care: and many have expreſſed their ſatisfaction in what was formerly publiſhed, by contributing ſeveral Papers of great conſequence to what remained: and ſince I found no part of the firſt Volume was more univerſally acceptable, than that wherein I was only a Tranſcriber, I mean the Collection of Records and Authentick Papers, which I had ſet down in confirmation of the more remarkable and doubtful parts of the Hiſtory; I continue the ſame method now. I ſhall repeat nothing here that was in my former Preface: But refer the Reader to ſuch things as concern this Hiſtory in general, and my encouragement in the undertaking and proſecution of it, to what is there premiſed to the whole Work: and therefore I ſhall now enlarge on ſuch things as do more particularly relate to this Volume.

The Papers that were conveyed to me from ſeveral Hands are referred to, as the occaſion to mention them occurs in the Hiſtory, with ſuch acknowledgments as I thought beſt became this way of writing, though far ſhort of the merits of thoſe who furniſhed me with them. But the Store-houſe from whence I drew the greateſt part both of the Hiſtory and Collection, is the often-celebrated Cotton Library, out of which, by the noble favour of its truly learned Owner, Sir John Cotton, I gathered all that was neceſſary for compoſing this Part, together with ſome few things which had eſcaped me in my former Search, and belong to the Firſt Part: and thoſe I have mixed in the Collection added to this Volume upon ſuch occaſions as I thought moſt pertinent. But among all the Remains of the laſt Age, that are with great induſtry and order laid up in that Treaſury, none pleaſed me better, nor were of more uſe to me, than the Journal of King Edwards Reign, written all with his own Hand: with ſome other Papers of his, which I have put by themſelves in the beginning of the Collection: Of theſe I ſhall ſay nothing here, having given a full account of them in the Hiſtory of his Reign, to which I refer the Reader. I find moſt of our Writers have taken Parcels out of them, and Sir John Heyward has tranſcribed from them the greateſt part of his Book; therefore I thought this a

thing of ſuch conſequence, that upon good advice I have publiſhed them all faithfully copied from the Originals.

But as others aſſiſted me towards the perfecting this Part, ſo that learned Divine, and moſt exact Enquirer into Hiſtorical Learning, Mr. Fulman, *Rector of* Hamton-Meyſey *in* Gloceſter-ſhire, *did moſt ſignally oblige me, by a Collection of ſome miſtakes I had made in the former Work. He had for many years applied his thoughts with a very ſearching care to the ſame Subject, and ſo was able to judge more critically of it, than other Readers. Some of thoſe had eſcaped me, others had not come within my view, in ſome particulars my Vouchers were not good, and in others I had miſtaken my Authors. Theſe I publiſh at the end of this Volume, being neither aſhamed to confeſs my faults, nor unwilling to acknowledge from what Hand I received better information. My deſign in writing is to diſcover Truth, and to deliver it down impartially to the next Age; ſo I ſhould think it both a mean and criminal piece of vanity to ſuppreſs this diſcovery of my* Errors. *And though the number and conſequence of them had been greater than it is, I ſhould rather have ſubmitted to a much ſeverer Penance, than have left the World in the miſtakes, I had led them into: yet I was not a little pleaſed to find that they were neither many, nor of importance to the main Parts of the Hiſtory: and were chiefly about* Dates *or ſmall variations in the order of Time. I hope this Part has fewer faults ſince that worthy Perſon did purſue his former kindneſs ſo far, as to review it before-hand: and with great judgment to correct ſuch errors as he found in it: Thoſe I had formerly fallen into, made me more careful in examining even the ſmalleſt matters. Yet if after all my care, and the kind Cenſures of thoſe who have reviſed this Work, there is any thing left that may require a further Retractation, I ſhall not decline to make it ſo ſoon as I ſee there is need of it, being, I hope, raiſed above the poor vanity of ſeeking my own reputation, by ſacrificing Truth to it.*

Thoſe to whoſe cenſure I ſubmitted this whole Hiſtory in both its Parts, where chiefly three great Divines, whoſe Lives are ſuch Examples, their Sermons ſuch Inſtructions, their Writings ſuch unanſwerable Vindications of our Church, and their whole deportment ſo ſutable to their profeſſion, that as I reckon my being admitted into ſome meaſure of frendſhip with them, among the chief Bleſſings of my Life, ſo I know nothing can more effectually recommend this Work than to ſay that it paſſed with their hearty approbation, after they had examined it with that care, which their great zeal for the Cauſe concerned in it, and their goodneſs to the Author, and freedom with him obliged them to uſe. They are ſo well known, that without naming them, thoſe of this Age will eaſily gueſs who they are; and they will be ſo well known to Poſterity, by their excellent Writings, that the naming them is ſo high an advantage to my Book, *that I much doubt whether it is decent for me to do it. One of them,* Dr. Lloyd, *is now, while I am writing, by His Majeſties favour, promoted to the Biſhoprick of St.* Aſaph: *a Dignity to which how deſervedly ſoever his great Learning, Piety, and Merit, has advanced him, yet I particularly know how far he was from any aſpirings to it. It was he I deſcribed in my former* Preface, *that engaged me firſt to this deſign, and for that reaſon he has been more than ordinary careful to examine it, with that exactneſs that is peculiar to him. The other two are the Reverend, Learned,*

and

and Judicious Deans, of Canterbury *and St.* Pauls, *Dr.* Tillotſon, *and Dr.* Stillingfleet, *too well known to receive any addition from the Characters I can give of them.*

Others gave me Supplies of another ſort, to enable me to go through with an undertaking that put me to no ſmall expence. I am not aſhamed to acknowledge, that the ſtraitneſs of my condition, made this uneaſie to me, being deſtitute of all publick proviſion: but I ſhould be much aſhamed of my ingratitude, if I did not celebrate their bounty who have taken ſuch care of me, as not to leave this addition of charge, on one who lives not without difficulties. I muſt again repeat my Thanks, for the generous kindneſs, protection, and liberal Supplies of Sir Harbotle Grimſtone, *Maſter of the* Rolls, *this being the ſixth year of my ſubſiſtance under him, to whom I muſt ever acknowledge that I am more beholding than to all Men living. The noble Mr.* Boyle, *as he employs both his Time and Wealth, for the good of Mankind, (for which he conſiders himſelf as chiefly born, and which he has promoted not only in his own excellent Writings, that have made him ſo famous over all the World, but in many other deſigns that have been chiefly carried on at his coſt,) ſo hath he renewed his kindneſs to me in largeſſes ſutable to ſo great a Mind. Others were alſo pleaſed to joyn their help. The Right Honourable the Lord* Finch, *now Lord High Chancellor of* England, *whoſe great Parts, and greater Vertues, are ſo conſpicuous, that it were a high Preſumption in me to ſay any thing in his commendation, being in nothing more eminent than in his zeal for, and care of this Church, thought it might be of ſome importance to have its Hiſtory well digeſted, and therefore as he bore a large ſhare of my expence, ſo he took it more particularly under his care, and under all the Burdens of that high Employment which he now bears, yet found time for reading it in Manuſcript, of which he muſt have robbed himſelf, ſince he never denies it to thoſe who have a Right to it on any publick account; and hath added ſuch Remarks and Corrections as are no ſmall part of any finiſhing it may be judged to have. The Lord* Ruſſel, *the Inheritor of that Zeal for true Religion, and the other Vertues that have from the firſt beginnings of the Reformation, in a continued Entail, adorned that Noble Family of* Bedford, *beyond moſt others of the Kingdom, did eſpouſe the Intereſts of the Proteſtant Religion in this particular, as he has done on all other more publick occaſions; and by a moſt liberal Supply encouraged me to proſecute this Undertaking. That Worthy Counſellor, whoſe celebrated Integrity and clear Judgment have raiſed him ſo high in his Profeſſion,* Anthony Keck *Eſquire, did alſo concur in eaſing me of the charge that Searching, Copying, and gathering Materials put me to: And having received as much from theſe my Noble Benefactors, as did enable me to carry on my Deſign, I did excuſe my ſelf at other Perſons Hands, who very generouſly offered to ſupply me in the expence which this Work brought with it. That was done in a moſt extraordinary manner, by the Right Honourable the Earl of* Halifax, *whom, if I reckon among the greateſt Perſons this Age has produced, I am ſure all that know him will allow, that I ſpeak modeſtly of him: He indeed offered me the yearly continuance of a Bounty, that would not only have defrayed all this expence, but have been an entire and honourable ſubſiſtance to me; and though my neceſſities were not ſo preſſing as to perſwade me to accept it, yet ſo unuſual a generoſity*

neroſity doth certainly merit the higheſt acknowledg ments I can make for it.

But I now turn to that which ought to be the chief Subject of this Preface *to remove the prejudices, by which weak and unwary Perſons have been prepoſſeſſed in their Judgments concerning the* Reformation, *during that Period of it that falls within this* Volume. *I know the Duty of an* Hiſtorian *leads him to write as one that is of neither Party, and I have endeavoured to follow it as carefully as I could, neither concealiug the faults of the one* Party, *nor denying the juſt Praiſes that were due to any of the other ſide, and have delivered things as I found them, making them neither better nor worſe than indeed they were: But now that I am not yet entred into that Province, and am here writing my own Thoughts, and not relating the Actions of other Men, I hope it will be judged no indecent thing to clear the Readers mind of thoſe Impreſſions, which may either have already biaſſed him too much, or may upon a ſlight Reading of what follows, ariſe in his thoughts: unleſs he were prepared and armed with ſome neceſſary Reflections, which every one that may poſſibly read this Hiſtory, has not had the leiſure, or other opportunities, to make to ſuch a degree as were needful.*

It is certainly an unjuſt way of proceeding, in any that is to be a Judge, to let himſelf be ſecretly poſſeſſed with ſuch Impreſſions of Perſons and Things, as may biaſs his thoughts: for where the Scales are not well adjuſted, the Weight cannot be truly reckoned. So that it is an indirect Method to load Mens Minds with Prejudices, and not to let them in to the trial of Truth, till their Inclinations are firſt ſwayed ſuch a way. I deny not but in matters of Religion moſt commonly Men receive ſuch Notions, before they can well examine them, as do much determine them in the Enquiries they make afterwards, when their underſtandings grow up to a fuller ripeneſs: but thoſe Pre-occupations, if rightly infuſed, are rather ſuch as give them general Notions of what is good and honeſt in the abſtracted Idea's, than concerning matters of Fact: for every wiſe and pious Man muſt avoid all ſuch Methods of Inſtruction, as are founded on Falſhood and Craft: and he that will breed a Man to love Truth, muſt form in him ſuch a liking of it, that he may clearly ſee he would bribe him into no Opinion or Party by falſe or indirect Arts: But ſince Men are generally ſo apt to let ſome eaſie Notions enter into their Minds, which will pre-engage their Affections, and for moſt part thoſe who ſet themſelves to gain Proſelites, do begin with ſuch Arts, it will not be amiſs to give the Reader ſuch an account of theſe, as may prepare him againſt them, that ſo he may with a clearer mind conſider what is now to be delivered to him, concerning the Reformation of Religion among us.

I ſhall begin with that which is moſt commonly urged; that the whole Church being one Body, the Changes that were made in Religion, did break that Unity, and diſſolve the Bond by which the Catholick Church is to be knit together, and that therefore the firſt Reformers began, and we ſtill continue a Schiſme *in the Church.*

In anſwer to this, it is to be conſidered that the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church are obliged to inſtruct their People in the true Faith of Chriſt, according to the Scriptures: The nature of their Function, being a Sacred Truſt, binds them to this; they were alſo at their Conſecration engaged to it, by a formal Sponſion, according to the Queſtions and Anſwers that are in the

the Roman *Pontifical to this day. Paſtors owe it as a Debt to their People to teach them according to the Scriptures: They owe a Charity to their Brethren, and are to live with them in the terms of Brotherly Love, and Friendly Correſpondence; but if that cannot be had on eaſier terms, than the concealing neceſſary Truths, and the delivering groſs errors to thoſe committed to their charge, it is certain that they ought not to purchaſe it at ſo dear a rate. When the Paſtors of this Church ſaw it over-run with errors and corruptions, they were obliged by the duty they owed to God and to their People, to diſcover them; and to undeceive their miſled Flocks. It is of great importance to maintain* Peace and Unity, *but if a Party in the Church does ſet up ſome Doctrines and Practiſes, that do much endanger the Salvation of Souls, and makes advantages by theſe, ſo that there is no hope left to gain them by rational and ſofter* Methods, *than as St.* Peter *was to be* withſtood to his Face, *in a leſſer matter, much more are thoſe, who pretend no higher than to be his Succeſſors, to be withſtood, when the things are of great moment and conſequence. When Hereſies ſprung up in the Primitive Church, we find the neighbouring Biſhops condemned them without ſtaying for the concurrence of other Churches; as in the Caſe of* Samoſatenus, Arius, *and* Pelagius: *and even when the greateſt part of the Church was become* Semi-Arian, *and many great Councils, chiefly that at* Ariminum, *conſiſting of above* 800 *Biſhops, as ſome ſay, had through ignorance and fear complied, the Orthodox Biſhops did not forbear to inſtruct thoſe committed to their care according to the true Faith. A general concurrence is a thing much to be laboured for; but when it cannot be had, every Biſhop muſt then do his duty ſo as to be anſwerable to the chief Biſhop of Souls.*

So that inſtead of being led away by ſo ſlight a prejudice, we muſt turn our Enquiries to this, Whether there were really ſuch abuſes in the Church, as did require a Reformation? and whether there was any reaſon to hope for a more general concurrence in it? In the following Hiſtory the Reader will ſee what corruptions were found to be both in the Doctrine and Worſhip of this Church: from whence he may infer what need there was of Reformation. And it is very plain, that they had no reaſon to expect the concurrence of other Churches; for the Council of Trent *had already made a great progreſs, and it was very viſible, that as the Court of* Rome *governed all things there, ſo they were reſolved to admit of no effectual Reformation, of any conſiderable matters; but to eſtabliſh by a more formal deciſion, thoſe errors and abuſes that had given ſo much ſcandal to the Chriſtian World for ſo many Ages.*

This being the true ſtate of the Caſe, it is certain, that if there were really great corruptions, either in Belief or Manners in this Church, then the Biſhops were bound to reform them: ſince the backwardneſs of others in their duty, could no excuſe them from doing theirs, when they were clearly convinced of it. So that the Reader is to ſhake off this prejudice, and only to examine whether there was really ſuch need of a Reformation? ſince if that be true, it is certain the Biſhops of this, as well as of other Churches, were bound to ſet about it; and the faultineſs of ſome could be no excuſe to the reſt.

The ſecond Prejudice *is, That the Reformation was begun and carried on, not by the major part of the Biſhops and Clergy; but by a few ſelected Biſhops and Divines, who being ſupported by the Name of the Kings Authority, did frame things as they pleaſed; and by their Intereſt at Court got*

them to be Enacted in Parliament: *and after they had removed ſuch Biſhops as oppoſed them, then they procured the Convocation to conſent to what was done: So that upon the matter, the Reformation was the Work of* Cranmer, *with a few more of his Party, and not of this Church, which never agreed wholly to it, till the Biſhops were ſo modelled as to be compliant to the deſigns of the Court. In ſhort, the reſolution of this, is to be taken from a common Caſe; when the major part of a Church is according to the Conſcience of the Supream Civil Magiſtrate in an Error, and the leſſer part is in the right. The Caſe is not hard, if well underſtood: for in the whole Scripture there is no promiſe made to the major part of the Paſtors of the Church; and there being no Divine Promiſe made about it, it is certain that the Nature of Man is ſuch, that Truth ſeparated from Intereſt hath few Votaries: but when it is oppoſite to it, it muſt have a very ſmall Party. So that moſt of thoſe things which needed Reformation, being ſuch as added much to the Wealth and Power of the Clergy, it had been a wonder indeed, if the greater part had not oppoſed it. In that Caſe, as the ſmaller part were not to depart from their Sentiments, becauſe oppoſed in them by a more numerous Party that was too deeply concerned in the matter: ſo it was both natural for them, and very reaſonable, to take Sanctuary in the Authority and Protection of the Prince and the Law. That Princes have an Authority in things Sacred, was ſo univerſally agreed to in King* Henry's *Reign, and was made out upon ſuch clear Evidence of Reaſon and Precedents, both in the* Jewiſh *State, and in the* Roman *Empire, when it turned* Chriſtian, *that this ground was already gained. It is the firſt Law in* Juſtinians *Code, made by* Theodoſius *when he came to the Empire,* That all ſhould every where, under ſevere pains, follow that Faith which was received by *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Peter* of Alexandria. *And why might not the* King *and Laws of* England *give the like Authority to the Arch-biſhops of* Canterbury *and* York.

When the Empire, *and eſpecially the* Eaſtern *part of it, had been, during the Reign of* Conſtantius, *and* Valens *ſucceeding him after a ſhort Interval, ſo overſpread with* Arianiſme, *it is ſcarce to be imagined how it could have been reformed in any other manner: for they durſt not at firſt truſt it to the diſcretion of a Synod; and yet the Queſtion then on foot was not ſo link'd with Intereſt, being a Speculative Point of Divinity, as thoſe about which the Conteſt were in the beginnings of the Reformation.*

It is not to be imagined how any Changes in Religion can be made by Soveraign Princes, unleſs an Authority be lodged with them of giving the Sanction of a Law, to the ſounder, though the leſſer part of a Church: for as Princes and Law-givers are not tied to an implicite obedience to Clergymen, but are left to the freedom of their own diſcerning, ſo they muſt have a Power to chooſe what ſide to be of where things are much enquired into. The Juriſdiction of Synods or Councils, is founded either on the Rules of Expediency and Brotherly Correſpondence, or on the force of Civil Laws: for when the Chriſtian *Belief had not the ſupport of Law, every Biſhop taught his own Flock the beſt he could, and gave his Neighbours ſuch an account of his Faith, at, or ſoon after his Conſecration, as ſatisfied them, and ſo maintained the Unity of the Church. The formality of Synods grew up in the Church, from the diviſion of the* Roman *Empire, and the Dignity of the ſeveral Cities; which is a thing ſo well known, and ſo plainly acknowledged by the Writers of all ſides, that it were a needleſs impoſing on*

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the Readers patience, to ſpend time to prove it. Such as would underſtand it more perfectly, will find it in De Marca *the late Arch-biſhop of* Paris's *Books* de Concordia Imperii & Sacerdotii, *and in* Blondells *Works*, De la Primaute de l'Egliſe. *None can imagine there is a Divine Authority in that which ſprang from ſuch a beginning. The major part of Synods cannot be ſuppoſed to be in matters of Faith, ſo aſſiſted from Heaven, that the leſſer part muſt neceſſarily acquieſce in their Decrees, or that the Civil Powers muſt always meaſure their Laws by their Votes: eſpecially where Intereſt does viſibly turn the Scales. And this may ſatisfie any reaſonable Man as to this prejudice; that if Arch-biſhop* Cranmer *and* Holgate, *the two Primates and Metropolitans of this Church, were in the right, in the things that they procured to be reformed, though the greater part of the Biſhops being biaſſed by baſe ends, and generally both ſuperſtitious and little converſant in the true Theological Learning, did oppoſe them, and they were thereby forced to order matters ſo, that at firſt they were prepared by ſome ſelected Biſhops and Divines, and afterwards Enacted by King and Parliament, this is no juſt exception to what was ſo managed. And ſuch a* Reformation *can no more be blaſted by being called a* Parliament-Religion, *than the* Reformations *made by the Kings of* Iſrael *without or againſt the Majority of the Prieſts, could be blemiſh'd by being call'd* the Kings Religion.

A third Prejudice *is, that the Perſons who governed the Affairs at Court, were weak or ill Men: that the King being under Age, things were carried by thoſe who had him in their Power. And for the two great Miniſters of that Reign, or rather the Adminiſtrators of it, the Dukes of* Somerſet *and* Northumberland, *as their violent and untimely deaths, may ſeem to be effects of the indignation of Heaven, for what they did; ſo they were both eminently faulty in their Adminiſtration, and are ſuppoſed to have ſought too much their own ends. This ſeems to caſt a blemiſh on their Actions, and to give ſome reaſon to ſuſpect the things were not good which had ſuch Inſtruments to advance them.*

But this Prejudice, *compounded of many Particulars, when taken to pieces, will appear of no force to blaſt the credit of what they did. By our Law, the King never dies, and is never young nor old, ſo that the Authority of the King is the ſame, whether adminiſtred by himſelf or by his Governours, when he is under Age: nor are we to judge of Men by the events that befall them. Theſe are the deepeſt Secrets of Divine Providence, into which it is impoſſible for Men of limited underſtandings to penetrate: and if we make Judgments of Perſons and Things by accidents, we ſhall very often moſt certainly conclude falſely.* Soloman *made the Obſervation, which the* Series *of Humane Affairs ever ſince hath fully juſtified,* That there are juſt men to whom it happens according to the Work of the Wicked; and Wicked Men to whom it happens according to the Work of the Righteous: *and the enquiring into theſe ſeemingly unequal ſteps of Gods Governing the World,* is a Vanity. *As for the Duke of* Northumberland, *the Reformation is not at all concerned in him, for if we believe what he ſaid, when there was the leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect him, on the Scaffold, he was all the while a Papiſt in his Heart. And ſo no wonder if ſuch a Man, ſtriking in for his own ambitious ends, with that which was popular, even againſt the perſwaſions of his Conſcience, did very ill things. The Duke of* Somerſet *was indeed more ſincere, and though he was not*

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without his faults, (which we may ſafely acknowledge, ſince the Man of Infallibility *is not pretended to be without ſin) yet theſe were not ſuch heinous tranſgreſſions, but rather ſuch as humane infirmity expoſes moſt Men to, when they are raiſed to an high condition. He was too vain, too much addicted to his own Notions, and being a Man of no extraordinary Parts, he was too much at the diſpoſal of thoſe, who by flatteries and ſubmiſſions inſinuated themſelves into him; and he made too great haſte to raiſe a vaſt Eſtate to be altogether innocent: but I never find him charged with any perſonal diſorders, nor was he ever guilty of falſhood, of perverting Juſtice, of Cruelty, or of Oppreſſion. He was ſo much againſt the laſt of theſe, that he loſt the affections of the Nobility for being ſo careful of the Commons, and covering them from the oppreſſion of their Landlords. The Buſineſs of his Brother, though it has a very ill appearance, and is made to look worſe by the lame account our Books give of it, ſeems to have been forced on him: for the Admiral was a Man of moſt incurable ambition, and ſo inclined to raiſe diſturbance, that after ſo many relapſes and ſuch frequent Reconcilions, he ſtill breaking out into new diſorders, it became almoſt neceſſary to put him out of a capacity of doing more miſchief. But if we compare the Duke of* Somerſet *with the great Miniſters even in the beſt Courts; we ſhall find him better than moſt of them: and if ſome few have carried their Proſperity better, many more even of thoſe who are otherwiſe recorded for extraordinary Perſons, have been guilty of far greater faults. He who is but a little acquainted with Hiſtory, or with the Courts of Princes, muſt needs know ſo much of this Argument, that he will eaſily cure himſelf of any ill effects which this Prejudice may have on him.*

A fourth Prejudice *is raiſed from the great Invaſions which were then made upon the Church-Lands, and things dedicated to Pious Uſes; which is a thing hated by Men of all Religions, and branded with the odious Names of* Sacriledge, *and* robbing of God; *ſo that the Spoils of Religious Houſes and Churches, ſeem to have been the ſecret Motives that at firſt drew in, and ſtill engage ſo many to the Reformation. This has more weight in it than the former, and therefore deſerves to be more fully conſidered.*

The Light of Nature teaches, that thoſe who are dedicated to the Service of God and for inſtructing the People, ought to be ſo well provided for, that they may be delivered from the diſtractions of Secular Cares, and ſecured from the contempt which follows Poverty; and be furniſhed with ſuch means as may both enable them to know that well wherein they are to inſtruct others, and to gain ſuch an Intereſt in the affections of thoſe among whom they labour, as modeſt Hoſpitality and liberal Almſ-giving may procure. In this all Nations and Religions have ſo generally agreed, that it may be well called a Law of Nations, if not of Nature. Had Church-men been contented with this meaſure, it is very probable things had never run to the other Extream ſo much as they have done. But as the Pope got to himſelf a great Principality, ſo the reſt of his Clergy deſigned to imitate him in that, as much as was poſſible: they ſpared no pains, nor thought they any Methods too bad, that could ſet forward theſe Projects. The belief of Purgatory, and the redeeming of Souls out of it by Maſſes, with many other publick Cheats impoſed on the World, had brought the Wealth of this and other Nations into their Hands. Upon the diſcovery of this impoſture, it was but a reaſonable and juſt proceeding of the Government to re-aſſume thoſe Lands, and diſpoſe otherwiſe of them, which had been for moſt part fraudu-

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lently drawn from the former Ages: for indeed the best part of the Soil of England, being in such ill Hands, it was the Interest of the whole Kingdom to have it put to better uses. So that the Abbies being generally raised and endowed by the efficacy of those false Opinions, which were infused into the People, I can see no just exception against the Dissolution of them, with the Chantries, and other Foundations of like Superstition; and the fault was not in taking them away, but in not applying a greater part of them to uses truly Religious.

But most of these Monasteries had been enriched by that, which was indeed the Spoil of the Church: for in many Places the Tithes which belonged to the Secular Clergy were taken from them, and by the Authority of Papal Bulls were given to the Monasteries. This was the Original of the greatest mischief that came on this Church at the Reformation: The Abbots having possessed themselves of the Tithes, and having left to those who served the Cure either some small Donative or Stipend, and at best the small Tithes or Vicarage, those who purchased the Abbey-Lands from the Crown in the former Reign, had them with no other charge reserved for the Incumbents, but that small Pittance that the Abbots had formerly given them: and this is now a much less allowance, than the Curates had in the times of Popery: for though they have now the same Right by their Incumbency that they then had, yet in the time of Superstition, the Fees of Obits, Exequies, Soul-Masses, and such other Perquisites did furnish them so plentifully, that considering their obligation to remain unmarried, they lived well, though their certain maintenance was but small: but these things falling off by the Reformation, which likewise leaves the Clergy at liberty in the matter of Marriage, this has occasioned much ignorance and scandal among the Clergy. I shall not enter into the debate about the Divine Right of Tithes, this I am sure of, a decent maintenance of the Clergy is of natural Right, and that it is not better looked to, is a publick reproach to the whole Nation; when in all other Religions and Nations, those who serve at the Altar live by it. The ancient Allowances for the Curates in Market Towns being generally so small, because the Number and Wealth of the People made the Perquisites so considerable, has made those Places to be too often but ill supplied: and what way this makes for the seducers of all hands, when the Minister is of so mean a condition, and hath so incompetent a Maintenance that he can scarce secure himself from extream want, and great contempt, I leave it to every Man to judge.

This is as high a contempt of Religion and the Gospel as any can be, and is one of those things for which this Nation has much to answer to God; that now in one hundred and twenty years time, so little has been done by publick Authority for the redress of such a crying oppression. Some private Persons have done great things this way, but the publick has yet done nothing suitable to the occasion: Though their Neighbour Nation of Scotland, has set them a very good Example, where, by the great zeal and care of King James, and the late blessed King, Acts and Orders of Parliament have been made, for examining the whole state of the Clergy, and for supplying all poor Livings so plentifully, that in Glebe and Tithes all Benefices are now raised, to at least fifty Pounds Sterling yearly. What greater scorn can be put upon Religion, than to provide so scantly for those that are trusted with the care of Souls, that some hundreds of Parishes in England pay not Ten Pounds a year to their Pastors, and perhaps some thousands not

Fifty? This is to be numbred among those crying sins that are bringing down vengeance on us, since by this many Souls are left to perish, because it is not possible to provide them with able and faithful Shepherds. I shall not examine all the particular Reasons that have obstructed the redress of this mischief, but those concerned in it may soon find some of them out in themselves. And here I acknowledge a great and just prejudice lies against our Reformation, which no man can fully answer. But how faulty soever we may be in this Particular, they of the Church of Rome *have little reason to object it to us, since the first and true occasion of it was of their own doing. Our fault is, that at the dissolution of the Monasteries, restitution was not made to the Parish Priests of what the Popes had sacrilegiously taken from them. And now that we are upon the utter extirpation of Popery, let us not retain this Relique of it. And I pray God to inspire and direct His Majesty and His two Houses of Parliament effectually to remove this just, and, for ought I know, only great scandal of our* English *Reformation.*

A fifth Prejudice, *which seems to give ill impressions of our Reformation, is, that the Clergy have now no interest in the Consciences of the People, nor any inspection into their manners; but they are without yoke or restraint. All the Ancient Canons for the publick Penance of scandalous offenders are laid aside, and our Clergy are so little admitted to know or direct the Lives and Manners of their Flocks, that many will scarce bear a reproof patiently from them: Our Ecclesiastical Courts are not in the Hands of the Bishops and their Clergy, but put over to the* Civilians, *where too often Fees are more strictly look'd after, than the correction of Manners. I hope there is not cause for so great a Cry, but so it is, these* Courts *are much complained of; and publick vice and scandal is but little enquired after, or punished: Excommunication is become a kind of Secular Sentence, and is hardly now considered as a Spiritual Censure, being judged and given out by Lay-men, and often upon Grounds, which, to speak moderately, do not merit so severe and dreadful a Sentence. There are besides this a great many other Abuses, brought in in the worst Times, and now purged out of some of the Churches of the* Roman *Communion, which yet continue, and are too much in use among us, such as* Pluralities, Non-residencies, *and other things of that nature: so that it may be said, that some of the manifest corruptions of Popery, where they are recommended by the advantages that accompany them, are not yet throughly purged out, notwithstanding all the noise we have made about Reformation in matters much more disputable, and of far less consequence.*

This whole Objection, when all acknowledged, as the greatest part of it cannot be denied, amounts indeed to this, that our Reformation is not yet arrived at that full perfection, that is to be desired. The want of publick Penance, and Penitentiary Canons, is indeed a very great defect: our Church does not deny it, but acknowledges it in the Preface *to the Office of Commination. It was one of the greatest Glories of the Primitive Church, that they were so governed, that none of their number could sin openly without publick Censure, and a long separation from the Holy Communion; which they judged was defiled by a promiscuous admitting of all Persons to it. Had they consulted the Arts of Policy, they would not have held in Converts by so strict a way of proceeding, lest their discontent might have driven them away; at a time when to be a Christian was attended with so many discouragements, that it might seem dangerous by so severe a Discipline,*

pline, to frighten the World out of their Communion. But the Paſtors of that time, reſolved to follow the Rules delivered them by the Apoſtles, and truſted God with the ſucceſs, which anſwered and exceeded all their expectations: for nothing convinced the World more of the truth of that Religion, than to ſee thoſe truſted with the care of Souls, watch ſo effectually over their Manners, that for ſome ſins, which in theſe looſe Ages in which we live, paſs but for common effects of humane frailty, Men were made to abſtain from the Communion for many years, and did cheerfully ſubmit to ſuch Rules as might be truly medicinal for curing thoſe Diſeaſes in their Minds.

But alas! the Church-men of the latter Ages being once veſted with this Authority, to which the World ſubmitted, as long as it ſaw the good effects of it, did ſoon learn to abuſe it; and to bring the People to a blind ſubjection to them. It was one of the chief Arts by which the Papacy ſwelled to its height: for Confeſſors inſtead of bringing their Penitents to open Penance, ſet up other things in the room of it; pretending they could commute it, and in the Name of God accept of one thing for another: and they accepted of a Penitents going, either to the Holy War, or which was more Holy of the two, to one of the Popes Wars againſt Hereticks, or depoſed Princes; and gave full Pardons to thoſe who thus engaged in their deſigns. Afterwards (when the Pope had no great occaſion to kill Men, or the People no great mind to be killed in his Service) they accepted of Money, as an Alms to God: and ſo all publick Penance *was laid down, and* Murder *or* Merchandiſe *was ſet up in its room. This being the ſtate of things at the Reformation, it is no wonder if the People could not be eaſily brought to ſubmit to publick* Penance; *which had been for ſome Ages entirely laid aſide: and there was reaſon why they ſhould not be forward to come under the Yoke of their Prieſts, leſt they ſhould have raiſed upon that Foundation, ſuch a Tyrannical Dominion over them, as others had formerly exerciſed. This made ſome Reformed Churches beyond Sea bring in the Laity with them, into their Courts, which if they had done meerly as a good Expedient, for removing the jealouſie which the World then had of Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny, there was no great Objection to have been made to it; but they made the thing liable to very great exception, when they pretended a Divine Inſtitution for thoſe* Lay-Elders. *Here in* England, *it is plain the Nation would not bear ſuch Authority to be lodged with the Clergy at firſt; but it will appear in the following Work, that a Platform was made of an Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, though the Biſhops had no hopes of reducing it into practice, till the King ſhould come to be of Age, and paſs a Law for the authoriſing of it: but he dying before this was effected, it was not proſecuted with that zeal that the thing required in Queen* Elizabeths *time: and then thoſe who in their Exile were taken with the Models beyond Seas, contending more to get it put in the method of other Churches, than to have it ſet up in any other Form, that contention begat ſuch heat, that it took Men off from this and many other excellent deſigns: and whereas the* Preſbyters *were found to have had anciently a ſhare in the Government of the Churches, as the* Biſhops *Council and Aſſiſtants, ſome of them that were of hot tempers demanding more than their ſhare, they were by the immoderate uſe of the Counterpoiſe kept out of any part of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline; and all went into thoſe Courts commonly called the* Spiritual Courts; *without making diſtinction between thoſe Cauſes of Teſtaments, Marriages, and*

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such other ſuits, that require ſome learning in the Civil *and* Canon *Law, and the other Cauſes of the Cenſures of the Clergy and Laity, which are of a more Spiritual Nature, and ought indeed to be tried only by the Biſhops and Clergy; for they are no ſmall part of the Care of Souls, which is incumbent on them: and by them only Excommunications ought to be made, as being a Suſpenſion from the Sacred Rites of Chriſtians, of which none can be the competent Judges, but thoſe to whom the charge of Souls is committed. The worſt that can be ſaid of all theſe Abuſes, is, that they are Reliques of Popery, and we owe it to the unhappy Conteſts among our ſelves, that a due correction has not been yet given to them.*

From hence one evil has followed, not inferior to theſe from whence it flows, that the Paſtoral Charge is now looked on by too many, rather as a device only for inſtructing People, to which they may ſubmit as much as they think fit, than as a care of Souls, as indeed it is: And it is not to be denied but the practice of not a few of us of the Clergy, has confirmed the People in this miſtake, who conſider our Function as a Method of living, by performing Divine Offices, and making Sermons, rather than as a watching over the Souls of the Flocks committed to us, viſiting the Sick, reproving ſcandalous Perſons, reconciling differences, and being ſtrict at leaſt in governing the Poor, whoſe neceſſities will oblige them to ſubmit to any good Rules, we ſhall ſet them for the better conduct of their Lives. In theſe things does the Paſtoral Care chiefly conſiſt, and not only in the bare performing of Offices, or pronouncing Sermons, which every one almoſt may learn to do after ſome tolerable faſhion. If Men had a juſt Notion of this Holy Function, and a right ſenſe of it before they were initiated into it, thoſe ſcandalous abuſes of Plurality of Benefices with Cure, (except where they are ſo poor and contiguous, that both can ſcarce maintain one Incumbent, and one Man can diſcharge the duty of both very well) Non-reſidencies, and the hiring out that Sacred Truſt to pitiful Mercenaries at the cheapeſt rates, would ſoon fall off. Theſe are things of ſo crying a nature, that no wonder if the wrath of God is ready to break out upon us. Theſe are abuſes that even the Church of Rome, *after all her impudence, is aſhamed of, and are at this day generally diſcountenanced all* France *over. Queen* Mary *here in* England *in the time of Popery, ſet her ſelf effectually to root them out. And that they ſhould be ſtill found among* Proteſtants, *and in ſo Reformed a Church, is a ſcandal that may juſtly make us bluſh. All the honeſt Prelates at the Council of* Trent *endeavoured to get* Reſidence *declared to be of Divine Right, and ſo not to be diſpenſed with upon any conſideration whatſoever: and there is nothing more apparently contrary to the moſt common impreſſions, which all men have about matters of Religion, than that* Benefices *are given for the Office to which they are annexed: and if in matters of Mens Eſtates, or of their Health, it would be a thing of high ſcandal, for one to receive the Fees, and commit the Work to the care of ſome inferiour or raw Practitioner, how much worſe is it to turn over ſo important a concernment, as the care of Souls muſt be confeſſed to be, to mean hands? And to conclude, thoſe who are guilty of ſuch diſorders, have much to anſwer for, both to God, for the neglect of thoſe Souls for which they are to give an account, and to the World, for the reproach they have brought on this Church and on the Sacred Functions, by their ill practices; nor could the diviſions of this Age ever have riſen to ſuch a height, if the People had not been poſſeſſed with ill impreſſions of*

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ſome of the Clergy, from thoſe inexcuſable faults, that are ſo conſpicuous in too many that are called Shepherds: Who Cloath themſelves with the Wool, but have not fed the Flock, that have not ſtrengthened the diſeaſed, nor healed the ſick, nor bound up that which was broken, nor brought again that which was driven away, nor ſought that which was loſt, but have ruled them with force and cruelty: *And if we would look up to God who is viſibly angry with us, and has* made us baſe and contemptible among the People, *we ſhould find great reaſon to reflect on thoſe words of* Jeremy. The Paſtors are become Brutiſh, and have not ſought the Lord, therefore they ſhall not proſper, and all their Flocks ſhall be ſcattered.

But I were very unjuſt if having ventured on ſo plain and neceſſary a reprehenſion; I ſhould not add, that God has not ſo left this Age and Church, but there is in it a great number in both the holy Functions, who are perhaps as Eminent in the exemplarineſs of their Lives, and as diligent in their Labours, as has been in any one Church in any Age ſince Miracles ceaſed. The humility and ſtrictneſs of Life in many of our Prelates and ſome that were highly Born, and yet have far out-gone ſome others from whom more might have been expected, raiſes them far above cenſure, though perhaps not above envy. And when ſuch think not the daily inſtructing their Neighbours a thing below them, but do it with as conſtant a care, as if they were to earn their Bread by it, when they are ſo affable to the meaneſt Clergy-men that come to them, when they are ſo nicely ſcrupulous about thoſe whom they admit into holy Orders, and ſo large in their Charities, that one would think they were furniſhed with ſome unſeen ways, theſe things muſt raiſe great eſteem for ſuch Biſhops, and ſeem to give ſome hopes of better times. Of all this I may be allowed to ſpeak the more freely, ſince I am led to it by none of thoſe Bribes, either of gratitude, or fear, or hope, which are wont to Corrupt men to ſay what they do not think: But I were much to blame, if in a Work that may perhaps Live ſome time in the World, I ſhould only find fault with what is amiſs, and not alſo acknowledge what is ſo very commendable and Praiſeworthy. And when I look into the Inferior Clergy, there are, chiefly about this great City of London, *ſo many, ſo Eminent, both for the ſtrictneſs of their Lives, the conſtancy of their Labours, their Excellent and plain way of Preaching, (which is now perhaps brought to as great a Perfection, as ever was ſince men ſpoke as they received it immediately from the Holy Ghoſt) the great gentleneſs of their Deportment to ſuch as differ from them, their mutual Love and Charity, and in a Word for all the qualities that can adorn Miniſters or Chriſtians, that if ſuch a number of ſuch Men cannot prevail with this debauched Age, this one thing to me looks more diſmally than all the other affrighting Symptoms of our Condition; that God having ſent ſo many faithful Teachers, their Labours are ſtill ſo ineffectual.*

I have now examined all the prejudices that either occur to my thoughts, or that I have not met with in Books or Diſcourſes, againſt our Reformation; and I hope upon a free enquiry into them, it will be found that ſome of them are of no force at all, and that the other, which are better Grounded, can amount to no more than this, that things were not managed with that care, or brought to that Perfection that were to be deſired: ſo that all the uſe we ought to make of theſe Objections, is to be

directed by them to do those things which may compleat and adorn that Work, which was managed by Men subject to Infirmities, who neither could see every thing, nor were able to accomplish all that they had Projected, and saw fit to be done.

But from the matter of the following History, *another Objection of another sort may arise, which though it has no relation to the Reformation, yet leaves no small Imputation on the Nation, as too apt to change, and be carried about with every Religion in Vogue, since in little more than* 20 *years time, there were four great changes made in Religion; and in all these the main Body of the Nation turned with the Stream: and it was but a small number that stood firm and suffered for their Consciences. But if the State of the Nation be well considered, there will be nothing in all this so strange as at first view it may perhaps appear: for in the times of Popery the People were kept in such profound ignorance, that they knowing nothing of Religion, beyond the outward Forms and Pageantry, and being highly dissatisfied with the ill Lives of the Clergy, and offended with their Cruelty against those that contradicted their Opinions, it is no wonder that they were inclined to hear Preachers of any sort, who laid out to them the reasons of the Doctrine they delivered, and did not impose it on them in gross, as the others had done. These Teachers being also Men of Innocent tempers, and good Lives, and being recommended to the Compassion of the Nation, by their sufferings, and to their esteem, by their zeal and readiness to run all hazards for their Consciences, had great advantages to gain on the Belief and affections of the People. And to speak freely, I make no doubt, but if the Reformation had been longer a hatching under the heat of Persecution, it had come forth perfecter than it was. This disposition of the People, and King* Henry's *Quarrelling with the Pope made the way easie for the first Change: But then the severities about the Supremacy on one hand, and the six Articles on the other, made People to stagger and reel between the two Religions. And all People being fond of new things, and the discoveries of the Impostures of the Priests and lewdness of the Monks, encreasing their dislike of them, it was no wonder the Reformation went on with so little Tumult and Precipitation till King* Edward's *time. But though there were then very Learned and Zealous Divines, who managed and carried on the changes that were made, yet still the greater part of the Clergy was very Ignorant, and very Corrupt; which was occasioned by the Pensions that were reserved out of the Rents of the suppressed Monasteries to the Monks during their Lives, or till they were provided with Livings. The Abbey-Lands that were sold with the Charge of these annexed to them, coming into the Hands of Persons who had no mind to have that Burden lie longer on them, they got these Monks provided with Benefices, that so they might be eased of that Charge. And for the other Abbies that still remained with the Crown, the same Course was taken: for the Monks were put into all the small Benefices that were in the Kings gift. So that the greatest part of the Clergy, were such as had been formerly Monks or Friers, very ignorant for most part, and generally addicted to their former Superstition, though otherwise Men, that would comply with any thing rather than forfeit their Livings. Under such Incumbents nothing but Ignorance and Unconcernedness in Religion could prevail. By this means it was that the greater part of the*

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Nation was not well inſtructed, nor poſſeſſed with any warmth and ſincere Love to the Reformation, which made the following change under Queen Mary *more eaſily effected. The Proceedings in King* Edward's *time were likewiſe ſo gentle and Moderate, flowing from the calm temper of Arch-Biſhop* Cranmer, *and the policy of others, who were willing to accept of any thing they could obtain, hoping that time would do the buſineſs, if the over-driving it did not precipitate the whole affair; that it was an eaſie thing for a Concealed Papiſt to weather the difficulties of that Reign. There were alſo great ſcandals given by the Indiſcretion of many of the New Preachers. The miſgovernment of Affairs under the Duke of* Somerſet, *with the reſtleſs Ambition of the Duke of* Northumberland *did alienate the Nation much from them; and a great averſion commonly begets an univerſal diſlike of every thing that is done by thoſe whom we hate.*

All theſe things concurred to prepare the minds of the People to the change made by Queen Mary: *but in her Reign Popery did more plainly diſcover it ſelf in the many repeated Burnings, and the other Cruelties then openly exerciſed. The Nation was alſo in ſuch danger of being brought under the uneaſie Yoak of Spaniſh Government, and they were many of them in fear of loſing their new-gotten Church Lands; theſe things, together with the loſs of* Calais *in the end of her Reign, which was univerſally much reſented as a laſting diſhonour to the Nation, raiſed in them a far greater averſion to her Government, and to every thing that had been done in it, than they had to the former. The* Genius *of the* Engliſh *leads them to hate Cruelty and Tyranny; and when they ſaw theſe were the neceſſary Concomitants of Popery, no wonder it was thrown out with ſo general an agreement, that there was ſcarce any conſiderable Oppoſition made to it, except by ſome few of their Clergy: who having changed ſo oft, were aſhamed of ſuch repeated recantations: and ſo reſolved at laſt to ſtand their ground; which was the more eaſie to reſolve on under ſo merciful a Prince, who puniſht them only by a Forfeiture of their Benefices; and that being done, took care of their Subſiſtence for the reſt of their Lives:* Bonner *himſelf not being excepted, though ſo deeply dyed in the Blood of ſo many Innocents.*

All theſe things laid together, it will not ſeem ſtrange that ſuch great Alterations were ſo eaſily brought about in ſo ſhort a time. But from the days of Queen Elizabeth *that the Old Monks were worn out, and New Men better Educated were placed in Churches, things did generally put on a new Viſage: and this Church has ſince that time continued to be the Sanctuary and ſhelter of all Forreigners, and the chief Object of the Envy and Hatred of the* Popiſh *Church, and the great Glory of the* Reformation; *and has wiſely avoided the ſplitting aſunder, on the high Points of the Divine Decrees, which have broken ſo many of then Reformed beyond Sea; but in theſe has left Divines to the freedom of their ſeveral Opinions: nor did ſhe run on that other Rock, of deſiring at firſt ſo peremptorily the manner of Chriſts Preſence in the Sacrament, which divided the* Cerman *and the* Helvetian *Churches, but in that did alſo leave a Latitude to Men of different perſwaſions. From this great temper it might have reaſonably been expected, that we ſhould have continued United at Home, and then for things Sacred, as well as Civil, we had been out of the Danger of what all our Forreign Enemies could have contrived or done againſt us.*

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But the Enemy, while the Watchmen ſlept, ſowed his Tares even in this Fruitful Field; of which it may be expected I ſhould give ſome Account here, and the rather becauſe I end this Work at the time when thoſe unhappy differences firſt aroſe; ſo that I give them no part in this Hiſtory: *and yet I have in the ſearch I made, ſeen ſome things of great Importance, which are very little known, that give me a clearer light into the beginnings of theſe Differences than is commonly to be had; of which I ſhall diſcourſe ſo, as becomes one who has not blindly given himſelf up to any Party, and is not afraid to ſpeak the truth even in the moſt critical matters.*

There were many learned and Pious divines in the beginning of Queen Elizabeths *Reign, who being driven beyond Sea had obſerved the New Models ſet up in* Geneva, *and other places, for the Cenſuring of Scandalous Perſons, of mixed Judicatories of the Miniſters and Laity: and theſe reflecting on the great looſneſs of Life which had been univerſally Complained of in King* Edward's *time, thought ſuch a Platform might be an effectual way for keeping out a return of the like diſorders. There were alſo ſome few Rites reſerved in this Church, that had been either uſed in the Primitive Church, or though brought in of latter time, yet ſeemed of excellent uſe to beget Reverence in Holy Performances: which had alſo this to be ſaid for them, that the keeping theſe ſtill, was done in Imitation of what Chriſt and his Apoſtles did in Symbolizing with the* Jewiſh *Rites, to gain the* Jews *thereby as much as could be; ſo it was judged neceſſary to preſerve theſe, to let the World ſee that though Corruptions were thrown out, yet the Reformers did not love to change only for change ſake, when it was not otherwiſe needful: and this they hoped might draw in many, who otherwiſe would not ſo eaſily have forſaken the* Roman *Communion. Yet theſe* Divines *excepted to thoſe, as Compliances with* Popery, *and though they profeſſed no great diſlike to the Ceremonies themſelves, or doubt of their Lawfulneſs, yet were they againſt their Continuance, upon that ſingle Account, which was indeed the chief reaſon why they were continued. But all this Debate was modeſty Managed, and without violent Heat or Separation: afterwards ſome of the* Queens *Courtiers had an eye to the fair Manours of ſome of the greater* Sees, *and being otherwiſe Men of ill Tempers and Lives, and probably of no Religion, would have perſwaded the Queen, that nothing could Unite all the Reformed Churches ſo effectually, as to bring the* Engliſh *Church to the Model beyond Sea, and that it would much enrich the Crown, if ſhe took the Revenues of* Biſhopricks *and* Cathedrals *into her own Hands. This made thoſe on the other hand who laid to Heart the true Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and therefore endeavoured to preſerve this Church in that ſtrong and well Modelled Frame to which it was brought (particularly the Lord* Burleigh, *the Wiſeſt Stateſ-man of that Age, and perhaps of any other) ſtudy how to Engage the Queen out of Intereſt to ſupport it, and they Demonſtrated to her that theſe New Models would certainly bring with them a great Abatement of her Prerogative: ſince if the Concerns of Religion came into Popular Hands, there would be a Power ſet up diſtinct from hers, over which ſhe could have no Authority.*

This ſhe perceived well, and therefore reſolved to Maintain the Antient Government of the Church, but by this means it became a matter

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of Intereſt, and ſo theſe differences which might have been more eaſily reconciled before grew now into formed Factions: ſo that all Expedients *were left unattempted which might have made up the Breach: And it becoming the Intereſt of ſome, to put it paſt reconciling, this was too eaſily effected. Thoſe of the Diviſion finding they could not carry their main deſign, raiſed all the Clamours they could againſt the Churchmen; and put in* Bills *into the Parliament againſt the abuſes of* Pluralities, Non-reſidences, *and the Exceſſes of the* Spiritual Courts. *But the Queen being poſſeſſed with this, that the Parliaments medling in theſe matters tended to the leſſening of her Authority, of which ſhe was extreamly ſenſible, got all theſe* Bills *to be thrown out. If the abuſes that gave ſuch occaſion to the male-contented to complain, had been effectually redreſſed, that* Party *muſt have had little to work on: but theſe things furniſhed them with new Complaints ſtill: the* Market-Towns *being alſo ill provided for, there were Voluntary Contributions made, for* Lectures *in theſe places. The* Lecturers *were generally Men that overtopped the Incumbents in diligent and Zealous Preaching, and they depending on the bounty of the People for their Subſiſtence, were engaged to follow the humours of thoſe who Governed thoſe Voluntary Contributions. All theſe things tended to the encreaſe of the Party; which owed its chief growth to the ſcandalous Maintenance of the Miniſters of great Towns, for which reaſon they were ſeldom of great Abilities, and to the ſcandals given by the* Pluralities *and* Non-reſidences *of others, that were over-provided. Yet the Government in Civil matters was ſo ſteady all the* Queens *Reign, that they could do no great thing, after ſhe once declared her ſelf ſo openly and reſolutely againſt them.*

But upon King James's *coming to the Crown, and the diviſions that came to be afterwards in Parliaments, between the too too often named Parties, for the Court and Country; and Clergymen being linked to the intereſts of the Crown, all thoſe who in Civil matters oppoſed the deſigns of the Court, reſolved to cheriſh thoſe of the Diviſion, under the Colour of their being hearty Proteſtants, and that it was the intereſt of the Reformed Religion to uſe them well; and that all Proteſtants ſhould Unite: And indeed the differences between them were then ſo ſmall, that if great Art had not been uſed to keep them aſunder, they had certainly United of their own accord. But the late unhappy Wars, engaged thoſe who before only complained of abuſes, into a formed ſeparation, which ſtill continues to the great danger and diſgrace of the Proteſtant Religion. I ſhall not make any Obſervations on latter Tranſactions which fall within all Mens View; but it is plain that from the beginning there have been laboured deſigns to make Tools of the ſeveral Parties, and to make a great breach between them; which lays us now ſo open to our common Enemy. And it looks like a ſad forerunner of Ruin, when we cannot after ſo long Experience of the miſchievous Effects of theſe Conteſts, learn to be ſo wiſe as to void the running on thoſe Rocks, on which our Fathers did ſo unfortunately ſplit; but on the contrary many ſteer as ſteadily towards them, as if they were the only ſafe Harbours, where they may ſecurely weather every Storm.*

But being now to lead the Reader into ſo agreeable a Proſpect, as I hope the Reformation *of the Church will be to him, I will hold him yet a little longer before I open it, and deſire him for his better preparation to*

it to reflect on the nature of Religion in general, and of the Christian in particular. That Religion is chiefly designed for perfecting the nature of Man, for improving his Faculties, governing his Actions, and securing the Peace of every Mans Conscience, and of the societies of Mankind in common, is a truth so plain, that without further arguing about it all will agree to it. Every part of Religion is then to be judged by its Relation to the main ends of it; and since the Christian Doctrine was revealed from Heaven, as the most perfect and proper way that ever was, for the advancing the good of Mankind, nothing can be a part of this holy Faith but what is proportioned to the end for which it was designed. And all the additions that have been made to it, since it was first delivered to the World, are justly to be suspected; especially where it is manifest at first view that they were intended to serve carnal and secular ends. What can be reasonably supposed in the Papacy, where the Popes are chosen by such intrigues, either of the two Crowns, the Nephews of the former Pope, or the craft of some aspiring men, to entitle them to infallibility or Universal Jurisdiction? What can we think of redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, or preserving them from it by tricks, or some mean Pageantry; but that it is a foul piece of Merchandise? What is to be said of Implicit Obedience, the Priestly Dominion over Consciences, the keeping the Scriptures out of the peoples hands, and the Worship of God in a strange Tongue? but that these are so many Arts to hoodwink the world, and to deliver it up into the hands of the ambitious Clergy. What can we think of the superstition and idolatry of Images, and all the other pomp of the Roman *Worship? but that by these things the People are to be kept up in a gross notion of Religion, as a splendid business, and that the Priests have a trick of saving them, if they will but take care to humour them, and leave that matter wholly in their hands. And to sum up all, what can we think of that constellation of Prodigies in the Sacrament of the Altar, as they pretend to explain it, and all really to no purpose? but that it is an art to bring the World by whole sale to renounce their reason and sense, and to have a most wonderful veneration for a sort of men who can with a word perform the most astonishing thing that ever was.*

I should grow too large for a Preface, if I would pursue this Argument as far as it will go. But if on the other hand we reflect on the true ends of this holy Religion, we must needs be convinced that we need go no where else out of this Church to find them; but are compleatly instructed in all parts of it, and furnished with all the helps to advance us to that which is indeed the end of our faith, the salvation of our souls. *Here we have the Rules of holy Obedience, and the Methods of Repentance and Reconciliation for past sins clearly set before us: we believe all that Doctrine which Christ and his Apostles delivered, and the Primitive Church received: we have the comfort of all those Sacraments which Christ instituted, and in the same manner that he appointed them: All the helps to devotion that the Gospel offers are in every ones hand. So what can it be that should so extravagantly seduce any who have been bred up in a Church so well constituted, unless a blind superstition in their temper, or a desire to get heaven in some easier method than Christ has appointed, do strangely impose on their understandings, or corrupt their minds. Indeed the thing is so unaccountable that it looks like a curse from heaven on those who are given up to it, for their other sins; for an ordinary measure of Infatuation cannot carry any one so far in folly. And it may be laid down for a certain* Maxim, *that such as leave us, have*

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never had a true and well formed Notion of Religion, or of Chriſtianity in its main and chief Deſign; but take things in parcels, and without examining them ſuffer themſelves to be carried away by ſome prejudices which only darken weaker Judgments.

But if it is an high and unaccountable folly for any to forſake our Communion, and go over to thoſe of Rome, *it is at the ſame time an unexcuſable weakneſs in others who ſeem full of zeal againſt* Popery, *and yet upon ſome inconſiderable Objections do depart from the unity of this Body, and form ſeparated Aſſemblies and Communions; though they cannot object any thing material either to our Doctrine or Worſhip: but the moſt aſtoniſhing part of the wonder is, that in ſuch differences there ſhould be ſo little mutual forbearance or gentleneſs to be found: and that theſe ſhould raiſe ſuch heats as if the ſubſtance of Religion were concerned in them. This is of God, and is a ſtroke from Heaven on both ſides, for their other ſins: We of the Church Communion have truſted too much to the ſupports we receive from the Law, we have done our duties too ſlightly, and have minded the Care of Souls too little; therefore God to puniſh and awaken us has ſuffered ſo many of our People to be wreſted out of our hands: and thoſe of the Separation have been too forward to Blood and War, and thereby have drawn much guilt on themſelves, and have been too compliant with the Leaders of their ſeveral Factions, or rather apt to out-run them. It is plain, God is offended with us all, and therefore we are puniſhed with this fatal blindneſs, not to ſee at this time the things that belong to our peace.*

And this leads me to Reflections of another ſort, with which I ſhall conclude this Preface, *which I have now drawn out to a greater length than at firſt I intended. It is apparent the Wrath of God hangs over our heads, and is ready to break out upon us. The Symptoms of our ill condition are as ſad as they are viſible: and one of the worſt is, that each ſort and Party is very ready to throw the guilt of it off themſelves, and caſt it on others, with whom they are diſpleaſed: But no man ſays,* What have I done? *The Clergy accuſe the Laity, and the Laity condemn the Clergy. Thoſe in the City charge the Country, and the Country complains of the City: every one finds out ſomewhat wherein he thinks he is leaſt concerned, and is willing to fix on* that *all the indignation of Heaven, which, God knows, we our ſelves have kindled againſt our ſelves. It cannot be denied, ſince it is ſo viſible, that univerſally the whole Nation is corrupted, and that the Goſpel has not had thoſe effects among us which might have been expected, after ſo long and ſo free a courſe as it has had in this* Iſland. *Our wiſe and worthy Progenitors reformed our Doctrine and Worſhip; but we have not reformed our Lives and Manners: what will it avail us to underſtand the right Methods of worſhiping God, if we are without true Devotion, and coldly perform publick Offices, without ſenſe and affection, which is as bad as a* Bead-roll *of Prayers in what ever Language they be pronounced. What ſignifies our having the Sacraments purely adminiſtred among us, if we either contemptuouſly neglect them, or irreverently handle them, more perhaps in compliance with Law, than out of a ſenſe of the Holy Duties incumbent on us? for what end are the Scriptures put in our hands, if we do not read them with great attention, and order our lives according to them? and what does all preaching ſignifie, if Men go to Church meerly for Form, and hear Sermons only as ſet Diſcourſes, which they will cenſure or commend as they think they ſee cauſe, but are reſolved never to be the better for them? If to all theſe*

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ſad Conſiderations we add the groſs ſenſuality and impurity, that is ſo avowedly practiſed that it is become a faſhion, ſo far it is from being a reproach; the oppreſſion, injuſtice, intemperance, and many other immoralities among us, what can be expected, but that theſe abominations receiving the higheſt aggravation they are capable of, from the clear light of the Goſpel which we have ſo long enjoyed, the juſt Judgments of Heaven, ſhould fall on us ſo ſignally, as to make us a reproach to all our Neighbours. But as if all this were not enough, to fill up the meaſure of our iniquities, many have arriv'd at a new pitch of impiety, by defying Heaven it ſelf, with their avowed Blaſphemies and Atheiſm: and if they are driven out of their Atheiſtical Tenets which are indeed the moſt ridiculous of any in the World, they ſet up their reſt on ſome general Notions of Morality and Natural Religion, and do boldly reject all that is revealed: and where they dare vent it, (alas! where dare they not do it?) they reject Chriſtianity and the Scriptures, with open and impudent ſcorn, and are abſolutely inſenſible of any obligation of Conſcience in any thing whatſoever: and even in that Morality which they for decencies ſake magnifie ſo much, none are more bare-facedly and groſly faulty. This is a direct attempt againſt God himſelf, and can we think that he will not viſit for ſuch things, nor be avenged on ſuch a Nation? And yet the hypocriſie of thoſe who diſguiſe their flagitious Lives, with a Maſk of Religion, is perhaps a degree above all; though not ſo ſcandalous till the Maſk falls off, and that they appear to be what they truly are. When we are all ſo guilty, and when we are ſo allarumed by the black Clouds that threaten ſuch terrible and laſting Storms, what may be expected but that we ſhould be generally ſtruck with a deep ſenſe of our crying ſins, and turn to God with our whole Souls? But if after all the loud awakenings from Heaven we will not hearken to that Voice, but will ſtill go on in our ſins, we may juſtly look for unheard-of Calamities, and ſuch miſeries as ſhall be proportioned to our offences: and then we are ſure they will be great and wonderful.

Yet if on the other hand there were a general turning to God, or at leaſt if ſo many were rightly ſenſible of this, as, according to the proportion that the Mercies of God allow, did ſome way ballance the wickedneſs of the reſt, and if theſe were as zealous in the true methods of imploring Gods favour, as others are in procuring his diſpleaſure; and were not only mourning for their own ſins, but for the ſins of others; the Prayers and Sighs of many ſuch, might diſſipate that diſmal Cloud which our ſins have gathered; and we might yet hope to ſee the Goſpel take root among us: ſince that God *who is the Author of it is merciful, and full of compaſſion, and ready to forgive; and this holy Religion which by his Grace is planted among us is ſtill ſo dear to him, that if we by our own unworthineſs do not render our ſelves incapable of ſo great a Bleſſing, we may reaſonably hope that he will continue that which at firſt was by ſo many happy concurring Providences brought in, and was by a continued* Series *of the ſame indulgent care advanc'd by degrees, and at laſt raiſed to that pitch of perfection which few things attain in this World. But this will beſt appear in the enſuing Hiſtory, from which I fear I may have too long detained the Reader.*

10. September
1680.

THE

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The Second Part OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK I.

Of the Life and Reign of King Edward *the Sixth.*

EDward, the Sixth King of *England* of that Name, was the only Son of King *Henry* the *8th*, by his best beloved Queen *Jane Seimour*, or St. *Maur*, Daughter to Sir *John Seimour*, who was descended from *Roger St. Maur*, that married one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Lord *Beauchamp* of *Hacche*. Their Ancestors came into *England* with *William* the Conqueror, and had at several times made themselves considerable by the Noble Acts they did in the Wars. *He was born at *Hampton-Court* on the 12*th* day of *October*, being St. *Edwards* Eve, in the Year 1537. *and lost his Mother the day after he was born; who died, not by the cruelty of the Chyrurgeons ripping up her Belly to make way for the Princes Birth. (as some Writers gave out, to represent King *Henry* barbarous and cruel in all his Actions; whose report has been since too easily followed:) but as the Original Letters that are yet extant, shew, she was well delivered of him, and the day following was taken with a distemper incident to Women in that condition, of which she died. 1547.

* 1537. *Oct.* 12. *Edward* VI. born.

* The Queen died on the 14*th*, say *Hall*, *Stow*, *Speed*, and *Herbert*: on the 15*th*. saith *Hennings*: on the 17*th*, if the Letter, of the Physicians be true in *Fullers* Church Hist. *p.* 422. *Cott. libr.*

He was soon after Christened, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* being his God-fathers, according to his And Christned.

1547. own Journal, though *Hall* says the last was only his God-father when he was Bishopped; he continued under the charge and care of the Women, till he was six years old; and then he was put under the Government of Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*: The one was to be his Præceptor for his Manners, and the knowledge of Philosophy and Divinity: The other for the Tongues and Mathematicks. And he was also provided with Masters for the *French*, and all other things becoming a Prince, the Heir of so great a Crown.

His disposition. He gave very early many indications of a good disposition to Learning, and of a most wonderful probity of mind, and above all, of great respect to Religion, and every thing relating to it. So that when he was once in one of his childish diversions, somewhat being to be reached at, that he and his Companions were too low for, one of them laid on the floor a great Bible that was in the Room to step on; which he beholding with indignation, took up the Bible himself, and gave over his play for that time. He was in all things subject to the Orders laid down for his Education, and profited so much in Learning, that all about him conceived great hopes of extraordinary things from him, if he should live: But such unusual beginnings seemed rather to threaten the too early end of a Life, that by all appearance was likely to have produced such astonishing things. He was so forward in his Learning, that before he was eight years old he wrote Latine Letters to his Father, who was a Prince of that stern severity, that one can hardly think those about his Son durst cheat him by making Letters for him. He used also at that Age to write both to his God-father the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and to his Unkle, who was first made Viscount *Beauchamp*, as descended from that Family, and soon after Earl of *Hartford*. It seems *Q. Catherine Parr* understood Latin, for he wrote to her also in the same Language. But the full Character of this young Prince is given us by *Cardan*, who writ it after his death, and in *Italy*, where this Prince was accounted an Heretick, so that there was nothing to be got or expected by flattering him; and yet it is so Great, and withal so agreeing in all things to Truth, that as I shall begin my Collection of Papers at the end of this Volume with his words in *Latin*, so it will be very fit to give them here in *English*.

Collection. Numb. 1.

Cardans Character of him. "All the Graces were in him. He had many Tongues when he was "yet but a Child: Together with the *English* his natural Tongue, he had "both *Latin* and *French*: nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the *Greek*, "*Italian*, and *Spanish*, and perhaps some more. But for the *English*, "*French* and *Latin*, he was exact in them; and apt to learn every thing. "Nor was he ignorant of Logick, of the Principles of natural Philoso- "phy, nor of Musick. The sweetness of his temper was such as became "a Mortal, his gravity becoming the Majesty of a King, and his disposi- "tion suitable to his high degree. In sum, that Child was so bred, had "such Parts, was of such expectation, that he looked like a Miracle of his "a Man, These things are not spoken Rhetorically, and beyond the "truth, but are indeed short of it. And afterwards he adds, He was "a marvellous Boy: When I was with him, he was in the 15*th* Year of "Age, in which he spake *Latin* as politely and as promptly as I did: "He asked me what was the subject of my Books, *de rerum Varietate*, "which I had dedicated to him? I answered, That in the first Chapter "I gave the true cause of Comets, which had been long enquired into.

"But

"but was never found out before. What is it, said he? I said, it was "the concourse of the light of wandring Stars. He answered, How "can that be, since the Stars move in different Motions? How comes it "that the Comets are not soon dissipated, or do not move after them ac- "cording to their Motions? To this I answered, They do move after "them, but much quicker than they, by reason of the different Aspect, "as we see in a Christal, or when a Rain-bow rebounds from the Wall: "for a little change makes a great difference of place. But the King "said, How can that be, where there is no Subject to receive that Light, "as the Wall is the Subject for the Rain-bow? To this I answered, That "this was as in the Milky-way, or where many Candles were lighted, the "middle place where their shining met was white and clear. From this "little tast it may be imagined what he was. And indeed the ingenuity "and sweetness of his disposition had raised in all good and learned Men "the greatest expectation of him possible. He began to love the Libe- "ral Arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use "them: and in him there was such an attempt of Nature, that not only "*England*, but the World has reason to lament his being so early snatched "away. How truly was it said of such extraordinary Persons, That "their Lives are short, and seldom do they come to be old? He gave us "an Essay of Vertue, though he did not live to give a pattern of it. When "the gravity of a King was needful, he carryed himself like an Old Man; "and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his Age. He play- "ed on the Lute: he meddled in affairs of State: and for bounty, he did "in that emulate his Father; though he even, when he endeavoured to "be too good, might appear to have been bad: but there was no ground "of suspecting any such thing in the Son, whose mind was cultivated by the "study of Philosophy. 1547.

A design to create him Prince of *Wales*.

It has been said in the end of his Fathers Life, that he then designed to create him Prince of *Wales*: For though he was called so, as the Heirs of this Crown are, yet he was not by a formal Creation invested with that dignity. This pretence was made use of to hasten forward the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*; since he had many Offices for life, which the King intended to dispose of; and desired to have them speedily filled, in order to the creating of his Son Prince of *Wales*. In the mean time his Father died, and the Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, were sent by the Council to give him notice of it, being then at *Hartford*, and to bring him to the Tower of *London*; and having brought him to *Enfield*, with his Sister the Lady *Elizabeth*, they let him know of his Fathers death, and that he was now their King: On the 31*st* of *January* the Kings Death was published in *London*, and he proclaimed King.

King *Henry* dies.

Jan. 31.

King *Edward* came to the *Tower*.

At the *Tower*, his Fathers Executors, with the rest of the Privy-Council, received him with the respects due to their King: So tempering their sorrow for the death of their late Master, with their joy for his Sons happy succeeding him; that by an excess of joy they might not seem to have forgot the one so soon, nor to bode ill to the other by an extreme grief. The first thing they did, was the opening King *Henry's* Will: by which they found he had nominated sixteen Persons to be his Executors, and Governours to his Son, and to the Kingdom, till his Son was eighteen years of Age. These were the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor, the Lord St. *John* Great Master, the

King *Henry's* Will opened.

1547. Lord *Ruſſel* Lord Privy-Seal, the Earl of *Hartford* Lord Great Chamberlain, the Viſcount *Liſle* Lord Admiral, *Tonſtal* biſhop of *Dureſme*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *William Paget* Secretary of State, Sir *Edward North* Chancellor of the Court of *Augmentations*, Sir *Edward Montague* Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, Judge *Bromley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert* Chief Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, Sir *Edward Wotton* Treaſurer of *Callice*, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. Theſe, or the major part of them, were to execute his Will, and to adminiſter the Affairs of the Kingdom. By their conſent were the King and his Siſters to be diſpoſed of in Marriage. But with this difference, that it was only ordered, That the King ſhould marry by their Advice; but the two Siſters were ſo limited in their Marriage, that they were to forfeit their Right of Succeſſion, if they married without their conſent; it being of far greater importance to the Peace and Intereſt of the Nation who ſhould be their Husbands, if the Crown did devolve on them, than who ſhould be the Kings Wife. And by the Act paſſed in the 35*th* Year of King *Henry*, he was empowred to leave the Crown to them, with what limitations he ſhould think fit. To the Executors, the King added by his Will, a Privy-Council who ſhould be aſſiſting to them. Theſe were, the Earls of *Arundel*, and *Eſſex*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Treaſurer of the Houſhold, Sir *John Gage* Comptroller, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *William Petre* Secretary of State, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Seimour*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, and Sir *Edmund Peckham*. The King alſo ordered, That if any of the Executors ſhould die, the Survivors without giving them a Power of ſubſtituting others, ſhould continue to adminiſter Affairs. He alſo charged them to pay all his Debts, and the Legacies he left, and to perfect any Grants he had begun, and to make good every thing that he had promiſed. The Will being opened and read, all the Executors, Judge *Bromley* and the two *Wottons* only excepted, were preſent, and did reſolve to execute the Will in all points, and to take an Oath for their faithful diſcharge of that Truſt.

Debate about chooſing a Protector.

But it was alſo propoſed, That for the ſpeedier diſpatch of things, and for a more certain order and direction of all Affairs, there ſhould be one choſen to be Head of the reſt, to whom Ambaſſadors and others might addreſs themſelves. It was added to caution this, That the Perſon to be raiſed to that Dignity, ſhould do nothing of any ſort without the Advice and Conſent of the greater part of the reſt. But this was oppoſed by the Lord Chancellour, who thought that the Dignity of his Office, ſetting him next the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who did not much follow Secular Affairs, he ſhould have the chief ſtroke in the Government; therefore he preſſed, That they might not depart from the Kings Will in any particular, neither by adding to it, nor taking from it, It was plain, the late King intended they ſhould be all alike in the Adminiſtration, and the raiſing one to a Title or Degree above the reſt, was a great change from what he had ordered. And whereas it was now ſaid, that the Perſon to be thus nominated was to have no manner of Power over the reſt, that was only to exalt him into an high Dignity with the leſs envy or apprehenſion of danger; for it was certain great Titles always make way for high Power. But the Earl of *Hartford* had ſo great a Party

Party among them, that it was agreed to, the Lord Chancellor himſelf consenting when he ſaw his oppoſition was without effect, that one ſhould be raiſed over the reſt in Title to be called the *Protector of the Kings Realms, and the Governour of his Perſon*: The next Point held no long debate, who ſhould be nominated to this high Truſt; for they unanimouſly agreed, That the Earl of *Hartford*, by reaſon of his nearneſs of Blood to the King, and the great experience he had in affairs, was the fitteſt Perſon. "So he was declared Protector of the Realm, and Go- "vernour to the Kings Perſon; but with that ſpecial and expreſs Condi- "tion, that he ſhould not do any Act but by the Advice and Conſent "of the other Executors, according to the Will of the late King. Then they all went to take their Oaths, but it was propoſed, that it ſhould be delayed till the next day, that ſo they might do it upon better conſideration. More was not done that day, ſave that the Lord Chancellor was ordered to deliver up the Seals to the King, and to receive them again from his Hands; for King *Henry*'s Seal was to be made uſe of, either till a new one was made, or till the King was Crowned; He was alſo ordered to renew the Commiſſions of the Judges, the Juſtices of Peace, the Preſidents of the *North*, and of *Wales*, and of ſome other Officers. This was the iſſue of the firſt Council-day under this King: In which, the ſo eaſie advancement of the Earl of *Hartford* to ſo high a Dignity gave great occaſion to cenſure: it ſeeming to be a change of what King *Henry* had deſigned. But the Kings great kindneſs to his Unkle made it paſs ſo ſmoothly; For the reſt of the Executors, not being of the Ancient Nobility, but Courtiers, were drawn in eaſily to comply with that which was ſo acceptable to their young King. Only the Lord Chancellor, who had chiefly oppoſed it, was to expect ſmall favour at the new Protectors hands. It was ſoon apparent what emulation there was between them. And the Nation being then divided, between thoſe who loved the old Superſtition, and thoſe who deſired a more complete Reformation; The Protector ſet himſelf at the Head of the one, and the Lord Chancellor at the Head of the other Party. 1547. The Earl of *Hartford* choſen.

The next day the Executors met again, and firſt took their Oaths moſt ſolemnly for their faithful executing the Will. They alſo ordered all thoſe who were by the late King named Privy-Councellors to come into the Kings Preſence, and there they declared to the King the choice they had made of his Unkle; who gave his Aſſent to it. It was alſo ſignified to the Lords of the Council, who likewiſe with one voice gave their Conſent to it. And diſpatches were ordered to be ſent to the Emperour, the *French* King, and the Regent of *Flanders*, giving notice of the Kings Death, and of the Conſtitution of the Council, and the Nomination of the Protector during the Minority of their young King. All Diſpatches were ordered to be Signed only by the Ptotector; and all the Temporal Lords, with all the Biſhops about the Town, were commanded to come and ſwear Allegiance to the King. On the 2*d.* of *Feb.* the Protector was declared Lord Treaſurer, and Earl Marſhal, theſe Places having been deſigned for him by the late King upon the Duke of *Norfolks* Attainder. Letters were alſo ſent to *Callice*, *Bulloigne*, *Ireland*, the Marches of *Scotland*, and moſt of the Counties of *England*, giving notice of the Kings Succeſſion, and of the order now ſetled. The Will was alſo ordered to be Enrolled, and every of the Executors Which is declared in Council. *Feb.* 2.

was

1547. was to have an Exemplification of it under the Great Seal: and the Clerks of Council were alſo ordered to give to every of them an account of all things done in Council under their Hands and Seals. And the Biſhops were required to take out new Commiſſions of the ſame form with thoſe they had taken out in King *Henry*'s time, (for which ſee Page. 267. of the former Part;) only with this difference, That there is no mention made of a Vicar-General in theſe Commiſſions, as was in the former, there being none after *Cromwel* advanced to that dignity. Two of theſe Commiſſions are yet extant, one taken out by *Cranmer*, the other taken out by *Bonner*. But this was only done by reaſon of the preſent juncture, becauſe the Biſhops being generally addicted to the former Superſtition, it was thought neceſſary to keep them under ſo arbitrary a Power as that ſubjected them to; for they hereby held their Biſhopricks only during the Kings pleaſure, and were to exerciſe them as his Delegates in his Name, and by his Authority. *Cranmer* ſet an Example to the reſt, and took out his Commiſſion, which is in the *Collection*. But this was afterwards judged too heavy a Yoak, and therefore the new Biſhops that were made by this King were not put under it; (and ſo *Ridley*, when made Biſhop of *London* in *Bonners* room, was not required to take out any ſuch Commiſſion;) but they were to hold their Biſhopricks during life.

The Biſhops take out Commiſſions for their Biſhopricks,

Collection Number 2.

The Reaſon of the new Creation of many Noblemen.

There was a Clauſe in the Kings Will, requiring his Executors to make good all that he had promiſed in any manner of ways. Whereupon Sir *William Paget*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert*, were required to declare what they knew of the Kings Intentions and Promiſes; the former being the Secretary whom he had truſted moſt, and the other two, thoſe that attended on him in his Bed-Chamber during his Sickneſs; though they were called Gentlemen of the Privy-chamber; for the Service of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber was not then ſet up. *Paget* declared, That when the evidence appeared againſt the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surrey*, the King, who uſed to talk oft in private with him alone, told him, that he intended to beſtow their Lands liberally: and ſince by Attainders, and other ways, the Nobility were much decayed, he intended to create ſome Peers; and ordered him to write a Book of ſuch as he thought meeteſt: who thereupon propoſed the Earl of *Hartford* to be a Duke; the Earl of *Eſſex* to be a Marqueſs; the Viſcount *Liſle* to be an Earl; the Lords St. *John*, *Ruſſel*, and *Wriotheſley*, to be Earls; and Sir *Tho. Seimour*, Sir *Thom. Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Rich*. Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Tho. Arundel*, Sir *Edmund Sheffield*, Sir *Jo. St. Leiger*, Sir *Wymbiſh*, Sir *Vernon* of the *Peak*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Danby*, to be Barons. *Paget* alſo propoſed a diſtribution of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Eſtate. But the King liked it not, and made Mr. *Gates* bring him the Books of that Eſtate; which being done, he ordered *Paget* to *tot upon the Earl of Hartford* (theſe are the words of his Depoſition) a Thouſand Marks; on the Lord *Liſle*, St. *John*, and *Ruſſel*, 200 Pounds a year; to the Lord *Wriotheſley* 100; and for Sir *Tho. Seimour* 300 Pounds a year. But *Paget* ſaid it was too little, and ſtood long arguing it with him: yet the King ordered him to propoſe it to the Perſons concerned, and ſee how they liked it. And he putting the King in mind of *Denny*, who had been oft a Suiter for him, but he had never yet in lieu of that obtained any thing for *Denny*, the

King

King ordered 200 Pounds for him, and 400 Marks for Sir *William Herbert*, and remembred ſome others likewiſe. But *Paget* having according to the Kings Commands, ſpoken to theſe who were to be advanced, found that many of them deſired to continue in their former Ranks, and thought the Lands the King intended to give were not ſufficient for the maintenance of the Honour to be conferred on them: which he reported to the beſt advantage he could for every Man, and endeavoured to raiſe the Kings favour to them as high as he could. But while this was in conſultation, the Duke of *Norfolk*, very prudently apprehending the ruin of his Poſterity, if his Lands were divided into many Hands, out of which he could not ſo eaſily recover them; whereas if they continued in the Crown, ſome turn of Affairs might again eſtabliſh his Family; and intending alſo to oblige the King by ſo unuſual a Complement, ſent a deſire to him that he would be pleaſed to ſettle all his Lands on the Prince, (the now King) and not give them away: for, ſaid he, according to the Phraſe of that Time, *They are good and ſtately Gear.* This wrought ſo far on the King, that he reſolved to reſerve them for himſelf, and to reward his Servants ſome other way. Whereupon *Paget* preſſed him once to reſolve on the Honours he would beſtow, and what he would give with them, and they ſhould afterwards conſider of the way how to give it. The King growing ſtill worſe, ſaid to him, "That if ought "came to him but good, as he thought he could not long endure, he in- "tended to place them all about his Son, as Men whom he truſted and lov- "ed above all other: and that therefore he would conſider them the "more. So after many Conſultations he ordered the Book to be thus filled up, "The Earl ol *Hartford* to be Earl Marſhal, and Lord Treaſu- "rer, and to be Duke of *Somerſet*, *Exeter*, or *Hartford*, and his Son to "be Earl of *Wiltſhire*, with 800 *l.* a year of Land, and 300 *l.* a year "out of the next Biſhops Land that fell void; the Earl of *Eſſex* to be "Marqueſs of *Eſſex*; the Viſcount *Liſle* to be Earl of *Coventry*; the "Lord *Wriotheſly* to be Earl of *Wincheſter*; Sir *Tho. Seimour* to be a Ba- "ron and Lord Admiral; Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *Jo. St. Leiger*, Sir *Wil- "liam Willoughby*, Sir *Ed. Sheffield*, and Sir *Chriſtopher Danby*, to be Barons: with yearly Revenues to them, and ſeveral other Perſons. And having at the Suit of Sir *Edward North* promiſed to give the Earl of *Hartford* ſix of the beſt Prebends that ſhould fall in any Cathedral, except Deanries and Treaſurerſhips; at his Suit he agreed, that a Deanry and a Treaſurerſhip ſhould be inſtead of two of the ſix Prebendaries. And thus all this being written as the King had ordered it, the King took the Book and put it in his Pocket, and gave the Secretary order to let every one know what he had determined for them. But before theſe things took effect the King died. Yet being on his Death-bed put in mind of what he had promiſed, he ordered it to be put in his Will, that his Executors ſhould perform every thing that ſhould appear to have been promiſed by him. All this *Denny* and *Herbert* confirmed, for they then waited in his Chamber; and when the Secretary went out, the King told them the ſubſtance of what had paſſed between them, and made *Denny* read the Book over again to him; whereupon *Herbert* obſerved that the Secretary had remembred all but himſelf; to which the King anſwered, He ſhould not forget him, and ordered *Denny* to write 400 *l.* a year for him. All theſe things being thus declared upon Oath, and the greateſt part

1547.

1547. part of them having been formerly signified to some of them, and the whole matter being well known and spread abroad, the Executors, both out of Conscience to the Kings Will, and for their own Honours, resolved to fulfil what the King had intended, but was hindred by death to accomplish. But being apprehensive both of Wars with the Emperour and *French* King, they resolved not to lessen the Kings Treasure nor Revenue, nor to sell his Jewels or Plate, but to find some other wayes to pay them; and this put them afterwards on selling the Chantry Lands.

The Affairs of *Scotland.* The business of *Scotland* was then so pressing, that *Balnaves*, who was Agent for those that had shut themselves within the Castle of St. *Andrews*, had this day 1180*l.* ordered to be carried to them for an half years pay to the Soldiers of that Garrison: There were also Pensions appointed for the most leading Men in that Business. The Earl of *Rothes* eldest Son had 280 Pound, Sir *James Kircaldy* had 200, and many others had smaller Pensions allowed them, *for their amity*, as it is expressed in the Council Books. That day the Lord Protector Knighted the King, being authorized to do it by Letters Patents. So it seems, that as the Laws of Chivalry required that the King should receive Knighthood from the Hand of some other Knight; so it was judged too great a presumption for his own Subject to give it, without a Warrant under the Great Seal. The King at the same time Knighted Sir *John Hubblethorn* the Lord Major of *London*. When it was known abroad what a distribution of Honour and Wealth the Council had resolved on, it was much censured: many saying, that it was not enough for them to have drained the dead King of all his Treasure, but that the first step of their proceedings in their new Trust was to provide Honour and Estates for themselves; whereas it had been a more decent way for them to have reserved their Pretensions till the King had come to be of Age. Another thing in the Attestations seemed much to lessen the credit of the Kings Will, which was said to be Signed the 30*th* of *Decemb.* and so did bear date: whereas this Narration insinuates, that it was made a very little while before he dyed, not being able to accomplish his design in these things which he had projected: but it was well known that he was not so ill on the 30*th* of *December*.

1547. *Feb.* 6. the King Knighted.

Secular Men had their Ecclesiastical Dignities. It may perhaps seem strange, that the Earl of *Hartford* had six good Prebends promised him; two of these being afterwards converted into a Deanry and a Treasurership. But it was ordinary at that time. The Lord *Cromwel* had been Dean of *Wells*; and many other secular Men had these Ecclesiastical Benefices without Cure conferred on them. For which, there being no charge of Souls annexed to them, this might seem to be an excuse. Yet even those had a sacred charge incumbent on them in the Cathedrals; and were just and necessary encouragements, either for such as by Age or other defects were not fit for a Parochial Charge, and yet might be otherwise capable to do eminent service in the Church; or for the support of such as in their Parochial labours did serve so well as to merit preferment, and yet perhaps were so meanly provided for as to need some farther help for their subsistence. But certainly they were never intended for the enriching of such lazy and sensual Men, who having given themselves up to a secular course of life, had little of a Church-man but the Habit and Name; and yet used to rail against Sacriledge in others, not considering how guilty themselves were

of

of the ſame crime, enriching their Families with the Spoils of the Church, or with the Goods of it, which were put into their Hands for better uſes. And it was no wonder that when Clergy-men had thus abuſed theſe Endowments, Secular Men broke in upon them; obſerving plainly, that the Clergy who enjoyed them made no better uſe of them than Laicks might do. Though inſtead of reforming an abuſe that was ſo generally ſpread, they, like Men that minded nothing more than the enriching of themſelves, took a certain courſe to make the miſchief perpetual, by robing the Church of thoſe Endowments and helps it had received from the Munificence of the Founders of its Cathedrals, who were generally the firſt Chriſtian Kings of this Nation; which had it been done by Law would have been a thing of very bad conſequence; but as it was done, was directly contrary to the *Magna Charta*, and to the Kings Coronation Oath. 1547.

But now they that were weary of the Popiſh Superſtitions obſerving that Arch-biſhop *Cranmer* had ſo great a ſhare of the young Kings affection, and that the Protector and he were in the ſame Intereſts, began to call for a further Reformation of Religion; and ſome were ſo full of zeal for it, that they would not wait on the ſlow motions of the State. So the Curate and Church-wardens of St. *Martins* in *Ironmonger-Lane* in *London*, took down the Images and Pictures of the Saints, and the Crucifix out of their Church, and painted many Texts of Scripture upon the Walls; ſome of them *according to a perverſe Tranſlation*, as the Complaint has it; and in the place where the Crucifix was, they ſet up the Kings Arms with ſome Texts of Scripture about it. Upon this the Biſhop and Lord-Major of *London* complained to the Council. And the Curate and Church-wardens being cited to appear, anſwered for themſelves, That the Roof of their Church being bad, they had taken it down, and that the Crucifix and Images were ſo rotten, that when they removed them they fell to powder: That the charge they had been at in repairing their Church was ſuch, that they could not buy new Images: That they had taken down the Images in the Chancel, becauſe ſome had been guilty of Idolatry towards them. In concluſion, they ſaid, what they had done was with a good intention; and if they had in any thing done amiſs, they asked pardon, and ſubmitted themſelves. Some were for puniſhing them ſeverely; for all the Papiſts reckoned that this would be a leading Caſe to all the reſt of this Reign: and if this was eaſily paſſed over, others would be from that remiſneſs animated to attempt ſuch things every where. But on the other hand, thoſe at Court who had deſigned to ſet forward a Reformation, had a mind only ſo far to check the heat of the People, as to keep it within compaſs, but not to diſhearten their friends too much. *Cranmer* and his Party were for a general removing of all Images; and ſaid that in the late Kings time order being given to remove ſuch as were abuſed to Superſtition; Upon that there were great Conteſts in many Places what Images had been ſo abuſed, and what not; and that theſe Diſputes would be endleſs unleſs all were taken away.

Images removed without Authority out of one Church in *London*.

In the pureſt times of Chriſtianity they had no Images at all in their Churches. One of the firſt Councils, namely that at *Elvira* in *Spain*, made a Canon againſt the painting what they worſhiped on the Walls. *Epiphanius* was highly offended when he ſaw a Vail hanging before the door of a Church with a Picture on it, which he conſidered ſo little as

An account of the Progreſs of Image-worſhip.

1547. not to know well whose Picture it was, but thought it might be Christs, or some other Saints; yet he tore it, and gave them of that Place Money to buy a new Vail in its room. Afterwards, with the rest of the pomp of Hetheniſm, Images came to be set up in Churches; yet so as that there was no sort of Worship payed to them. But in the time of Pope *Gregory* the first, many went into extremes about them; some were for breaking them, and others worshiped them; That Pope thought the middle way best, neither to break, nor to worship them, but to keep them only to put the People in mind of the Saints. Afterwards there being subtil Questions started about the Unity of Christs Person and Will, the Greek Emperours generally inclined to have the animosities raised by these, removed by some comprehensive words to which all might consent: which the Interest of State as well as Religion seemed to require; for their Empire every day declining, all methods for uniting it were thought good and prudent. But the Bishops were stiff and peremptory: So in the sixth general Council they condemned all who differed from them. Upon this the Emperours that succeeded would not receive that Council, but the Bishops of *Rome* ordered the Pictures of all the Bishops who had been at that Council to be set up in the Churches: Upon which the Emperours contended against these or any Pictures whatsoever in Churches. And herein that hapned which is not unusual, that one Controversie rising occasionally out of another, the Parties forsake the first Contest, and fall into sharp Conflicts about the occasional differences. For now the Emperours and Popes quarrelled most violently about the use of Images, and ill Names going a great way towards the defaming an Opinion, the Popes and their Party accused all that were against Images, as favouring Judaism, or Mahometaniſm, which was then much spread in *Asia* and *Africk*: The Emperours and their Party accusing the others of Gentiliſm and Heathenish Idolatry. Upon this occasion *Gregory* the third first assumed the Rebellious Pretension to a Power to depose *Leo* the Emperour from all his dominions in *Italy*. There was one General Council at *Constantinople* that condemned the use or worship of Images; and soon after another at *Nice* did establish it: and yet at the same time *Charles* the Great, though not a little linked in Interest to the Bishops of *Rome*, holding both the *French* and Imperial Crowns by the favour of the Popes, wrote, or imployed *Alcuinus* (a most learned Country-man of ours as these times went) to write in his Name against the Worship of Images. And in a Council at *Frankfort* it was condemned, which was also done afterwards in another Council at *Paris*. But in such Ages of Ignorance and Superstition any thing that wrought so much on the senses and imaginations of the People was sure to prevail in conclusion. And this had in a Course of seven more Ages been improved by the craft and impostures of the Monks, so wonderfully, that there was no sign of Divine Adoration that could be invented that was not applied to these Images. So in King *Henry*'s time that temper was found that such Images as had been abused to Superstition should be removed; and for other Images external Worship, such as kneeling, censing, and praying before them, was kept up, but the People were to be taught that these were not at all intended to the Image, but to that which was represented by it. And upon this there was much subtle arguing. Among *Cranmers* Papers I have

have ſeen ſeveral Arguments for a moderate uſe of Images. But to all theſe they oppoſed the ſecond Commandment as plainly forbidding all viſible Objects of Adoration, together with what was in the Scriptures againſt the Idolatry of the Heathens, and what the Fathers had written againſt the *Gentiles*. And they added, that how excuſable ſoever that practice might have been in ſuch dark and barbarous Ages in which the People knew little more of Divine Matters than what they learned from their Images, yet the horrible abuſes that followed on the bringing them into Churches, made it neceſſary now to throw them all out. It was notorious that the People every where doted on them, and gave them Divine Honour: Nor did the Clergy, who were generally too guilty themſelves of ſuch abuſes, teach them how to diſtinguiſh aright: and the Acts of Worſhip that were allowed, were ſuch, that beſide the ſcandal ſuch Worſhip had in it, and the danger of drawing People into Idolatry, it was in it ſelf inexcuſable to offer up ſuch external parts of Religious Adoration to Gold or Slver, Wood or Stone. So *Cranmer* and others, being reſolved to purge the Church of this Abuſe, got the worſt part of the Sentence, that ſome had deſigned againſt the Curate and Church-wardens, to be mitigated into a Reprimend; and as it is entred in the Council Books, "In reſpect of their ſubmiſſion, and of ſome o- "ther Reaſons which did mitigate their offence, (Theſe were *Cranmers* "Arguments againſt Images) they did pardon their impriſonment, which "was at firſt determined, and ordered them to provide a Crucifix, or at "leaſt ſome painting of it till one were ready, and to beware of ſuch "raſhneſs for the future. But no mention is made of the other Images. 1547.

Many begin to pull down Images.

The carriage of the Council in this matter diſcovering the inclinations of the greateſt part of them, and Dr. *Ridley* having in his Lent Sermon preached againſt the Superſtition that was generally had to Images and Holy Water, it raiſed a great heat over *England*: So that *Gardiner* hearing that on *May*-day the People of *Portſmouth* had removed and broken the Images of Chriſt and the Saints, writ about it with great warmth to one Captain *Vaughan*, that waited on the Protector, and was then at *Portſmouth*. "He deſired to know whether he ſhould ſend one "to preach againſt it; though he thought that was the caſting Precious "Stones to Hogs, or worſe than Hogs, as were theſe *Lollards*. He ſaid "that *Luther* had ſet out a Book againſt thoſe who removed Images, and "himſelf had ſeen them ſtill in the Lutheran Churches: and he thought "the removing Images was on deſign to ſubvert Religion and the ſtate "of the World: he argues for them from the Kings Image on the Seal, "*Cæſars* Image on the Coin brought to Chriſt, the Kings Arms carried by "the Heralds: he condemns falſe Images; but for thoſe that were againſt "true Images, he thought they were poſſeſt with the Devil. *Vaughan* ſent his Letter to the Protector, with one from *Gardiner* to himſelf, who finding the reaſoning in it not ſo ſtrong but that it might be anſwered, wrote to him himſelf, "That he allowed of his zeal againſt Innovations, "but that there were other things that needed to be looked to as much. "Great difference there was between the Civil reſpect due to the Kings "Arms, and the Worſhip given to Images. There had been a time in "which the abuſe of the *Scriptures* was thought a good reaſon to take "them from the People, yea and to burn them: though he looked on "them as more ſacred than Images; which if they ſtood meerly as Re-

At which *Gardiner* is much offended.

The Protector writ to him about it.

The Letters are in *Fox's* Acts and Monuments.

1547. "membrancers, he thought the hurt was not great; but it was known "that for the moſt part it was otherwiſe: and upon abuſe the Brazen Ser- "pent was broken, though made at Gods Commandment: and it being "pretended that they were *the Books of the People*, he thought the Bible "a much more intelligible and uſeful Book. There were ſome too raſh, "and others too obſtinate. The Magiſtrate was to ſteer a middle Courſe "between them; not conſidering the Antiquity of things ſo much, as "what was good and expedient. *Gardiner* writ again to the Protector, "complaining of *Bale* and others, who publiſhed Books to the diſhonour "of the late King; and that all were running after Novelties; and often "inculcates it, that things ſhould be kept in the ſtate they were in, till "the King were of Age: and in his Letters reflects both on the Arch- "biſhop of *Canterbury* and the Biſhop of *Dureſme* for conſenting to ſuch "things.

Gardiner writ to *Ridley* who had preached againſt Images.

But finding his Letters had no effect on the Protector, he wrote to *Ridley*: "That by the Law of *Moſes* we were no more bound not to "have Images than not to eat Blood-Puddings. Image and Idol might "have been uſed promiſcuouſly in former times, as King and Tyrant "were; yet there was a great difference between theſe, according to the "Notions we now have. He cites Pope *Gregory* who was againſt both "adoring and breaking them: and ſays the Worſhip is not given to the "Image, ſo there is no Idolatry but to him repreſented by it: and as the "ſound of Speech did by the Ear beget Notions in us, ſo he did not ſee "but the ſight of an Image might ſtir up devotion. He confeſſed there "had been abuſes, as there is in every thing that is in Mens Hands: he "thinks Imagery, and Graving, to be of as good uſe for inſtruction, as "Writing or Printing: and becauſe *Ridley* had alſo preached againſt "the Superſtition of Holy Water to drive away Devils, he added, That "a Vertue might be in Water, as well as in Chriſts Garment, St. *Peters* "Shadow, or *Eliſha*'s Staff. Pope *Marcellus* ordered *Equitius* to uſe it, "and the late King uſed to bleſs Cramp-Rings both of Gold and Silver, "which were much eſteemed every where, and when he was abroad "they were often deſired from him. This Gift he hoped the young King "would not neglect. He believed the Invocation of the Name of God "might give ſuch a Vertue to Holy Water as well as to the Water of "Baptiſm. For *Ridley*'s Anſwer to this, I never ſaw it; ſo theſe things muſt here paſs without any Reply: though it is very probable an ordinary Reader will with a very ſmall meaſure of common Senſe and Learning, ſee how they might have been anſwered. The thing moſt remarkable here is about theſe Cramp-Rings which King *Henry* uſed to bleſs, of which I never met with any thing before I ſaw this Letter; but ſince I underſtand the Office of Bleſſing of theſe Rings is extant, as it was prepared for Queen *Maries* uſe, as ſhall be told in her Reign: It muſt be left to conjecture whether he did it as a practice of former Kings, or whether upon his being made *Supream Head*, he thought fit to take on him, as the Pope did, to conſecrate ſuch things, and ſend them about. Where to be ſure Fancy and Flattery would raiſe many Stories of the wonderful effects of what he had ſo bleſſed; and perhaps theſe might have been as true as the Reports made of the Vertues of *Agnus Dei*'s, touched Beads, bleſſed Peebles, with ſuch other goodly Ware which the Friars were wont to carry about and diſtribute to their Benefactors as things highly ſanctified.

This

This I ſet down more fully, and have laid ſome things together that fell not out till ſome months after this, being the firſt ſtep that was made towards a Reformation in this Reign. 1547.

Upon this occaſion it is not unlikely that the Council wrote their Letters to all the Juſtices of Peace of *England*, on the 12*th*. of *Feb.* letting them know, that they had ſent down new Commiſſions to them for keeping the Peace: ordering them to aſſemble together, and firſt to call earneſtly on God for his Grace to diſcharge their Duties faithfully according to the Oaths which they were to take: and that they ſhould impartially, without corruption, or ſiniſter affection, execute their Office, ſo that it might appear that they had God and the good of their King and Country before their Eyes: and that they ſhould divide themſelves into the ſeveral Hundreds, and ſee to the publick Peace: and that all Vagabonds and diſturbers of the Peace ſhould be duly puniſhed; and that once every ſix weeks they ſhould write to the Lord Protector and Council, the ſtate in which the County was, till they were otherwiſe commanded. That which was ſent into the County of *Norfolk* will be found in the Collection. 1547. *Feb.* 12. The Commiſſion of the Juſtices of the Peace. Collection Number 3.

But now the Funeral of the deceaſed King, and the Coronation of his Son were to be diſpatched. In the Coronation-Ceremonies that had been formerly uſed, there were ſome things that did not agree with the preſent Laws of the Land: as the Promiſe made to the Abbots for maintaining their Lands and Dignities: They were alſo ſo tedious, that a new Form was ordered to be drawn, which the Reader will find in the Collection. The moſt material thing in it is the firſt Ceremony, whereby, the King being ſhewed to the People at the four Corners of the Stage, the Arch-biſhop was to demand their Conſent to it: and yet in ſuch terms as ſhould demonſtrate he was no Elective Prince; "for he "being declared the rightful and undoubted Heir both by the Laws of "God and Man, they were deſired to give their good Wills and Aſſents "to the ſame, as by their Duty of Allegiance they were bound to do. This being agreed on the 13*th* of *Feb.* on the day following King *Henry*'s Body was with all the Pomp of a Royal Funeral removed to *Sheen* in the way to *Windſor*. There great obſervation was made on a thing that was no extraordinary matter: He had been extreme corpulent, and dying of a Dropſie, or ſome thing like it, it was no wonder if a fortnight after, upon ſo long a motion, ſome putrid matter might run thorough the Coffin. But *Sheen* having been a Houſe of Religious Women, it was called a ſignal Mark of the diſpleaſure of Heaven, that ſome of his Blood and Fat dropped through the Lead in the night: and to make this work mightily on weak People, it was ſaid, that the Dogs licked it next morning. This was much magnified in commendation of Friar *Peto*, afterwards made Cardinal, who (as was told *Page* 151. of the former Part) had threatned him in a Sermon at *Greenwich*, *That the Dogs ſhould lick his Blood*. Though to conſider things more equally, it had been a Wonder indeed if it had been otherwiſe. But having met with this Obſervation in a *MS.* written near that time, I would not envy the World the Pleaſure of it. Next day he was brought to *Windſor*, and interred in St. *George*'s Chappel. And he having by his Will left that Church 600 *l.* a year for ever for two Prieſts to ſay Maſs at his Tomb daily, for four *Obits* yearly, and a Sermon at every *Obit*, with 10 *l.* to the Poor, Collection Number 4. 1547. *Feb.* 13. King *Henry* buried.

1547. Poor, and for a Sermon every *Sunday*, together with the maintenance of thirteen poor Knights; The Judges were conſulted how this ſhould be well ſetled in Law. Who adviſed that the Lands which the King had given, ſhould be made over to that Colledge by Indentures Tripartite, the King being one Party, the Protector and the other Executors a ſecond, and the Dean and Chapter of *Windſor* a third Party. Theſe were to be ſigned with the Kings Hand, and the great Seal put to them, with the Hands and Seals of all the reſt: and then Patents were to be given for the Lands, founded on the Kings Teſtament, and the Indentures Tripartite.

Soul-Maſſes examined. But the Pomp of this Buſineſs miniſtred an occaſion of enquiring into the uſe and lawfulneſs of Soul-Maſſes and *Obits*, which came to be among the firſt things that were reformed. Chriſt had inſtituted the Sacrament to be celebrated in remembrance of his Death, and it was a Sacrament only to thoſe who did participate in it: but that the conſecrating the Sacrament could be of any uſe to departed Souls, ſeemed a thing not eaſie to be conceived. For if they are the Prayers of the Living that profit the Dead, then theſe would have done as well without a Maſs. But the People would not have eſteemed bare Prayers ſo much, nor have payed ſo dear for them. So that the true Original of Soul-Maſſes was thought to have been only to encreaſe the Eſteem and Wealth of the Clergy. It is true, in the Primitive Church there was a Commemoration of the Saints departed in the *Daily Sacrifice*, ſo they termed the Communion, and ſuch as had given any offence at their death were not remembred in it: So that for ſo ſlight an offence; as the leaving a Prieſt Tutor to ones Children, which might diſtract them from their Spiritual care, ones name was to be left out of that Commemoration in *Cyprians* time; which was a very diſproportioned puniſhment to that offence, if ſuch Commemorations had been thought uſeful or neceſſary to the Souls departed. But all this was nothing to the private Maſſes for them, and was indeed nothing at firſt but an honourable mention of ſuch as had died in the Faith. And they believing then generally that there was a Glorious Thouſand Years to be on Earth, and that the Saints ſhould riſe ſome ſooner and ſome later to have their part in it, they prayed in general for their quiet Reſt, and their ſpeedy Reſurrection. Yet theſe Prayers growing, as all ſuperſtitious devices do, to be more conſidered, ſome began to frame an Hypotheſis to juſtifie them by; that of the Thouſand years being generally exploded. And in St. *Auſtin's* time they began to fancy there was a ſtate of puniſhment even for the Good in another Life, out of which ſome were ſooner and ſome later freed, according to the meaſure of their Repentance for their Sins in this Life. But he tells us, this was taken up without any ſure ground, and that it was no way certain. Yet by Viſions, Dreams, and Tales, the belief of it was ſo far promoted, that it came to be generally received in the next Age after him: and then as the People were told that the Saints interceded for them, ſo it was added that they might intercede for their departed Friends. And this was the Foundation of all that Trade of Soul-Maſſes and *Obits*. Now the deceaſed King had acted like one who did not believe that theſe things ſignified much; otherwiſe he was to have but ill reception in Purgatory, having by the ſubverſion of the Monaſteries deprived the departed Souls of the benefit of the many Maſſes that were

were ſaid for them in theſe Houſes: yet it ſeems at his death he would make the matter ſure, and to ſhew he intended as much benefit to the Living, as to himſelf being dead, he took care that there ſhould be not only Maſſes and *Obits*, but ſo many Sermons at *Windſor*, and a frequent diſtribution of Alms for the relief of the Poor. But upon this occaſion it came to be examined what value there was in ſuch things. Yet the Arch-biſhop plainly ſaw that the Lord Chancellor would give great oppoſition to every motion that ſhould be made for any further alteration; for which he and all that Party had this ſpecious pretence always in their Mouths; That their late Glorious King was not only the moſt learned Prince, but the moſt learned Divine in the World, (for the flattering him did not end with his Life) and that therefore they were at leaſt, to keep all things in the condition wherein he had left them, till the King were of Age. And this ſeemed alſo neceſſary on Conſiderations of State; For Changes in matter of Religion might bring on commotions and Diſorders, which they as faithful Executors ought to avoid. But to this it was anſwered, That as their late King was infinitely learned, (for both Parties flattered him dead, as well as living) ſo he had reſolved to make great Alterations, and was contriving how to change the Maſs into a Communion: that therefore they were not to put off a thing of ſuch conſequence, wherein the Salvation of Peoples Souls was ſo much concerned, but were immediately to ſet about it. But the Lord Chancellor gave quickly great advantage againſt himſelf to his Enemies, who were reſolved to make uſe of any Error he might be guilty of, ſo far as to eaſe themſelves of the trouble he was like to give them. 1547.

The Kings Funeral being over, order was given for the Creation of Peers. The Protector was to be Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Eſſex* to be Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Viſcount *Liſle* to be Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Wriotheſley* Earl of *Southampton*; beſides the new Creation of the Lords *Seimour*, *Rich*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and *Sheffield*: the reſt it ſeems excuſing themſelves from new honours, as it appeared from the Depoſition of *Paget*, that many of thoſe on whom the late King had intended to confer Titles of Honour had declined it formerly. On the 20*th*. of *Feb*. being *Shrove-Sunday* the King was Crowned by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, according to the form that was agreed to. The Protector ſerving in it as Lord Steward, the Marqueſs of *Dorſet* as Lord Conſtable, and the Earl of *Arundel* as Earl Marſhal, deputed by the Protector. A Pardon was proclaimed, out of which the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pole*, and ſome others were excepted. The Creation of Peers. 1547 *Feb*. 20. Coronation.

The firſt buſineſs of importance after the Coronation, was the Lord Chancellors fall. Who, reſolving to give himſelf wholly to Matters of State, had on the 18*th*. of *Feb*. put the great Seal to a Commiſſion, "directed to Sir *Richard Southwell* Maſter of the Rolls, *John Tregonnel* "Eſq; Maſter of *Chancery*, and to *John Oliver*, and *Anthony Bellaſis*, "Clarks, Maſters of *Chancery*; ſetting forth, that the Lord Chancellor "being ſo employed in the Affairs of State, that he could not attend on "the hearing of Cauſes in the Court of *Chancery*, theſe three Maſters, or "any two of them, were empowered to execute the Lord Chancellors "Office in that Court, in as ample manner as if he himſelf were preſent; "only their Decrees were to be brought to the Lord Chancellor to be "Signed by him, before they were enrolled. This being done without any The Lord Chancellor is removed from his Office.

1547. any Warrant from the Lord Protector, and the other Executors, it was judged a high presumption in the Lord Chancellor thus to devolve on others that Power which the Law had trusted in his Hands. The Persons named by him encreased the offence which this gave, two of them being Canonists, so that the common Lawyers looked upon this as a President of very high and ill consequence. And being encouraged by those who had no good will to the Chancellor, they petitioned the Council in this Matter, and complained of the evil consequences of such a Commission, and set forth the fears that all the Students of the Law were under, of a Change that was intended to be made of the Laws of *England*. The Council remembred well they had given no Warrant at all to the Lord Chancellor for the issuing out any such Commission; so they sent it to the Judges, and required them to examine the Commission with the Pe-
Feb. 28. tition grounded upon it: who delivered their Opinions on the last of *Feb.* That the Lord Chancellor ought not without Warrant from the Council to have set the Seal to it; and that by his so doing he had by the Common Law forfeited his Place to the King, and was liable to Fine and
March 6. Imprisonment at the Kings pleasure. This lay sleeping till the sixth of *March*, and then the Judges Answer being brought to the Council, Signed with all their Hands, they entred into a debate how far it ought to be punished. The Lord Chancellor carried it very high; and as he had used many Menaces to those who had petitioned against him, and to the Judges for giving their Opinions as they did, so he carried himself insolently to the Protector, and told him he held his Place by a better Authority than he held his: That the late King being empow'red to it by Act of Parliament, had made him not only Chancellor, but one of the Governours of the Realm during his Sons Minority; and had by his Will given none of them Power over the rest to throw them out at pleasure: and that therefore they might declare the Commission void if they pleased, to which he should consent; but they could not for such an error turn him out of his Office, nor out of his share of the Government. To this it was answered, that by the late Kings Will they, or the major part of them, were to Administer till the King was at Age; That this subjected every one of them in particular to the rest; that otherwise if any of them broke out into Rebellion, he might pretend he could not be attainted nor put from the Government: Therefore it was agreed on, That every of them in particular was subject to the greater part. Then the Lord Chancellor was required to shew what Warrant he had for that he had done: Being now driven from that which he chiefly relied on, he answered for himself, That he had no Warrant; yet he thought by his Office he had Power to do it; that he had no ill intention in it, and therefore submitted himself to the Kings mercy, and to the gracious consideration of the Protector and the Council; and desired that in respect of his past Services he might forego his Office with as little slander as might be; and that as to his Fine and Imprisonment they would use moderation. So he was made to withdraw. "The Councellors (as it is en-
"tred into the Council-Book) considering in their Consciences his abuses
"sundry ways in his Office, to the great prejudice and utter decay of
"the Common Laws, and the prejudice that might follow by the Seals
"continuing in the Hands of so stout and arrogant a Person, who would
"as he pleased put the Seals to such Commissions without Warrant, did
"agree,

"agree, That the Seal ſhould be taken from him, and he be deprived of 1547.
"his Office, and be further fined as ſhould be afterwards thought fitting;
"only they excuſed him from Impriſonment. So he being called in, and heard ſay all he could think of for his own juſtification, they did not judg it of ſuch importance as might move them to change their mind. Sentence was therefore given, That he ſhould ſtay in the Council-Chamber and Cloſet till the Sermon was ended, that then he ſhould go home with the Seal to *Ely* Houſe where he lived: but that after Supper, the Lord *Seimour*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Edw. North*, ſhould be ſent to him, and that he ſhould deliver the Seal into their Hands; and be from that time deprived of his Office, and confined to his Houſe during pleaſure, and pay what Fine ſhould be laid on him. To all which he ſubmitted, and acknowledged the juſtice of their Sentence. So the next day the Seal was put into the Lord *St. Johns* Hands, till they ſhould agree on a fit man to be Lord Chancellor; and it continued with him ſeveral months. On the day following, the late Kings Will being in his Hands for the granting of Exemplifications of it under the Great Seal, it was ſent for, and ordered to be laid up in the Treaſury of the *Exchequer*: and the Earl of *Southampton* continued in his Confinement till the 29*th.* of *June*, but then he entred into a Recogniſance of 4000 *l.* to pay what Fine they ſhould impoſe on him, and upon that he was diſcharged of his Impriſonment. But in all this Sentence, they made no mention of his forfeiting his being one of the late Kings Executors, and of the preſent Kings Governours; either judging that, being put in theſe Truſts as he was Lord Chancellor, the diſcharging him of his Office did by conſequence put an end to them; or perhaps they were not willing to do any thing that might ſeem to change the late Kings Will; and therefore by keeping him under the fear of a ſevere Fine, they choſe rather to oblige him to be abſent, and to carry himſelf quietly, than by any Sentence to exclude him from his ſhare in that Truſt. Which I encline the rather to believe, becauſe I find him afterwards brought to Council without any Order entred about it: So that he ſeems to have come thither rather on a former Right than on a new choice made of him. Thus fell the Lord Chancellor, and in him the Popiſh Party loſt their chief ſupport, and the Protector his moſt emulous Rival. The Reader will find the Commiſſion with the Opinion of the Judges about it in the *Collection*, from which he will be better able to judg of theſe Proceedings againſt him, Which were ſummary, and ſevere, beyond the uſage of the Privy Council, and without the common forms of legal Proceſſes. But the Councils Authority had been raiſed ſo high, by the Act mentioned *Page* 263. of the former *Part*, that they were empowered ſufficiently for Matters of that nature.

Collection Number 5.

That which followed a few days after made this be the more cenſured, ſince the Lord Protector, who hitherto held his Office but by the choice of the reſt, and under great reſtrictions, was now reſolved to hold it by Patent, to which the late Chancellor had been unwilling to conſent. The pretence for it was, That the Forreign Miniſters, the *French* Ambaſſador in particular, deſired to be ſatisfied concerning his Power, and how far they might treat with him, and depend on the aſſurances and promiſes he gave. So the Protector and Council did on the 13*th* of *March* petition the King that they might act by a Commiſſion under the Great

The Protector holds his Office by Patent.

March 13.

1547. Seal, which might empower and justifie them in what they were to do. And that was to be done in this manner. The King and the Lords were to Sign the Warrant for it, upon which the Lord *St. John* (who, though he had the keeping of the Great Seal, was never designed to be Lord Keeper, nor was empowred to hear Causes) should set the Seal to it. The Original Warrant was to be kept by the Protector, and Exemplifications of it were to be given to Forreign Ministers. To this Order Sir *Thom. Cheyney* set his Hand, upon what Authority I do not so clearly see, since he was none of the Executors. By this Commission, (which will be found in the *Collection*) it is set forth, "That the King being "under Age, was desired by divers of the Nobles and Prelates of the "Realm, to name and authorize one above all others, to have the Charge "of the Kingdom, with the Government of his Person; whereupon he "had formerly by word of mouth named his Uncle to be Protector and "Governour of his Person; yet for a more perfect Declaration of that, "he did now ratifie and approve all he had done since that Nomination, "and constituted him his Governour and the Protector of his Kingdom "till he should attain the full Age of 18 years: giving him the full Au-"thority that belonged to that Office, to do every thing as he by his Wis-"dom should think for the Honour, Good, and Prosperity of the King "and Kingdoms: and that he might be furnished with a Council for his "aid and assistance, he did by the advice of his Uncle and others, No-"bles, Prelates, and wise Men, accept of these Persons for his Councel-"lors, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *St. John* President, the "Lord *Russel* Lord Privy-Seal, the Marques of *Northampton*, the Earls "of *Warwick*, and *Arundel*, the Lord *Seimour*, the Bishop of *Duresme*, "the Lord *Rich*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Joh. Gage*, Sir *Anth. Brown*, "Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *William Paget*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Ralph* "*Sadler*, Sir *John Baker*, Doctor *Wotton*, Sir *Anth. Denny*, Sir *William* "*Herbert*, Sir *Edw. North*, Sir *Ed. Montague*, Sir *Ed. Wotton*, Sir *Edm.* "*Peckham*, Sir *Tho. Bromley*, and Sir *Richard Southwell*: giving the Pro-"tector Power to swear such other Commissioners as he should think fit: "and that he with so many of the Council as he should think meet, "might annul and change what they thought fitting: restraining the "Council to act only by his Advice and Consent. And thus was the Protector fully setled in his Power, and no more under the curb of the Co-executors, who were now mixed with the other Councellors, that by the late King's Will were only to be consulted with as they saw cause. But as he depressed them to an equality with the rest of the Councellors, so he highly obliged the others who had been formerly under them, by bringing these equally with them into a share of the Government. He had also obtained to himself an high Authority over them; since they could do nothing without his consent, but he was only bound to call for so many of them as he thought meet, and was not limited to act as they advised, but cloathed with the full Regal Power: and had it in his Hands to oblige whom he would, and to make his Party greater by calling into the Council such as he should nominate. How far this was Legal I shall not enquire. It was certainly contrary to King *Henry*'s Will. And that being made upon an Act of Parliament, which empowred him to limit the Crown and the Government of it at his pleasure, this Commission, that did change the whole Government during the Kings Minority, seems capable

Collection Number 6.

capable of no other defence, but that it being made by the consent of the major part of the Executors, it was still warrantable even by the Will, which devolved the Government on them, or the major part of them. 1547.

All this I have opened the more largely, both because none of our Historians have taken any notice of the first Constitution of the Government during this Reign, and being ignorant of the true account of it, they have committed great errors: and because having obtained, by the favour of that most industrious Collector of the Transactions of this Age Mr. *Rushworth*, the Original Council-Book, for the two first years of this Reign, I had a certain Authority to follow in it: the exactness of that Book, being beyond any thing I ever met with in all our Records. For every Council-day the Privy-Councellors that were present set their Hands to all that was ordered; judging so great caution necessary when the King was under Age. And therefore I thought this a Book of too great consequence to lie in private Hands: so the owner having made a Present of it to me, I delivered it to that Noble and Vertuous Gentleman Sir *John Nicolas*, one of the Clerks of the Council, to be kept with the rest of their Books.

The state of Affairs in *Germany*.

And having now given the Reader a clear Prospect of the state of the Court, I shall next turn to the Affairs that were under their consideration. That which was first brought before them was concerning the state of *Germany*. *Francis Burgartus* Chancellor to the Duke of *Saxe*, with others from the other Princes and Cities of the Empire, were sent over upon the news of the former Kings death to solicit for Aids from the new King toward the carrying on the War with the Emperor. In order to the clearing of this, and to give a just account of our Councils in reference to Forreign Affairs, especially the cause being about Religion, I shall give a short view of the state of *Germany* at this time. The Emperor, having formed a design of an Universal Monarchy, laid hold on the differences of Religion in *Germany*, as a good mean to cover what he did, with the specious pretence of punishing Heresie, and protecting the Catholicks. But before he had formed this design, he procured his Brother to be chosen King of the *Romans*, and so declared his Successor in the Empire; which he was forced to do, being obliged to be much in *Spain* and his other hereditary Dominions; and being then so young as not to enter into such deep Counsels as he afterwards laid. But his Wars in *Italy* put him oft in ill terms with the Pope; and being likewise watched over in all his Motions by *Francis* the I. and *Henry* VIII. and the *Turk* often breaking into *Hungary* and *Germany*, he was forced to great compliances with the Princes of the Empire: Who being animated by the two great Crowns, did enter into a League for their mutual defence against all Aggressors. And at last in the Year 1544. in the *Diet* held at *Spire*, the Emperor, being engaged in War with *France*, and the *Turk*, both to secure *Germany*, and to obtain Money of the Princes, was willing to agree to the Edict made there; which was, That till there was a free Council in *Germany*, or such an Assembly in which Matters of Religion might be setled, there should be a general Peace, and none was to be troubled for Religion; the free exercise of both Religions being allowed; and all things were to continue in the state they were then in. And the Imperial Chamber at *Spire* was to be reformed: for the Judges of

1531. *Jan.* 11. *Ferdinand* Crown'd King of the *Romans*

1544. *Feb.* 20. *Diet* began at *Spain*.

1547. that Court being all Papiſts, there were many Proceſſes depending at the Suit of the Eccleſiaſticks againſt the Proteſtant Princes, who had driven them out of their Lands: and the Princes expecting no fair dealing from them, all theſe Proceſſes were now ſuſpended, and the Chamber was to be filled up with new Judges, that ſhould be more favourable to them. They obtaining this Decree, contributed very liberally to the Wars the Emperor ſeemed to be engaged in. Who having his Treaſure thus filled, preſently made Peace both with *France* and the Grand *Seignior*, and reſolved to turn his Wars upon the Empire, and to make uſe of that Treaſure and Force they had contributed, to invade their Liberties, and to ſubdue them entirely to himſelf. Upon this he entred into a Treaty with the Pope, that a Council ſhould be opened in *Trent*; upon which he ſhould require the Princes to ſubmit to it, which if they refuſed to do, he ſhould make war on them. The Pope was to assist him with 10000 Men, beſides heavy Taxes laid on his Clergy; to which he willingly conſented. But the Emperor knowing, That if Religion were declared to be the ground of the War, all the Proteſtants would unite againſt him, who were the much greater number of the Empire; reſolved to divide them among themſelves, and to pretend ſomewhat elſe than Religion as the cauſe of the War. There were then four of the Electors of that Religion; the Count *Palatine*, the Duke of *Saxe*, the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and the Arch-biſhop of *Colen*; beſides the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, the Duke of *Wittemburg*, and many leſſer Princes: and almoſt all the Cities of the Empire. *Bohem* and the other hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria* were alſo generally of the ſame Religion. The Northern Kings and the *Swiſs Cantons* were firmly united to them: The two Crowns of *England* and *France* were likewiſe concerned in Intereſt to ſupport them againſt the *Auſtrian* Family. But the Emperor got *France* and *England* engaged in a War betweem themſelves. So that he was now at leiſure to accompliſh his deſigns on the Empire; where ſome of the Princes being extreme old, as the Count *Palatine*, and *Herman* Arch-biſhop of *Colen*; others being of ſoft and unactive tempers, as the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*; and others diſcontented and ambitious, as *Maurice* of *Saxony*, and the Brothers of *Brandenburg*: he had indeed none of the firſt Rank to deal with, but the Duke of *Saxe* and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, who were both great Captains, but of ſuch different tempers, that where they were in equal Command, there was no great probability of ſucceſs. The former was a Prince of the beſt compoſition of any in that Age, he was ſincerely religious, and one of the moſt equally tempered Men that was then alive, neither lifted up with ſucceſs, nor caſt down with misfortunes: He had a great capacity, but was ſlow in his reſolutions. The Landgrave on the other hand had much more heat, was a quicker Man, and of an impatient temper, on which the accidents of Life made deep impreſſions.

1544 *Sept.* 24. Emperor has Peace with *France*.

1545. *Oct.* Peace with *Turk*.

When the Emperor began to engage in this deſign, the Pope, being jealous of his greatneſs, and deſirous to entangle him in a long and expenceful War, publiſhed the ſecret ends of the League; and opened the Council in *Trent* in *Novem.* 1545. where a few Biſhops and Abbots, with his Legates preſiding over them, uſurped the moſt Glorious Title of *The moſt Holy Oecumenical Council repreſenting the Catholick Church*. They entred by ſuch ſlow ſteps, as were directed from *Rome*, into the diſcuſ-

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sion of Articles of Doctrine; which were, as they were pleased to call it, explained to them by some Divines, for most part Friars, who amused the more ignorant Bishops with the nice speculations with which they had been exercised in the Schools; where hard and barbarous words served in good stead to conceal some things not so fit to be proposed bare-faced, and in plain terms. The Emperor having done enough towards his design, that a Council was opened in *Germany*, endeavoured to keep them from determining points of Doctrine, and pressed them to examine some abuses in the Government of the Church, which had, at least given occasion to that great alienation of so many from the See of *Rome* and the Clergy. There were also divers wise and learned Prelates, chiefly of *Spain*, who came thither, full of hopes of getting these abuses redressed. Some of them had observed, That in all times, Heresies and Schisms did owe their chief growth to the scandals, the ignorance, and negligence of the Clergy, which made the Laity conceive an ill opinion of them, and so disposed them both in inclination and interest to cherish such as opposed them; and therefore they designed to have many great corruptions cast out; and observing that Bishops Non-residence was a chief occasion of all those evils, they endeavoured to have Residence declared to be of Divine Right; intending thereby to lessen the Power of the Papacy, which was grown to that height, that they were slaves to that See, taxed by it at pleasure, and the care of their Dioceses extorted out of their hands by the several ranks of exempted Priests; and also to raise the Episcopal Authority to what it was anciently, and to cut off all these encroachments which the See of *Rome* had made on them at first by craft, and which they still maintained by their Power: But the Court of *Rome* was to lose much by all Reformations, and some Cardinals openly declared, That every Reformation gave the Hereticks great advantages, and was a Confession that the Church had erred, and that these very things so much complained of were the chief Nerves of the Popedom, which being cut, the greatness of their Court must needs fall: and therefore they did oppose all these motions, and were still for proceeding in establishing the Doctrine. And though the opposing a Decree to oblige all to Residence was so grossly scandalous that they were ashamed of it, yet they intended to secure the greatness of the Court by a *Salvo* for the Popes Priviledge and Dignity in granting Dispensations. These Proceedings at *Trent* discovered what was to be expected from that Council, and alarum'd all the Protestants to think what they were to look for, if the Emperour should force them to submit to the Decrees of such an Assembly, where those whom they called Hereticks could expect little, since the Emperor himself could not prevail so far as to obtain or hinder delays, or to give preference for Matters of Discipline to Points of Doctrine. So the Protestants met at *Frankfort*, and entred into Councils for their common safety, in case any of them should be disturbed about Religion; chiefly for preserving the Elector of *Colen*, whom the Pope had cited to *Rome* for Heresie. They wrote to the Emperors Ministers, That they heard from all Hands that the Emperor was raising great Forces, and designing a War against them; who thought themselves secured by the Edict of *Spire*, and desired nothing but the confirmation of that, and the regulation of the Imperial Chamber, as was then agreed on. A Meeting being proposed between the Emperor and the Landgrave, the Land-

1547.

1546. *January*, Princes meet at *Frankfort*.

1547. Landgrave went to him to *Spire*, where the Emperor denied he had any design of a War, with which the other charged him: only he said he had with great difficulty obtained a Council in *Germany*, and therefore he hoped they would submit to it. But after some expostulations on both hands, the Landgrave left him; and now the thing was generally understood, though the Emperor did still deny it, and said he would make no War about Religion, but only against the disturbers of the Peace of the Empire. By this means he got the Elector *Palatine* to give little or no aid to the other Princes. The Marques of *Brandenburg* was become jealous of the greatness of *Saxe*, and so was at first Neuter, but afterwards openly declared for the Emperor. But *Maurice* the Duke of *Saxe*'s near Kinsman, who by that Dukes means was setled in a fair Principality, which his Unkle *George* had left him only on condition that he turned Papist, notwithstanding which he got him to be possessed of it; was made use of by the Emperor as the best Instrument to work his ends. To him therefore he promised the Electoral Dignity with the Dominions belonging to the Duke of *Saxe*, if he would assist him in the War against his Kinsman the present Elector; and gave him assurance under his Hand and Seal, That he would make no change in Religion, but leave the Princes of the *Ausburg* Confession the free exercise of their Religion. And thus the Emperor singled out the Duke of *Saxe* and the *Landgrave* from the rest, reckoning wisely, that if he once mastered them, he should more easily overcome all the rest. He pretended some other quarrels against them, as that of the Duke of *Brunswick*, who having begun a War with his Neighbours was taken Prisoner, and his Dominions possessed by the *Landgrave*. That with some old Quarrels was pretended the ground of the War. Upon which the Princes published a Writing to shew that it was Religion only, and a secret design to subdue *Germany*, that was the true cause of the War; and those alledged were sought Pretences to excuse so infamous a breach of Faith; and of the publick Decrees: that the Pope who designed the destruction of all of that Confession, had set on the Emperor to this; who easily laid hold on it, that he might master the liberty of *Germany*. Therefore they warned all the Princes of their danger. The Emperors Forces being to be drawn together out of several Places in *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Burgundy*, and *Bohemе*, they whose Forces lay nearer had a great advantage if they had known how to use it: For in *June* they brought into the Field 70000 Foot and 15000 Horse, and might have driven the Emperor out of *Germany*, had they proceeded vigorously at first. But the divided Command was fatal to them, for when one was for Action, the other was against it. So they lost their opportunity, and gave the Emperor time to gather all his Forces about him, which were far inferior to theirs in strength: but the Emperor gained by time, whereas they who had no great Treasure lost much. All the Summer and a great deal of the Winter was spent without any considerable Action, though the two Armies were oft in view one of another. But in the beginning of the Winter, the Emperor having proscribed the Duke of *Saxe*, and promised to bestow the Principality on *Maurice*, he fell into *Saxony*, and carried a great many of the Cities which were not prepared for any such impression. This made the Duke separate his Army, and return to the defence of his own Country; which he quickly recovered, and drove *Maurice* almost out of all

1546 *June*, The Elector and Landgrave arm.

1546. *July* 20. Duke of *Saxe* and Landgrave proscribed.

Nov. 23. The Elector returns into *Saxony*.

all his own Principality. The States of *Boheme* alſo declared for the Elector of *Saxony*. 1547.

This was the ſtate of the Affairs there. The Princes thought they had a good Proſpect for the next Year, having mediated a Peace between the Crowns of *England* and *France*, whoſe Forces falling into *Flanders* muſt needs have bred a great diſtraction in the Emperors Councils. But King *Henry*'s death gave them great apprehenſions, and not without cauſe. For when they ſent hither for an Aid in Money to carry on the War, the Protector and Council ſaw great dangers on both hands: if they left the *Germans* to periſh, the Emperor would be then ſo lifted up, that they might expect to have an uneaſie Neighbour of him: on the other hand it was a thing of great conſequence to engage an Infant King in ſuch a War. Therefore their Succours from hence were like to be weak and very ſlow. Howſoever the Council ordered *Paget* to aſſure them that within three or four Months they ſhould ſend 50000 Crowns to their aſſiſtance: which was to be covered thus; The Merchants of the Still-yard were to borrow ſo much of the King, and to engage to bring home Stores to that value; they having the Money, ſhould ſend it to *Hamburg*, and ſo to the Duke of *Saxe*. But the Princes received a ſecond Blow in the loſs of *Francis* the firſt of *France*. Who having lived long in a familiarity and friendſhip with King *Henry*, not ordinary for Crowned heads, was ſo much affected with the news of his death, that he was never ſeen cheerful after it. He made Royal Funeral Rites to be performed to his memory in the Church of *Noſtredame*: to which the Clergy (who one would have thought ſhould have been glad to have ſeen his Funerals Celebrated in any faſhion) were very averſe. But that King had emancipated himſelf to a good degree from a ſervile ſubjection to them, and would be obeyed. He out-lived the other not long, for he died the laſt of *March*. He was the chief Patron of Learned Men and advancer of Learning that had been for many Ages. He was generally unſucceſsful in his Wars, and yet a great Commander. At his death he left his Son an Advice to beware of the Brethren of *Lorain*, and to depend much on the Councellors whom he had employed. But his Son, upon his coming to the Crown, did ſo deliver himſelf up to the charms of his Miſtreſs *Diana*, that all things were ordered as Men made their Court to her; which the Miniſters that had ſerved the former King ſcorning to do, and the Brothers of the Houſe of *Lorain* doing very ſubmiſſively, the one were diſcharged of their employments, and the other governed all the Councils. *Francis* had been oft fluctuating in the buſineſs of Religion. Sometimes he had reſolved to ſhake off the Popes Obedience, and ſet up a Patriarch in *France*; and had agreed with *Henry* the *8th* to go on in the ſame Councils with him. But he was firſt diverted by his Alliance with *Clement* the *7th*; and afterwards by the Aſcendant which the Cardinal of *Tournon* had over him, who engaged him at ſeveral times into ſeverities againſt thoſe that received the Reformation. Yet he had ſuch a cloſe Eye upon the Emperors motions, that he kept a conſtant good underſtanding with the Proteſtant Princes, and had no doubt aſſiſted them if he had lived. But upon his death new Councils were taken; the Brothers of *Lorain* were furiouſly addicted to the Intereſts of the Papacy, one of them being a Cardinal, who perſwaded the King rather to begin his Reign with the recovery of *Bulloigne*

1546. *Jan.* 7. Peace concluded between *England* and *France*.

1557. *Mar.* 31. *Francis* I. died.

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At home Mens minds were much diſtracted. The People, eſpecially in Market Towns and Places of Trade, began generally to ſee into many of the corruptions of the Doctrine and Worſhip, and were weary of them; Some preached againſt ſome abuſes: *Glaſier* at *Pauls* Croſs taught, that the obſervance of *Lent* was only a Poſitive Law; others went further, and plainly condemned moſt of the former abuſes; But the Clergy were as much engaged to defend them. They were for the moſt part ſuch as had been bred in Monaſteries and Religious Houſes. For there being Penſions reſerved for the Monks, when their Houſes were ſurrendred and diſſolved, till they ſhould be otherwiſe provided; The Court of *Augmentations* took care to eaſe the King of that Charge by recommending them to ſuch ſmall Benefices as were at the Kings diſpoſal; and ſuch as purchaſed thoſe Lands of the Crown, with that Charge of paying the Penſions to the Monks, were alſo careful to eaſe themſelves by procuring Benefices for them. The Benefices were generally very ſmall, ſo that in many Places three or four Benefices could hardly afford enough for the maintenance of one Man. And this gave ſome colour for that abuſe of one Man's having many Benefices that have a care of Souls annexed to them; and that not only where they are ſo contiguous, that the duty can be diſcharged by one, and ſo poor that the maintenance of both will ſcarce ſerve for the encouragement of one Perſon, but even where they are very remote, and of conſiderable value. This Corruption that crept in, in the dark Ages of the Church, was now practiſed in *England* out of neceſſity. By an Act made in King *Henry* the 8*th*'s time, none might hold two Benefices without a Diſpenſation, but no Diſpenſation could enable one to hold three: yet that was not at this time much conſidered. The excuſes made for this were That in ſome Places they could not find good Men for the Benefices, but in moſt Places the Livings were brought to nothing. For while the Abbies ſtood, the Abbots allowed thoſe whom they appointed to ſerve the Cure in the Churches that belonged to them, (which were in value above the half of *England*) a ſmall Stipend, or ſome little part of the Vicarage Tithes; and they were to raiſe their ſubſiſtence out of the Fees they had by the Sacraments, and other Sacramentals; and chiefly by the ſinging Maſſes for the Poor that died; for the Abbies had the profit of it from the Rich. And Maſſes went generally for 2 *d.* a Groat was thought a great Bounty. So they all concluded themſelves undone, if theſe things were withdrawn. This engaged them againſt any Reformation, ſince every ſtep that was made in it took their Bread out of their Mouths. But they being generally very ignorant could oppoſe nothing with the force of Reaſon or Learning. So although they were reſolved to comply with any thing, rather than forfeit their Benefices; yet in their hearts they abhorred

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On the other hand *Cranmer*, being now delivered from that too awful ſubjection that he had been held under by King *Henry*, reſolved to go on more vigorouſly in purging out abuſes. He had the Protector firmly united to him in this deſign. Dr. *Cox* and Mr. *Cheek*, who were about the young King, were alſo very careful to infuſe right Principles of Religion into him; and as he was very capable of underſtanding what was laid before him, ſo he had an early liking to all good and generous Principles; and was of ſo excellent a temper of mind, that as he naturally loved Truth, ſo the great probity of his Manners made him very inclinable to love and cheriſh true Religion. *Cranmer* had alſo ſeveral Biſhops of his ſide; *Holgate* of *York*, *Holbeach* of *Lincoln*, *Goodrick* of *Ely*, and above all *Ridley* Elect of *Rocheſter*, deſigned for that See by King *Henry*, but not Conſecrated till *September* this Year. Old *Latimer* was now diſcharged of his Impriſonment, but had no mind to return to a more publick Station, and did chooſe rather to live private, and employ himſelf in Preaching. He was kept by *Cranmer* at *Lambeth*, where he ſpent the reſt of his days, till he was impriſoned in Queen *Maries* time, and attained the glorious end of his innocent and pious Life. But the apprehenſions of his being reſtored again to his old Biſhoprick, put *Heath*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter*, into great anxieties; ſometimes he thought if he conſented to the Reformation, then *Latimer*, who left his Biſhoprick on the account of the ſix Articles, muſt be reſtored, and this made him joyn with the Popiſh Party: at other times, when he ſaw the Houſe of Commons moved to have *Latimer* put in again, then he joyned in the Councils for the Reformation, to ſecure Friends to himſelf by that compliance. Others of the Biſhops were ignorant and weak Men, who underſtood Religion little, and valued it leſs; and ſo, although they liked the old Superſtition beſt, becauſe it encouraged Ignorance moſt, and that was the only ſure ſupport of their Power and Wealth, yet they reſolved to ſwim with the Stream. It was deſigned by *Cranmer* and his Friends to carry on the Reformation but by ſlow and ſafe degrees, not hazarding too much at once. They truſted in the Providence of God, that he would aſſiſt them in ſo good a Work. They knew the corruptions they were to throw out to be ſuch that they ſhould eaſily ſatisfie the People with what they did, and they had many learned

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4157. Men among them, who had now for divers years been examining theſe matters. There were alſo many that declared they had heard the late King expreſs his great regret for leaving the ſtate of Religion in ſo unſettled a condition; and that he had reſolved to have changed the Maſs into a Communion, beſides many other things. And in the Act of Parliament which he had procured, (ſee *Pag.* 263. firſt *Part*) for giving force and Authority to his Proclamations, a Proviſo was added; That his Sons Councellors, while he ſhould be under Age, might ſet out Proclamations of the ſame Authority with theſe which were made by the King himſelf. This gave them a full power to proceed in that Work; in which they reſolved to follow the method begun by the late King of ſending Viſitors over *England* with Injunctions and Articles. They ordered them ſix ſeveral Circuits or Precincts. The firſt was *London*, *Weſtminſter*, *Norwich*, and *Ely*. The ſecond *Rocheſter*, *Canterbury Chicheſter*, and *Wincheſter*. The third *Sarum*, *Exeter*, *Bath*, *Briſtol*, and *Gloceſter*. The fourth *York*, *Durham*, *Carliſle*, and *Cheſter*. The fifth *Peterborough*, *Lincoln*, *Oxford*, *Coventry*, and *Lichfield*. And the ſixth *Wales*, *Worceſter*, and *Hereford*. For every Circuit there were two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine, and a Regiſter. They were deſigned to be ſent out in the beginning of *May*, as appears by a Letter to be found in the *Collection*, written the fourth of *May* to the Arch-biſhop of *York*. (There is alſo in the Regiſters of *London* another of the ſame ſtrain.) Yet the Viſitation being put off for ſome Months, this Inhibition was ſuſpended on the *16th* of *May*, till it ſhould be again renewed. The Letter ſets forth, that the King being ſpeedily to order a Viſitation over his whole Kingdom, therefore neither the Arch-biſhop nor any other ſhould exerciſe any Juriſdiction while that Viſitation laſted. And ſince the minds of the People were held in great ſuſpence by the Controverſies they heard ſo variouſly toſſed in the Pulpits, that for quieting theſe the King did require all Biſhops to preach no where but in their Cathedrals, and that all other Clergy-men ſhould not preach but in their Collegiate or Parochial Churches, unleſs they obtained a ſpecial Licence from the King to that effect. The deſign of this was to make a diſtinction between ſuch as preached for the reformation of abuſes, and ſuch as did it not. The one were to be encouraged by Licenſes to preach whereever they deſired to do it, but the others were reſtrained to the Places where they were Incumbents. But that which of all other things did moſt damp thoſe who deſigned the Reformation, was the miſery to which they ſaw the Clergy reduced, and the great want of able men to propagate it over *England*. For the Rents of the Church were either ſo ſwallowed up by the ſuppreſſion of Religious Houſes, to whom the Tithes were generally appropriated, or ſo baſely alienated by ſome lewd or ſuperſtitious Incumbents, who, to preſerve themſelves, being otherwiſe obnoxious, or to purchaſe Friends, had given away the beſt part of their Revenues and Benefices; that there was very little encouragement left for thoſe that ſhould labour in the Work of the Goſpel. And though many Projects were thought on for remedying this great abuſe, yet thoſe were all ſo powerfully oppoſed, that there was no hope left of getting it remedied, till the King ſhould come to be of Age, and be able by his Authority to procure the Church-men a more proportioned maintenance.

A Viſitation is made over *England*.

Collection Numb. 7.

Two

Two things only remained to be done at preſent. The one was to draw up ſome *Homilies* for the inſtruction of the People, which might ſupply the defects of their Incumbents, together with the providing them with ſuch Books as might lead them into the underſtanding of the Scripture. The other was to ſelect the moſt eminent Preachers they could find, and ſend them over *England* with the Viſitors, who ſhould with more Authority inſtruct the Nation in the Principles of Religion. Therefore ſome were appointed to compile thoſe *Homilies*; and Twelve were at firſt agreed on, being about thoſe Arguments which were in themſelves of the greateſt importance. The 1*ſt* was about the uſe of the Scriptures. The 2*d* of the miſery of Mankind by ſin. 3*d*. Of their Salvation by Chriſt. 4*th*. Of True and Lively Faith. 5*th*. Of Good Works. 6*th*. Of Chriſtian Love and Charity. 7*th*. Againſt Swearing, and chiefly Perjury. 8*th*. Againſt Apoſtacy, or declining from God. 9*th*. Againſt the fear of Death. 10*th*. An Exhortation to Obedience. 11*th*. Againſt Whoredom and Adultery, ſetting forth the ſtate of Marriage how neceſſary and honourable it was. And the 12*th* againſt Contention, chiefly about matters of Religion. They intended to ſet out more afterwards, but theſe were all that were at this time finiſhed. The chief deſign in them was to acquaint the People with the method of Salvation according to the Goſpel; in which there were two dangerous Extremes at that time that had divided the World. The greateſt part of the ignorant Commons ſeemed to conſider their Prieſts as a ſort of a People who had ſuch a ſecret trick of ſaving their Souls, as Mountebanks pretend in the curing of diſeaſes; and that there was nothing to be done but to leave themſelves in their hands, and the buſineſs could not miſcarry. This was the chief Baſis and ſupport of all that Superſtition which was ſo prevalent over the Nation. The other extreme was of ſome corrupt Goſpellers, who thought if they magnified Chriſt much, and depended on his Merits and Interceſſion, they could not periſh, which way ſoever they led their Lives. In theſe Homilies therefore ſpecial care was taken to rectifie theſe errors. And the Salvation of Mankind was on the one hand wholly aſcribed to the Death and Sufferings of Chriſt, to which Sinners were taught to fly, and to truſt to it only, and to no other devices for the pardon of ſin. They were at the ſame time taught that there was no Salvation through Chriſt, but to ſuch as truly repented, and lived according to the Rules of the Goſpel. The whole matter was ſo ordered to teach them, that avoiding the hurtful errors on both hands, they might all know the true and certain way of attaining Eternal Happineſs. For the underſtanding the New Teſtament *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe, which was tranſlated into *Engliſh*, was thought the moſt profitable and eaſieſt Book. Therefore it was reſolved, that together with the Bible there ſhould be one of theſe in every Pariſh-Church over *England*. They next conſidered the Articles and Injunctions that ſhould be given to the Viſitors. The greateſt part of them were only the renewing what had been ordered by King *Henry* during *Cromwel*'s being Vicegerent, which had been much neglected ſince his fall. For as there was no Vicegerent, ſo there was few Viſitations appointed after his death by the Kings Authority; but the executing former Injunctions was left to the ſeveral Biſhops, who were for the moſt part more careful about the ſix Articles, than about the Injunctions.

1547. Some Homilies compiled.

1547. Articles and Injunctions for the Viſitation.

"So now all the Orders about renouncing the Popes Power, and aſ-
"ſerting the Kings Supremacy, about Preaching, teaching the Elements
"of Religion in the Vulgar Tongue, about the Benefices of the Clergy,
"and the Taxes on them for the Poor, for Scholars, and their Manſion-
"Houſes, with the other Injunctions for the ſtrictneſs of Church-mens
"Lives, and againſt Superſtitions, Pilgrimages, Images, or other Rites
"of that kind, and for Regiſter-Books, were renewed. And to theſe,
"many others were added: as, That Curates ſhould take down ſuch
"Images as they knew were abuſed by Pilgrimages or Offerings to them;
"but that private Perſons ſhould not do it. That in the Confeſſions in *Lent*
"they ſhould examine all People whether they could recite the Elements
"of Religion in the *Engliſh* Tongue. That at High-Maſs they ſhould
"read the Epiſtle and Goſpel in *Engliſh*, and every *Sunday* and Holy-day
"they ſhould read at Mattins one Chapter out of the New Teſtament,
"and at Even-ſong another out of the Old in *Engliſh*. That the Cu-
"rates ſhould often viſit the Sick, and have many places of the Scripture
"in *Engliſh* in readineſs wherewith to comfort them. That there ſhould be
"no more Proceſſions about Churches, for avoiding contention for pre-
"cedence in them. And that the Letany formerly ſaid in the Proceſſions,
"ſhould be ſaid thereafter in the Quire in *Engliſh*, as had been ordered
"by the late King. That the Holy-day being inſtituted at firſt that Men
"ſhould give themſelves wholly to God, yet God was generally
"more diſhonoured upon it than on the other days, by idleneſs,
"drunkenneſs, and quarrelling, the People thinking that they ſufficient-
"ly honoured God by hearing Maſs and Mattins, though they underſtood
"nothing of it to their edifying; therefore thereafter the Holy-day
"ſhould be ſpent, according to Gods Holy Will, in hearing and reading
"his Holy Word, in publick and private Prayers, in amending their
"Lives, receiving the Communion, Viſiting the Sick, and reconciling
"themſelves to their Neighbours. Yet the Curates were to declare to
"their People, that in Harveſt-time they might upon the Holy and Feſti-
"val days labour in their Harveſt: That Curates were to admit none to
"the Communion, who were not reconciled to their Neighbours: That
"all dignified Clergy-men ſhould preach perſonally twice a year. That the
"People ſhould be taught not to deſpiſe any of the Ceremonies not yet
"abrogated, but to beware of the Superſtition of ſprinkling their Beds
"with Holy Water, or the ringing of Bells, or uſing of Bleſſed Candles for
"driving away Devils. That all Monuments of Idolatry ſhould be re-
"moved out of the Walls or Windows of Churches, and that there ſhould
"be a Pulpit in every Church for preaching: That there ſhould be a
"Cheſt with a hole in it for the receiving the Oblations of the People
"for the Poor, and that the People ſhould be exhorted to Almſ-giving
"as much more profitable than what they formerly beſtowed on Super-
"ſtitious Pilgrimages, Trentals, and decking of Images. That all Pa-
"trons who diſpoſed of their Livings by Simoniacal Pactions ſhould for-
"feit their Right for that vacancy to the King, That the Homilies ſhould
"be read. That Prieſts ſhould be uſed charitably and reverently for
"their office ſake. That no other Primer ſhould be uſed but that ſet
"out by King *Henry*. That the Prime and the Hours ſhould be omitted
"where there was a Sermon or Homily. That they ſhould in Bidding
"the Prayers remember the King their Supream Head, the Queen Dowa-
"ger

"ger, the Kings two Sisters, the Lord Protector, and the Council, the "Lords, the Clergy, and the Commons of the Realm; and to pray "for Souls departed this life, that at the last day we with them may rest "both body and Soul. All which Injunctions were to be observed, un- "der the pains of Excommunication, Sequestration, or Deprivation, as "the Ordinaries should answer it to the King, the Justices of Peace being "required to assist them. 1547.

Besides these, there were other Injunctions given to the Bishops, "That they should see the former put in Execution, and should preach "four times a year in their Dioceses: once at their Cathedral, and "three times in other Churches, unless they had a reasonable excuse for "their omission. That their Chaplains should be able to preach Gods "Word, and should be made labour oft in it: That they should give "Orders to none but such as would do the same; and if any did other- "wise, that they should punish him, and recall their Licence. These are the chief Heads of the Injunctions, which being so often printed, I shall refer the Reader that would consider them more carefully, to the Collection of these and other such curious things made by the Right Reverend Father in God *Anthony Sparrow* now Lord Bishop of *Norwich*. Injunctions to the Bishops.

These being published, gave occasion to those who censured all things of that nature to examine them. These were much censured.

The removing Images that had been abused, gave great occasion of quarrel; and the thing being to be done by the Clergy only, it was not like that they, who lived chiefly by such things, would be very zealous in the removing them. Yet on the other hand, it was thought necessary to set some restraints to the heats of the People, who were otherwise apt to run too far where Bounds were not set to them.

The Article about the strict observance of the *Holy-day* seemed a little doubtful, whether by the Holy-day was to be understood, only the Lords-day, or that and all other Church-Festivals. The naming it singularly the *Holy-day*, and in the end of that Article adding Festival-days to the Holy-day, seemed to favour their opinion that thought this strict observance of the Holy-day was particularly intended for the Lords-day, and not for the other Festivals. And indeed the setting aside of large portions of time on that day for our Spiritual Edification, and for the Service of God, both in publick and private, is so necessary for the advancement of true Piety, that great and good effects must needs follow on it. But some came afterwards, who not content to press great strictness on that day, would needs make a Controversie about the Morality of it, and about the fourth Commandment, and framed many Rules for it, which were stricter than themselves or any other could keep, and so could only load Mens Consciences with many scruples. This drew an opposition from others who could not agree to these severities, and these Contests were, by the subtilty of the Enemies of the Power and Progress of Religion so improved, that in stead of all Mens observing that time devoutly as they ought, some took occasion from the strictness of their own way, to censure all as irreligious, who did not in every thing agree to their notion concerning it: Others by the heat of contradiction did too much slacken this great Bond and Instrument of Religion; which is since brought under so much neglect, that it is for most part a day

1547. day only of Reſt from Mens bodily labours, but perhaps worſe employed than if they were at work: So hard a thing it is to keep the due mean, between the Extremes of Superſtition on the one hand, and of Irreligion on the other.

The corruption of Lay-Patrons in their Simoniacal Bargains, was then ſo notorious, that it was neceſſary to give a Check to it, as we find there was by theſe Injunctions. But whether either this, or the Oath afterwards appointed to be taken, has effectually delivered this Church of that great abuſe, I ſhall not determine. If thoſe who beſtow Benefices, did conſider, that the charge of Souls being annexed to them, they ſhall anſwer to God ſeverely for putting ſo ſacred a Truſt in mean or ill hands, upon any baſe or ſervile accounts, it would make them look a little more carefully to a thing of ſo high conſequence; and neither expoſe ſo holy a thing to ſale, nor gratifie a Friend or Servant by granting them the next Advowſon, or be too eaſily overcome with the ſollicitations of impudent Pretenders.

The Form of Bidding Prayer was not begun by King *Henry*, as ſome have weakly imagined; but was uſed in the times of Popery, as will appear by the Form of *Bidding the Beads* in King *Henry* the *7th*'s time, which will be found in the *Collection*. Where the way was, firſt for the Preacher to name and open his Text, and then to call on the People to go to their Prayers, and to tell them what they were to pray for; after which, all the People ſaid their Beads in a general ſilence, and the Miniſter kneeled down likewiſe, and ſaid his. All the change King *Henry* the *8th.* made in this, was, That the Pope and Cardinals names being left out, he was ordered to be mentioned with the addition of his Title of *Supream Head*, that the People hearing that oft repeated by their Prieſts, might be better perſwaded about it, but his other Titles were not mentioned. And this Order was now renewed. Only the Prayer for departed Souls was changed from what it had been. It was formerly in theſe words. "Ye ſhall pray for the Souls that be departed, abiding "the Mercy of Almighty God, that it may pleaſe him, the rather at the "contemplation of our Prayers, to grant them the Fruition of his Pre- "ſence; which did imply their being in a ſtate where they did not enjoy the Preſence of God; which was avoided by the more general words now preſcribed.

Collection. Number 8.

The Injunctions given the Biſhops directed them to that which, if followed carefully, would be the moſt effectual means of Reforming, at leaſt the next Age, if not that wherein they lived. For if Holy Orders were given to none, but to thoſe who are well qualified, and ſeem to be internally called by a Divine Vocation, the Church muſt ſoon put on a new face: whereas, when Orders are too eaſily given, upon the credit of emendicated Recommendations, or Titles, and after a ſlight trial of the knowledge of ſuch Candidates, without any exact ſcrutiny into their ſenſe of things, or into the diſpoſition of their minds; no wonder if by the means of Clergy-men ſo ordained, the Church loſe much in the eſteem and love of the People, who being poſſeſſed with prejudices againſt the whole Society for the faults which they ſee in particular Perſons, become an eaſie prey to ſuch as divide from it.

Thus

Thus were the Viſitors inſtructed, and ſent out to make their Circuits, in *Auguſt*, about the time that the Protector made his Expedition into *Scotland*. For the occaſion of it I ſhall refer the Reader to what is already ſaid in the former part of this Work. Before they engaged deeper in the War, Sir *Francis Brian* was ſent over to *France*, to congratulate the new King, and to ſee if he would confirm theſe Propoſitions that were agreed to during his Fathers life; and if he would pay the Penſion that was to be given yearly till *Bulloigne* was reſtored; and chiefly to obtain of him to be neutral in the War of *Scotland*: complaining of that Nation that had broken their Faith with *England* in the matter of the Marriage. To all which the *French* King anſwered, That for theſe Articles they mentioned he thought it diſhonourable for him to confirm them; and ſaid his Fathers Agent *Poligny* had no Warrant to yield to them, for by them the *Engliſh* were at liberty to fortifie what they had about *Bulloigne*, which he would never conſent to; That he was willing to pay what was agreed to by his Father, but would have firſt the conditions of the delivery of *Bulloigne* made more clear; As for the *Scots*, they were his perpetual Allies, whom he could not forſake if they were in any diſtreſs. And when it was preſſed on him, and his Ambaſſador at *London*, that *Scotland* was ſubject to the Crown of *England*, they had no regard to it. When the Council deſired the *French* Ambaſſador to look on the Records which they ſhould bring him for proving their Title: He excuſed himſelf; and ſaid his Maſter would not interpoſe in a Queſtion of that nature, nor would he look back to what was pretended to have done two or three hundred years ago; but was to take things as he found them; and that the *Scots* had Records likewiſe to prove their being a free Kingdom. So the Council ſaw they could not engage in the War with *Scotland*, without drawing on a War with *France*; which made them try their Intereſt with their friends this year to ſee if the Marriage could be obtained. But the Caſtle of St. *Andrews* was now loſt by the aſſiſtance that *Leo Strozi* brought from *France*. And though they in *England* continued to ſend Penſions to their Party, (for in *May* 1300 *l.* was ſent down by *Henry Balnaves*, and in *June* 125 *l.* was ſent to the Earl of *Glencairn* for an half years payment of his Penſion) yet they could gain no ground there; for the *Scots* now thought themſelves ſafer then formerly; the Crown of *England* being in the hands of a Child, and the Court of *France* being much governed by their Queen Dowagers Brothers. They gave way to the Borders to make In-rodes; of whom about two thouſand fell into the Weſtern Marches, and made great Depredations. The *Scots* in *Ireland* were alſo very ill Neighbours to the *Engliſh* there. There were many other Complaints of Pyracies at Sea, and of a Ship-Royal that robbed many *Engliſh* Ships; but how theſe came to be complained of, I do not ſee, for they were in open War, and I do not find any Truce had been made. The *French* Agent at *London* preſſed much that there might be a Treaty on the Borders before the Breach were made wider. But now the Protector had given Orders for raiſing an Army; ſo that he had no mind to loſe that Summer. Yet to let the *French* King ſee how careful they were of preſerving his Friendſhip, they appointed the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, and Sir *Robert Bowes*, to give the *Scotch* Commiſſioners a Meeting on the Borders the 4*th* of *Auguſt*: but with theſe ſecret Inſtructions, That if the

1547. *Auguſt.* The Protector went into *Scotland*.

Thuanus.

Queſtions made, whether *Scotland* was a free Kingdom or Subject to *England*.

1547. the *Scots* would confirm the Marriage, all other things ſhould be preſently forgiven, and Peace be immediately made up; but if they were not empow'red in that particular, and offered only to treat about Reſtitutions, that then they ſhould immediately break off the Treaty. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* was alſo ordered to carry down with him the Exemplifications of many Records, to prove the Subjection of the Crown of *Scotland* to *England:* ſome of theſe are ſaid to have been under the Hands and Seals of their Kings, their Nobles, their Biſhops, Abbots, and Towns. He was alſo ordered to ſearch for all the Records that were lying at *Dureſme*, where many of them were kept, to be ready to be ſhewed to the *Scots* upon any occaſion that might require it. The meeting on the Borders came to a quick iſſue, for the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners had no power to treat about the Marriage. But *Tonſtall* ſearching the Regiſters of his See, found many Writings of great conſequence to clear that Subjection, of which the Reader will ſee an account, in a Letter he writ to the Council, in the *Collection* of Papers. The moſt remarkable of theſe was, the Homage King *William* of *Scotland* made to *Henry* the Second, by which he granted, that all the Nobles of his Realm ſhould be his Subjects, and do Homage to him: and that all the Biſhops of *Scotland* ſhould be under the Arch biſhops of *York:* and that the King of *England* ſhould give all the Abbeys and Honours in *Scotland*, at the leaſt they ſhould not be given without his conſent, with many other things of the like nature. It was ſaid that the Monks in thoſe days, who generally kept the Records, were ſo accuſtomed to the forging of Stories and Writings, that little credit was to be given to ſuch Records as lay in their keeping. But having ſo faithfully acknowledged what was alledged againſt the freedom of *Scotland*, I may be allowed to ſet down a Proof on the other ſide, for my Native Country, copied from the original Writing yet extant under the Hands and Seals of many of the Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom. It is a Letter to the Pope: and it was ordinary that of ſuch publick Letters there were Duplicates ſigned; the one of which was ſent, and the other laid up among the Records, of which I have met with ſeveral Inſtances. So that of this Letter the Copy which was reſerved being now in Noble Hands, was communicated to me, and is in the *Collection*. It was upon the Popes engaging with the King of *England* to aſſiſt him to ſubdue *Scotland* that they writ to him, and did aſſert moſt directly that their Kingdom was at all times free and independent. But now theſe Queſtions being waved, the other difference about the Marriage was brought to a ſharper deciſion.

Collection Numb. 9.

Collection Numb. 10.

Aug. 21. On the 21*ſt* of *Auguſt* the Protector took out a Commiſſion to be General, and to make War on *Scotland:* and did devolve his Power during his abſence on the Privy-Council; and appointed his Brother to be Lord-Lievtenant for the *South*, and the Earl of *Warwick* (whom he carried with him) Lord-Lievtenant for the *North*; and left a Commiſſion of Array to the Marqueſs of *Northampton* for *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; to the Earl of *Arundel* for *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Hampſhire*, and *Wiltſhire*; and to Sir *Thomas Cheney* for *Kent*. All this was in caſe of any Invaſion from *France*. Having thus ſettled Affairs during his abſence, he ſet out for *Newcaſtle*, having ordered his Troops to march thither before: and coming thither on the 27*th* of that Month, he ſaw his Army muſtered on the 28*th*, and marched forward to *Scotland*. The

Aug. 27. 28.

Lord

Lord *Clinton* commanded the Ships that ſailed on as the Army marched; which was done, that Proviſions and Ammunition might be brought by them from *Newcaſtle* or *Berwick*, if the Enemy ſhould at any time fall in behind their Army. He entred into *Scotch* Ground the ſecond of *September*, and advanced to the *Paths* the *5th*, where the Paſſage being narrow and untoward, they looked for an Enemy to have diſputed it, but found none; the *Scots* having only broken the Ways, which in that dry ſeaſon ſignified not much, but to ſtop them ſome hours in their March. When they had paſſed theſe, ſome little Caſtles, *Dunglas*, *Thornton*, and *Innerwick*, having but a few ill provided Men in them, rendred to them. On the *9th* they came to *Falſide*, where there was a long Fight in ſeveral Parties, in which there were 1300 of the *Scots* ſlain. And now they were in ſight of the *Scotch* Army, which was for numbers of Men one of the greateſt that they had ever brought together, conſiſting of 30000 Men: of which 10000 were commanded by the Governour, 8000 by the Earl of *Angus*, 8000 by the Earl of *Huntley*, and 4000 by the Earl of *Argile*, with a fair Train of Artillery, nine Braſs, and 21 Iron Guns. On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* Army conſiſted of about 15000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, but all well appointed. The *Scots* were now heated with the old National Quarrel to *England*. It was given out that the Protector was come with his Army to carry away their Queen, and to enſlave the Kingdom. And for the encouraging of the Army it was alſo ſaid, that 12 Gallies and 50 Ships were on the Sea from *France*, and that they looked for them every day. 1547. Sept. 2. 5. Sept. 9.

The Protector finding an Army brought together ſo ſoon, and ſo much greater than he expected, began to be in ſome apprehenſion, and therefore he writ to the *Scots* to this effect, That they ſhould remember they were both Chriſtians, and ſo ſhould be tender of the effuſion of ſo much Blood; that this War was not made with any deſign, but for a perpetual Peace, by the Marriage of their two Princes which they had already agreed, and given their publick Faith upon it; and that the *Scots* were to be much more gainers by it than the *Engliſh*: The Iſland ſeemed made for one Empire; It was pitty it ſhould be more diſtracted with ſuch Wars, when there was ſo fair and juſt a way offered for uniting it: and it was much better for them to marry their Queen to a Prince of the ſame Language, and on the ſame Continent, than to a Forreigner: but if they would not agree to that, he offered that their Queen ſhould be bred up among them, and not at all contracted, neither to the *French*, nor to any other Forreigner, till ſhe came of Age, that by the conſent of the Eſtates ſhe might chooſe a Husband for her ſelf. If they would agree to this, he would immediately return with his Army out of *Scotland*, and make ſatisfaction for the damages the Country had ſuffered by the Invaſion. This Propoſition ſeems to juſtifie what the *Scotch* Writers ſay, though none of the *Engliſh* mention it, That the Protector, what for want of Proviſions, and what from the apprehenſions he had of ſo numerous an Army of the *Scots*, was in great ſtraits, and intended to have returned back to *England*, without hazarding an Engagement. But the *Scots* thought they were ſo much ſuperior to the *Engliſh*, and that they had them now at ſuch a diſadvantage, that they reſolved to fall upon them next day. And that the fair offers made by the Protector might not raiſe diviſion among them, The Protectors Offers to the *Scots*,

1547. Rejected by them. the Governour having communicated theſe to a few whom he truſted, was by their advice perſwaded to ſuppreſs them; but he ſent a Trumpeter to the *Engliſh* Army with an Offer to ſuffer them to return without falling upon them: which the Protector had reaſon to reject, knowing that ſo mean an Action in the beginning of his Adminiſtation, would have quite ruined his Reputation. But to this, another that came with the Trumpeter added a Meſſage from the Earl of *Huntley*, That the Protector and he with ten or twenty of a ſide, or ſingly, ſhould decide the Quarrel by their Perſonal Valour. The Protector ſaid, This was no private Quarrel, and the Truſt he was in obliged him not to expoſe himſelf in ſuch a way: and therefore he was to fight no other way but at the Head of his Army. But the Earl of *Warwick* offered to accept the Challenge. The Earl of *Huntly* ſent no ſuch Challenge, as he afterwards purged himſelf when he heard of it. For as it was unreaſonable for him to expect the Protector ſhould have anſwered it, ſo it had been an affronting the Governour of *Scotland* to have taken it off of his hands, ſince he was the only Perſon that might have challenged the Protector on equal terms. The truth of the matter was, a Gentleman that went along with the Trumpeter, made him do it without Warrant, fancying the Anſwer to it would have taken up ſome time, in which he might have viewed the Enemies Camp.

Sept. 10. The Battle of *Pinkey* near *Muſſelburgh*. On the 10*th* of *September* the two Armies drew out, and fought in the Field of *Pinkey* near *Muſſelburgh*. The *Engliſh* had the advantage of the Ground. And in the beginning of the Action, a Cannon Ball from one of the *Engliſh* Ships killed the Lord *Grames* eldeſt Son, and 25 Men more; which put the Earl of *Argiles* Highlanders into ſuch a fright, that they could not be held in order. But after a Charge given by the Earl of *Angus*, in which the *Engliſh* loſt ſome few Men, the *Scots* gave ground; and the *Engliſh* obſerving that, and breaking in furiouſly upon them, the *Scots* threw down their Arms and fled: The *Engliſh* purſued hard, and

A great defeat given the *Scots*. ſlew them without mercy. There were reckoned to be killed about 14000 and 1500 taken Priſoners, among whom was the Earl of *Huntley*, and 500 Gentlemen; and all the Artillery was taken. This loſs quite diſheartned the *Scots*, ſo that they all retired to *Strivling*, and left the whole Countrey to the Protectors mercy. Who the next day went and took *Lieth*, and the Souldiers in the Ships burnt ſome of the Sea-Towns of *Fife*, and re-took ſome *Engliſh* Ships that had been taken by the *Scots*, and burnt the reſt. Thy alſo put a Garriſon in the Iſle of St. *Columba* in the *Frith* of about 200 Souldiers, and left two Ships to wait on them. He alſo ſent the Earl of *Warwick*'s Brother, Sir *Ambroſe Dudley*, to take *Broughty*, a Caſtle in the Mount of *Tay*; in which he put 200 Souldiers. He waſted *Edenburgh*, and uncovered the Abbey of *Holyrood-houſe*, and carried away the Lead and the Bells belonging to it. But he neither took the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, nor did he go on to *Strivling* where the Queen with the ſtraglers of the Army lay. And it was thought, that in the conſternation wherein the late defeat had put them, every Place would have yielded to him. But he had ſome private reaſons that preſſed his return, and made him let go the advantages that were now in his hands, and ſo gave the *Scots* time to bring Succours out of *France*; wheres he might eaſily have made an end of the War now at once, if he had followed his ſucceſs vigorouſly. The Earl of *Warwick*, who had a great ſhare in the

Honour

Honour of the Victory, but knew that the errors in conduct would much diminish the Protectors glory, which had been otherwise raised to an unmeasurable height, was not displeased at it. So on the 18*th.* of *September* the Protector drew his Army back into *England*, and having received a Message from the Queen and the Governour of *Scotland* offering a Treaty, he ordered them to send Commissioners to *Berwick* to treat with those he should appoint. As he returned through the *Merch*, and *Teviotdale*, all the chief Men in these Counties came in to him, and took an Oath to King *Edward*, the Form whereof will be found in the *Collection*, and delivered into his hands all the Places of strength in their Counties. He left a Garrison of 200 in *Home* Castle, under the Command of Sir *Edw. Dudley*; and fortified *Roxburgh*, where, for encouraging the rest, he wrought two hours with his own hands, and put 300 Souldiers and 200 Pioneers into it, giving Sir *Ralph Bulmer* the Command. At the same time the Earl of *Lennox* and the Lord *Wharton* made an in-road by the West Marches; but with little effect. 1547. *Sept.* 18. Collection Number 11.

On the 29*th* of *September* the Protector returned into *England* full of Honour, having in all that expedition lost not above 60 Men, as one that then writ the account of it says: The *Scotch* Writers say he lost between 2 and 300. He had taken 80 Pieces of Canon, and bridled the two chief Rivers of the Kingdom by the Garrisons he left in them; and had left many Garrisons in the strong Places on the Frontier. And now it may be easily imagined how much this raised his reputation in *England*; since Men commonly make Auguries of the Fortune of their Rulers, from the Successes of the first Designs they undertake. So now they remembred what he had done formerly in *Scotland*; and how he had in *France* with 7000 Men, raised the *French* Army of 20000 that was set down before *Bulloigne*, and had forced them to leave their Ordnance, Baggage, and Tents, with the loss of one Man only in the year 1544, and that next year he had fallen into *Picardy*, and built *New-haven* with two other Forts there. So that they all expected great success under his Government. And indeed if the breach between his Brother and him, with some other errors, had not lost him the advantages he now had, this prosperous Action had laid the foundation of great Fortunes to him. *Sept.* 29. The Protector returned to *England*.

He left the Earl of *Warwick* to treat with those that should be sent from *Scotland*. But none came; for that Proposition had been made only to gain time. The Queen Mother there, was not ill pleased to see the interest of the Governour so much impaired by that misfortune, and perswaded the chief Men of that Kingdom to cast themselves wholly into the Arms of *France*, and to offer their young Queen to the Dolphin, and to think of no Treaty with the *English*. So the Earl of *Warwick* returned to *London*, having no small share in the Honour of this Expedition. He was Son to that *Dudley*, who was attainted and executed the first year of King *Henry* the 8*th*'s Reign. But whether it was that the King afterwards repented of his severity to the Father, or that he was taken with the qualities of the Son, he raised him by many degrees to be Admiral and Viscount *Lisle*. He had defended *Bulloigne*, when it was in no good condition, against the Dolphin, whose Army was believed 50000 strong; and when the *French* had carried the Basletown, he recovered it, and killed 800 of their Men: The Year after that, being in

1547. Command at Sea, he offered the *French* Fleet Battel; which they declining, he made a deſcent upon *Normandy* with 5000 Men, and having burnt, and ſpoiled, a great deal, he returned to his Ships with the loſs only of one Man. And he ſhewed he was as fit for a Court as a Camp; For being ſent over to the *French* Court upon the Peace, he appeared there with much Splendour, and came off with great Honour. He was indeed a Man of great Parts, had not inſatiable ambition with profound diſſimulation ſtained his other Noble Qualities.

The Protector at his return was adviſed preſently to meet the Parliament, (for which the Writs had been ſent out before he went into *Scotland*) now that he was ſo covered with Glory, to get himſelf eſtabliſhed in his Authority, and to do thoſe other things which required a Seſſion. He found the Viſitors had performed their Viſitation, and all had given obedience. And thoſe who expounded the ſecret Providences of God with an Eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this; that on the ſame day in which the Viſitors removed, and deſtroyed, moſt of the Images in *London*, their Armies were ſo ſucceſful in *Scotland* in *Pinkey* Field. It is too common to all Men to magnifie ſuch Events much, when they make for them; but if they are againſt them, they turn it off by this, That Gods Ways are paſt finding out. So partially do men argue where they are once engaged. *Bonner* and *Gardiner* had ſhewed ſome diſlike of the Injunctions. *Bonner* received them with a Proteſtation that he would obſerve them, if they were not contrary to Gods Law and the Ordinances of the Church. Upon which Sir *Anthony Cook*, and the other Viſitors, complained to the Council. So *Bonner* was ſent for where he offered a ſubmiſſion, but full of vain *Quiddities*, (ſo it is expreſſed in the Council-Book,) But they not accepting of that, he made ſuch a full one as they deſired, which is in the *Collection*. Yet for giving terror to others he was ſent to lie for ſome time in the Priſon called the *Fleet*. *Gardiner* ſeeing the *Homilies*, was alſo reſolved to proteſt againſt them. Sir *John Godſave*, who was one of the Viſitors, wrote to him not to ruine himſelf, nor loſe his Biſhoprick by ſuch an Action. To whom he wrote a Letter, that has more of a Chriſtian, and of a Biſhop in it, than any thing I ever ſaw of his. He expreſſes in handſom terms a great contempt of the World, and a reſolution to ſuffer any thing rather than depart from his Conſcience. Beſides that, (as he ſaid) the things being againſt Law, he would not deliver up the Liberties of his Country, but would petition againſt them. This Letter will be found in the *Collection*, for I am reſolved to ſuppreſs nothing of conſequence on what ſide ſoever it may be. On the 25*th* of *September* it being informed to the Council, that *Gardiner* had written to ſome of that Board, and had ſpoken to others, many things in prejudice and contempt of the Kings Viſitation; and that he intended to refuſe to ſet forth the *Homilies* and *Injunctions*; he was ſent for to the Council. Where being examined, he ſaid, he thought they were contrary to the Word of God, and that his Conſcience would not ſuffer him to obſerve them. He excepted to one of the *Homilies* that it did exclude Charity from juſtifying Men, as well as Faith. This he ſaid was contrary to the *Book* ſet out in the late Kings time, which was afterwards confirmed in Parliament in the Year 1542. He ſaid further, that he could never ſee one place of Scripture nor any ancient Doctor that favoured it. He alſo ſaid *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe was bad enough in

The Viſitors execute the Injunctions.

Acts and Monuments.

But they were not well received by *Bonner*.

Collection Number 12.

Nor by *Gardiner*.

Collection Number 13.

Sept. 15.

in *Latin*, but much worſe in *Engliſh*, for the Tranſlator had oft out of ignorance, and oft out of deſign, miſrendred him palpably, and was one that neither underſtood *Latine* nor *Engliſh* well. He offered to go to *Oxford* to diſpute about Juſtification with any they ſhould ſend him to, or to enter in conference with any that would undertake his Inſtruction in Town. But this did not ſatisfie the Council. So they preſſed him to declare what he intended to do when the Viſitors ſhould be with him. He ſaid, he did not know; he ſhould further ſtudy theſe Points, for it would be three weeks before they could be with him; and he was ſure he would ſay no worſe than that he ſhould obey them as far as could conſiſt with Gods Law and the Kings. The Council urged him to promiſe that he would without any limitation ſet forth the *Homilies* and the *Injunctions*, which he refuſing to do, was ſent to the *Fleet*. Some days after that *Cranmer* went to ſee the *Dean* of St. *Paul*, having the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Rocheſter* with Dr. *Cox* and ſome others with him. He ſent for *Gardiner* thither, and entred into diſcourſe with him about that Paſſage in the Homily, excluding Charity out of our Juſtification: and urged thoſe Places of St. *Paul*, *That we are juſtified by Faith without the Works of the Law*: He ſaid his deſign in that Paſſage was only to draw Men from truſting in any thing they did: and to teach them to truſt only to Chriſt. But *Gardiner* had a very different Notion of Juſtification. For as he ſaid, Infants were juſtified by Baptiſme, and Penitents by the Sacrament of Penance: and that the Conditions of the juſtifying of thoſe of Age were Charity as well as Faith, as the three Eſtates make a Law all joyned together: for by this Simile he ſet it out in the report he writ of that Diſcourſe to the Lord Protector, reckoning the King one of the three Eſtates, (a way of Speech very ſtrange, eſpecially in a Biſhop, and a Lawyer.) For *Eraſmus* it was ſaid, that though there were faults, in his Paraphraſe, as no Book beſides the Scriptures is without faults, yet it was the beſt for that uſe they could find: and they did chooſe rather to ſet out what ſo learned a Man had written, than to make a new one which might give occaſion to more Objections; and he was the moſt indifferent Writer they knew. Afterwards *Cranmer* knowing what was likely to work moſt on him, let fall ſome words (as *Gardiner* writ to the Protector) of bringing him into the Privy-Council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on. But that not having its ordinary effect on him, he was carried back to the *Fleet*. 1547.

There were alſo many complaints brought by ſome Clergy-men, of ſuch as had uſed them ill for their obeying the Kings Injunctions, and for removing Images. Many were upon their ſubmiſſion ſent away with a ſevere rebuke; others that offended more hainouſly were put in the *Fleet* for ſome time, and afterwards giving Bond for their good behaviour were diſcharged. But upon the Protectors return, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* writ him a long Letter in his own vindication. "He complained "of the Viſitors proceeding in his abſence in ſo great a matter. He ſaid "the *Injunctions* were contrary to themſelves, for they appointed the "*Homilies* to be read, and *Eraſmus*'s *Paraphraſe* to be put in all Churches: ſo he ſelected many paſſages out of theſe, that were contrary to "one another. He alſo gathered many things out of *Eraſmus*'s *Paraphraſe* that were contrary to the Power of Princes, and ſeveral other "cenſurable things in that Work, which *Eraſmus* wrote, when he was

"young

1547. " young, being of a far different ſtrain from what he writ when he " grew older, and better acquainted with the World. But he concluded his Letter with a diſcourſe of the extent of the King and Councils " Power, which is all I tranſcribed of it, being very long, and full of " things of no great conſequence. He queſtions how far the King could " command againſt Common or Statute Law: of which himſelf had " many occaſions to be well informed. Cardinal *Wolſey* had obtained " his Legatine Power at the Kings deſire, but notwithſtanding that, he " was brought into a *Præmunire*: and the Lawyers upon that Argument " cited many Precedents of Judges that were fined when they tranſgreſſed the Laws, though commanded by Warrants from the King; and Earl " *Typteſt*, who was Chancellor, loſt his Head for acting upon the Kings " Warrant againſt Law. In the late Kings time the Judges would not let " Fines on the breakers of the Kings Proclamations, when they were " contrary to Law, till the *Act* concerning them was paſſed, about " which there were many hot words when it was debated. He mentions " a Diſcourſe that paſſed between him and the Lord *Audley* in the Parliament concerning the Kings Supremacy. *Audley* bid him look the Act " of Supremacy, and he would ſee the Kings doings were reſtrained to " Spiritual Juriſdiction: and by another Act no Spiritual Law could take " place againſt the Common Law or an Act of Parliament: otherwiſe " the Biſhops would ſtrike in with the King, and by means of the Supremacy would order the Law as they pleaſed: but we will provide, ſaid " he, that the *Præmunire* ſhall never go off of your backs. In ſome late " Caſes he heard the Judges declare what the King might do againſt an " Act of Parliament, and what danger they were in that medled in ſuch " matters. Theſe things being ſo freſh in his memory he thought he might " write what he did to the Lords of Council. But by this it appears, that no ſort of Men is ſo much for the Kings Prerogative, but when it becomes in any inſtance uneaſie to them, they will ſhelter themſelves under the Law. He continued afterwards by many Letters to the Protector to complain of his ill uſage: " That he had been then ſeven weeks in the " *Fleet* without Servants, a Chaplain, or a Phyſician: that though he " had his Writ of Summons, he was not ſuffered to come to the Parliament, which might be a ground afterwards of queſtioning their Pro- " ceedings: He adviſed the Protector not to make himſelf a Party in " theſe matters, and uſed all the inſinuations of decent flattery that he " could invent, with many ſharp reflections on *Cranmer*, and ſtood much on " the force of Laws, that they could not be repealed by the Kings Will. " Concerning which he mentions a Paſſage that fell out between *Cromwel* " and himſelf before the late King. *Cromwel* ſaid, That the King might " make or repeal Laws as the *Roman* Emperors did, and asked his opinion " about it, whether the Kings Will was not a Law? To which he an- " ſwered facetiouſly, That he thought it was much better for the King to " make the Law his Will, than to make his Will a Law. But notwithſtanding all his Letters, (which are printed in the ſecond Volume of *Acts* and *Monum. Edit.* 1641.) yet he continued a Priſoner till the Parliament was over, and then by the Act of Pardon he was ſet at liberty. This was much cenſured as an invaſion of Liberty; and it was ſaid theſe at Court durſt not ſuffer him to come to the Houſe, leſt he had confounded them in all they did. And the explaining Juſtification with ſo much nicety in Homilies

Collection Numb. 14.

that

that were to be read to the People, was thought a needleſs ſubtilty. But the former abuſes of truſting to the Acts of Charity that Men did, by which they fancied they bought Heaven, made *Cranmer* judge it neceſſary to expreſs the matter ſo nicely; though the expounding thoſe Places of St. *Paul*, was, as many thought, rather according to the ſtrain of the *Germans*, than to the meaning of theſe Epiſtles. And upon the whole matter, they knew *Gardiners* haughty temper, and that it was neceſſary to mortifie him a little, though the pretence on which they did it ſeemed too ſlight for ſuch ſeverities. But it is ordinary, when a thing is once reſolved on, to make uſe of the firſt occaſion that offers for effecting it. 1547.

The Party that oppoſed the Reformation, finding theſe attempts ſo unſucceſful, engaged the Lady *Mary* to appear for them. She therefore wrote to the *Protector*, that ſhe thought all changes of Religion till the King came to be of Age, were very much contrary to the reſpect they owed the memory of her Father, if they went about to ſhake what he had ſetled; and againſt their duty to their young Maſter, to hazard the Peace of his Kingdom, and engage his Authority in ſuch Points before he was capable of judging them. I gather this to have been the ſubſtance of her *Letter*, from the Anſwer which the *Protector* wrote, which is in the *Collection*. In it he wrote, "That he believed her Letter flowed not "immediately from her ſelf, but from the inſtigation of ſome malicious "Perſons. He proteſts they had no other deſign, but the Glory of "God, and the Honour and ſafety of the King; and that what they done "was ſo well conſidered, that all good Subjects ought rather to re"joyce at it than find fault with it. And whereas ſhe had ſaid, That "her Father had brought Religion to a godly order and quietneſs, to "which both Spiritualty and Temporalty did without compulſion give "their aſſent; he remembers her what oppoſition the ſtiff-necked Papiſts "gave him; and what Rebellions they raiſed againſt him; which he won"ders how ſhe came ſo ſoon to forget: Adding, that death had prevent"ed him before he had finiſhed theſe Godly Orders which he had deſign"ed; and that no kind of Religion was perfected at his death, but all "was left ſo uncertain, that it muſt inevitably bring on great diſorders, if "God did not help them; and that himſelf and many others could wit"neſs what regret their late Maſter had, when he ſaw he muſt die before "he had finiſhed what he intended. He wondred that ſhe, who had "been well bred, and was learned, ſhould eſteem true Religion, and the "knowledge of the Scriptures, *Newfangledneſs, or Fantaſie.* He deſired "ſhe would turn the Leaf, and look on the other ſide, and would with "an humble Spirit, and by the aſſiſtance of the Grace of God, conſider "the matter better.

The Lady *Mary* diſſatisfied with the Reformation.

The Protector writ to her. Collection Numb. 15.

Thus things went on, till the Parliament met, which was ſummoned to meet the forth of *November*. The day before it met, the Protector gave to publick an inſtance how much his proſperous ſucceſs had lifted him up. For by a Patent under the Great Seal, he was warranted to ſit in Parliament on the Right Hand of the Throne under the Cloath of State; and was to have all the Honours and Priviledges that at any time any of the Uncles of the Kings of *England*, whether by the Fathers or Mothers ſide had enjoyed; with a *Non obſtante* to the Statute of Precedence. The Lord *Rich* had been made Lord Chancellor on the 24*th.* of *October*; but whether the Protector, or he, opened the Parliament by

The Parliament meets. *Novemb.* 3.

Rot. Pat. 1. *Reg.* 7. *Part.*

1547. *Decemb.* 10. by any Speech, does not appear from the *Journal* of the Lords Houſe. On the 10*th.* of *Decemb.* a Bill was brought in for the repealing ſeveral Statutes. It was read the ſecond time on the 12*th*, and the third time on the 16*th* day. On the 19*th* ſome Proviſoes were added to it, and it was ſent down to the Commons, who ſent it up the 23*d* of *December*, to which the Royal Aſſent was given. The Commons had formed a new Bill for repealing theſe Stututes, which upon ſome Conferences they were willing to let fall; only ſome Proviſoes were added to the old one; upon which, the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, *Ely*, *Hereford*, and *Chicheſter*, diſſented. The Preamble of it ſets forth, "That nothing made a Government happier than when the Prince governed with much clemency, and "the Subjects obeyed out of love. Yet the late King and ſome of his "Progenitors, being provoked by the unrulineſs of ſome of their Peo- "ple, had made ſevere Laws; but they judging it neceſſary now to re- "commend the Kings Government to the affections of the People, re- "pealed all Laws that made any thing to be Treaſon, but what was in the "Act of 25 *Edw.* the 3*d*, as alſo two of the Statutes about Lollardies, "together with the Act of the ſix Articles, and the other Acts that fol- "lowed in explanation of that. All Acts in King *Henry* the 8*th*'s time "declaring any thing to be Felony that was not ſo declared before, were "alſo repealed, together with the Acts that made the King's Proclamations "of equal authority with Acts of Parliament. It was alſo Enacted, "That all who denied the Kings Supremacy, or aſſerted the Popes, in "words, ſhould for the firſt offence forfeit their Goods and Chattels, and "ſuffer Impriſonment during pleaſure; For the ſecond offence ſhould in- "cur the pain of *Præmunire*; and for the third offence be attainted of "Treaſon. But if any did in Writing, Printing, or by any overt Act or "Deed, endeavour to deprive the King of his Eſtate, or Titles, parti- "cularly of his Supremacy; or to conſer them on any other, after the "firſt of *March* next, he was to be adjudged guilty of High Treaſon: "and if any of the Heirs of the Crown ſhould uſurp upon another, or "did endeavour to break the Succeſſion of the Crown, it was declared "high Treaſon, in them, their Aiders and Abettors. And all were to enjoy "the benefit of Clergy, and the Priviledge of Sanctuary, as they had it "before King *Henry* the 8*th*'s Reign; excepting only ſuch as were guil- "ty of Murder, Poiſoning, Burglary, Robbing on the High-way, the "ſtealing of Cattel, or ſtealing out of Churches or Chappels. Poiſoners "were to ſuffer as other Murtherers. None were to be accuſed of Words, "but within a Month after they were ſpoken. And thoſe who called the "*French* King by the Title of King of *France*, were not to be eſteemed "guilty of the Pains of Tranſlating the Kings Authority, or Titles, on "any other. This Act was occaſioned by a Speech that Arch-biſhop *Cranmer* had in Convocation, in which he exhorted the Clergy to give themſelves much to the ſtudy of the Scripture, and to conſider ſeriouſly what things were in the Church that needed Reformation, that ſo they might throw out all the Popiſh traſh, that was not yet caſt out. Upon this ſome intimated to him, that as long as the ſix Articles ſtood in force, it was not ſafe for them to deliver their Opinions. This he reported to the Council, upon which they ordered this Act of Repeal. By it the Subjects were delivered from many fears they were under, and had good hopes of a mild Government, when in ſtead of procuring new ſevere Laws,

Decemb. 10.

19.

23. *Dec.*

An Act repealing former ſevere Laws.

In Cor. Ch. Coll. Cham. among *Parkers* Papers.

Law, the old ones were let fall. The Council did alſo free the Nation of the jealouſies they might have of them by ſuch an abridgment of their own Power. But others judged it had been more for the intereſt of the Government, to have kept up theſe Laws ſtill in force, but to have reſtrained the execution of them. This Repeal drew on another, which was ſent from the Commons on the 20*th.* of *December*, and was agreed to by the Lords on the 21*ſt.* It was of an Act in the 28*th.* year of the laſt King, by which all Laws made while his Son was under 24 years of Age, might be by his Letters Patents, after he attained that Age, annulled as if they had never been. Which they altered thus, That the King, after that Age, might by his Letters Patents void any Act of Parliament for the future; but could not ſo void it from the beginning, as to annul all things done upon it between the making and annulling of it, which were ſtill to be lawful Deeds. 1547.

Act about the Communion.

The next Bill of a publick nature was concerning the Sacrament. Which was brought in, and read the firſt time, on the 12*th.* of *Novemb.* the ſecond time on the 15*th*, and was twice read on the 17*th.* And on the 24*th.* a Bill was brought in for the Communion to be received in both kinds; on the third of *December* it was read the ſecond time, and given to the Protector; on the 5*th.* read again, and given to two Judges; on the 7*th.* it was read again, and joyned to the other Bill about the Sacrament. And on the 10*th.* the whole Bill was agreed to by all the Peers, except the Biſhops of *London*, *Hereford*, *Norwich*, *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*, and ſent down to the Commons. On the 17*th.* a *Proviſo* was ſent after it, but was rejected by the Commons, ſince the Lords had not agreed to it. On the 20*th.* it was ſent up agreed to, and had afterwards the Royal Aſſent. "By it, firſt, the value of the Holy Sacrament, commonly called "*the Sacrament of the Altar*, and in the Scripture the *Supper* and *Table of* "*the Lord*, was ſet forth; together with its firſt Inſtitution; but it having "been of late marvellouſly abuſed, ſome had been thereby brought to a "contempt of it, which they had expreſſed in Sermons, Diſcourſes, and "Songs, (*in words not fit to be repeated*;) therefore whoſoever ſhould "ſo offend after the firſt of *May* next was to ſuffer Fine and Impriſon-"ment at the Kings Pleaſure; and the Juſtices of the Peace were to take "Information, and make Preſentments of Perſons ſo offending within "three Months after the offences ſo committed, allowing them Witneſ-"ſes for their own purgation. And it being more agreeable to Chriſts firſt "Inſtitution, and the practice of the Church for 500 years after Chriſt, "that the Sacrament ſhould be given in both the kinds of Bread and "Wine, rather than in one kind only; Therefore it was Enacted, That it "ſhould be commonly given in both kinds, except neceſſity did otherwiſe "require it. And it being alſo more agreeable to the firſt Inſtitution, and "the primitive Practice, that the People ſhould receive with the Prieſt, "than that the Prieſt ſhould receive it alone; therefore the day before "every Sacrament, an Exhortation was to be made to the People, to "prepare themſelves for it, in which the benefits and danger of worthy "and unworthy receiving were to be expreſſed, and the Prieſts were "not without a lawful cauſe to deny it to any who humbly askt "it.

Communion appointed in both kinds.

This was an Act of great conſequence, ſince it reformed two abuſes that had crept into the Church. The one was the denying the Cup to

1547. the Laity, the other was the Prieſts communicating alone. In the firſt Inſtitution it is plain, that as *Chriſt* had all drink of the Cup, and his Diſciples all drank of it, ſo St. *Paul* directed every one to *examine himſelf, that he might eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup.* From thence the Church for many Ages continued this practice: and the Superſtition of ſome who received only in one kind was ſeverely cenſured, and ſuch were appointed either to receive the whole Sacrament or to abſtain wholly. It continued thus till the belief of the Corporal Preſence of Chriſt was ſet up; and then the keeping and carrying about the Cup in Proceſſions, not being ſo eaſily done, ſome began to lay it aſide. For a great while the Bread was given dipt in the Cup, to repreſent a bleeding Chriſt, as it is in the *Greek* Church to this day. In other Places the Laity had the Cup given them, but they were to ſuck it through Pipes that nothing of it ſhould fall to the ground. But ſince they believed that Chriſt was in every crumb of Bread, it was thought needleſs to give the Sacrament in both kinds: So in the Council of *Conſtance* the Cup was ordered to be denied the Laity, though they acknowledged it to have been inſtituted and practiſed otherwiſe. To this the *Bohemians* would never ſubmit; though to compel them to it much Blood was ſhed in this Quarrel. And now in the Reformation this was every where one of the firſt things with which the People were poſſeſſed, the oppoſition of the *Roman* Church herein to the Inſtitution of Chriſt being ſo manifeſt.

And all private Maſſes put down.

At firſt this Sacrament was alſo underſtood to be a Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, of which many were to be partakers: while the fervor of devotion laſted, it was thought a ſcandalous and cenſurable thing if any had come unto the Chriſtian Aſſemblies, and had not ſtayed to receive theſe Holy Myſteries: and the denying to give any one the Sacrament was accounted a very great puniſhment. So ſenſible were the Chriſtians of their ill condition when they were hindred to participate of it. But afterwards the former Devotion ſlackening, the good Biſhops in the *4th* and *5th Centuries* complained oft of it, that ſo few came to receive: yet the Cuſtom being to make Oblations before the Sacrament, out of which the Clergy had been maintained during the poverty of the Church, the Prieſts had a great mind to keep up the conſtant uſe of theſe Oblations; and ſo perſwaded the Laity to continue them, and to come to the Sacrament, though they did not receive it: and in proceſs of time they were made to believe that the Prieſt received in behalf of the whole People. And whereas this Sacrament was the Commemoration of Chriſts Sacrifice on the Croſs, and ſo by a Phraſe of Speech was called a *Sacrifice*, they came afterwards to fancy that the Prieſts conſecrating and conſuming the Sacrament was an Action of it ſelf expiatory, and that both for the Dead and the Living. And there roſe an infinite number of ſeveral ſorts of Maſſes; ſome were for commemorating the Saints, and thoſe were called the Maſſes of ſuch Saints; others for a particular bleſſing, for Rain, Health, *&c.* and indeed for all the accidents of Humane Life, where the addition or variation of a Collect made the difference: So that all that Trade of Maſſing was now removed. An Intimation was alſo made of Exhortations to be read in it, which they intended next to ſet about. Theſe abuſes in the Maſs gave great advantages to thoſe who intended to change it into a Communion. But many in ſtead of managing them prudently, made unſeemly Jeſts about

about them: and were carried by a lightneſs of temper to make Songs, and Plays, of the Maſs: for now the Preſs went quick, and many Books were printed this year about matters of Religion; the greateſt number of them being concerning the Maſs; which were not written in ſo decent and grave a ſtyle as the matter required. Againſt this Act only five Biſhops proteſted. Many of that Order were abſent from the Parliament, ſo the oppoſition made to it was not conſiderable. 1547.

An Act about the Admiſſion of Biſhops.

The next Bill brought into the Houſe of Lords, was concerning the admiſſion of Biſhops to their Sees by the Kings Letters Patents. Which being read, was committed to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterburies* care on the fifth of *November*, and was read the ſecond time on the 10*th*, and committed to ſome of the Judges, and was read the third time on the 28*th*. of *November*, and ſent down to the Commons on the 5*th*. of *December*. There was alſo another Bill brought in, concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the Biſhops Courts, on the 17*th*. of *November*, and paſs'd, and ſent down on the 13*th*. of *December*. But both theſe Bills were put in one, and ſent up by the Commons on the 20*th*. of that Month, and aſſented to by the King. By this Act it was ſet forth, "That the way of "chooſing Biſhops by *Conge d'Eſlire* was tedious and expenceful, that "there was only a ſhadow of Election in it, and that therefore Biſhops "ſhould thereafter be made by the Kings Letters Patents, upon which "they were to be conſecrated: And whereas the Biſhops did exerciſe "their Authority, and carry on Proceſſes, in their own Names, as they "were wont to do in the time of Popery; and ſince all Juriſdiction "both Spiritual and Temporal was derived from the King, that therefore "their Courts and all Proceſſes ſhould be from henceforth carried on in "the Kings Name, and be ſealed by the Kings Seal, as it was in the other "Courts of Common-Law, after the firſt of *July* next; excepting only "the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*'s Courts, and all Collations, Preſen-"tations, or Letters of Orders, which were to paſs under the Biſhops "proper Seals as formerly. Upon this Act great advantages were taken to diſparage the Reformation, as ſubjecting the Biſhops wholly to the pleaſure of the Court.

The ancient ways of electing Biſhops.

At firſt, Biſhops were choſen and ordained by the other Biſhops in the Countries where they lived. The Apoſtles, by that Spirit of diſcerning, which was one of the extraordinary gifts they were endued with, did ordain the firſt Fruits of their Labours; and never left the Election of Paſtors to the diſcretion of the People: Indeed when they were to ordain Deacons, who were to be truſted with the diſtribution of the publick Alms, they appointed ſuch as the People made choice of; but when St. *Paul* gave directions to *Timothy* and *Titus* about the choice of Paſtors, all that depended on the People by them was that they ſhould be *blameleſs* and *of good report*. But afterwards, the poverty of the Church being ſuch, that Church-men lived only by the free bounty of the People, it was neceſſary to conſider them much; ſo that in many Places the choice began among the People; and in all Places it was done by their approbation and good liking. But great diſorders followed upon this, as ſoon as by the Emperors turning Chriſtians, the Wealth of Church-benefices made the Paſtoral Charge more deſirable: and the vaſt numbers of thoſe who turned Chriſtians with the Tide, brought in great Multitudes to have their Votes in theſe Elections. The inconvenience of this was felt

1547. early in *Phrygia*, where the Council of *Laodicea* made a Canon againſt theſe Popular Elections. Yet in other parts of *Aſia*, and at *Rome*, there were great and often Conteſts about it. In ſome of theſe many Men were killed. In many Places the inferior Clergy choſe their Biſhops. But in moſt Places the Biſhops of the Province made the choice, yet ſo as to obtain the conſent of the Clergy and People. The Emperors by their Laws made it neceſſary that it ſhould be confirmed by the Metropolitans: They reſerved the Elections of the great Sees to themſelves, or at leaſt the Confirmation of them. Thus it continued till *Charles* the Great's time. But then the nature of Church-employments came to be much altered. For though the Church had Predial Lands with the other Rights that belonged to them by the *Roman* Law, yet he firſt gave Biſhops and Abbots great Territories, with ſome branches of Royal Juriſdiction in them, who held theſe Lands of him, according to the Fewdal Laws. This, as it carried Church-men off from the humility and abſtraction from the World which became their Function, ſo it ſubjected them much to the Humours and Intereſts of thoſe Princes on whom they had their dependance. The Popes, who had made themſelves Heads of the Hierarchy, could not but be glad to ſee Church-men grow rich and powerful in the World; but they were not ſo well pleaſed to ſee them made ſo much the more dependent on their Princes: and no doubt by ſome of thoſe Princes that were thus become Patrons of Churches, the Biſhopricks were either given for Money, or charged with reſerved Penſions. Upon this the Popes filled the World with the complaints of Simony, and of enſlaving Church-men to court Intereſts; and ſo would not ſuffer them to accept of Inveſtitures from their Princes; but ſet up for free Elections, as they called them, which they ſaid were to be confirmed by the See-Apoſtolick. So the Canons Secular or Regular in Cathedral Churches were to chooſe the Biſhops, and their Election was to be confirmed at *Rome*: yet Princes in moſt Places got ſome hold of thoſe Elections, ſo that ſtill they went as they had a mind they ſhould. Which was oft complained of as a great ſlavery on the Church; and would have been more univerſally condemned, if the World had not been convinced that the matter would not be much the better, if there ſhould have been ſet up either the Popular or Synodical Elections, in which Faction was like to ſway all. King *Henry* had continued the old way of the Elections by the Clergy, but ſo, as that it ſeemed to be little more than a mockery; but now it was thought a more ingenuous way of proceeding, to have the thing done directly by the King, rather than under the thin covert of an involuntary Election.

For the other Branch about Eccleſiaſtical Courts, The Cauſes before them concerning Wills and Marriages, being matters of a mixed nature, and which only belong to theſe by the Laws of the Land, and being no parts of the Sacred Functions; it was thought no Invaſion of the Sacred Offices to have theſe tried in the Kings Name. But the Collation of Benefices, and giving of Orders, which are the chief parts of the Epiſcopal Function, were to be performed ſtill by the Biſhops in their own Names. Only Excommunication, by a fatal neglect, continued to be the puniſhment for contempts of theſe Courts; which belonging only to the Spiritual Cogniſance, ought to have been reſerved for the Biſhop with the aſſiſtance of his Clergy. But the Canoniſts had ſo confounded all

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the Ancient Rules about the Government of the Church, that the Reformers being called away by Conſiderations that were more obvious and preſſing, there was not that care taken in this that the thing required. And theſe errors or overſights in the firſt concoction have by a continuance grown ſince into ſo formed a ſtrength, that it is eaſier to ſee what is amiſs, than to know how to rectifie it. 1547.

On the 29*th.* of *November* the Bill againſt Vagabonds was brought in. By this it was Enacted, "That all that ſhould any where loiter without "work, or without offering themſelves to work, three days together; or "that ſhould run away from work, and reſolve to live idly, ſhould be ſeized "on, and whoſoever ſhould preſent them to a Juſtice of Peace, was to have "them adjudged to be his Slaves for two years; and they were to be mark-"ed with the Letter *V.* imprinted with a hot Iron on their Breaſt. A great many Proviſoes follow concerning Clerks ſo convict, which ſhew that this Act was chiefly levelled at the idle Monks and Friars, who went about the Country, and would betake themſelves to no employment; but finding the People apt to have compaſſion on them, they continued in that courſe of life. Which was of very ill conſequence to the State. For theſe Vagrants did every where alienate the Peoples Minds from the Government, and perſwaded them that things would never be well ſetled, till they were again reſtored to their Houſes. Some of theſe came often to *London*, on pretence of ſuing for their Penſions; but really to practiſe up and down through the Country: To prevent this, there was a Proclamation ſet out on the 18*th.* of *September*, requiring them to ſtay in the Places where they lived, and to ſend up a Certificate where they were, to the Court of *Augmentations*; who ſhould thereupon give order for their conſtant payment. Some thought this Law againſt Vagabonds was too ſevere, and contrary to that common liberty, of which the *Engliſh* Nation has been always very ſenſible, both in their own, and their Neighbours particulars. Yet it could not be denied but extream Diſeaſes required extream Remedies: and perhaps there is no puniſhment too ſevere for Perſons that are in health, and yet prefer a loitering courſe of life to an honeſt employment. There followed in the Act many excellent Rules for providing for the truly poor and indigent in the ſeveral Places where they were born, and had their abode. Of which this can only be ſaid, That as no Nation has laid down more effectual Rules for the ſupplying the Poor, than *England*, ſo that indeed none can be in abſolute want; ſo the neglect of theſe Laws is a juſt and great reproach on thoſe who are charged with the execution of them, when ſuch numbers of poor Vagabonds ſwarm every where without the due reſtraints that the Laws have appointed. An Act againſt Vagabonds.

On the 6*th.* of *December* the Bill for giving the Chantries to the King was brought into the Houſe of Lords. It was read the ſecond time on the 12*th*, the third time on the 13*th*, and the fourth time on the 14*th.* of that Month. It was much oppoſed, both by *Cranmer* on the one hand, and the Popiſh Biſhops on the other. The late Kings Executors ſaw they could not pay his Debts, nor ſatisfie themſelves in their own pretenſions formerly mentioned, out of the Kings Revenue; and ſo intended to have theſe to be divided among them. *Cranmer* oppoſed it long. For the Clergy being much empoveriſhed by the Sale of the impropriated Tithes, that ought in all reaſon to have return'd into the Church, but upon An Act giving the Chantries to the King.

1547. upon the diſſolution of the Abbies were all ſold among the Laity; he ſaw no probable way remaining for their ſupply, but to ſave theſe Endowments till the King were of Age, being confident he was ſo piouſly diſpoſed, that they ſhould eaſily perſwade him to convert them all to the bettering of the Condition of the poor Clergy that were now brought into extream miſery. And therefore he was for reforming and preſerving theſe Foundations, till the Kings full Age. The Popiſh Biſhops liked theſe Endowments ſo well, that upon far different Motives, they were for continuing them in the ſtate they were in. But thoſe who were to gain by it were ſo many that the Act paſſed; the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, *Ely*, *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*, diſſenting. So it being ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, was there much oppoſed by ſome Burgeſſes; who repreſented that the Boroughs, for which they ſerved, could not maintain their Churches, and other publick Works of the Guilds and Fraternities, if the Rents belonging to them were given to the King, for theſe were likewiſe in the Act. This was chiefly done by the Burgeſſes of *Linn*, and *Coventry*; who were ſo active, that the whole Houſe was much ſet againſt that part of the Bill for the Guild-Lands. Therefore thoſe who managed that Houſe for the Court, took theſe off by an aſſurance that their Guild-Lands ſhould be reſtored to them. And ſo they deſiſted from their oppoſition, and the Bill paſſed on the promiſe given to them, which was afterwards made good by the Protector. In the Preamble of the Act it is ſet forth, "That the great ſuperſtition of Chriſtians, riſing out of "their ignorance of the true way of Salvation by the death of Chriſt, "in ſtead of which they had ſet up the vain conceits of Purgatory, and "Maſſes ſatisfactory, was much ſupported by Trentals and Chantries. "And ſince the converting theſe to godly uſes, ſuch as the endowing of "Schools, Proviſions for the Poor, and the augmenting of Places in the "Univerſities, could not be done by Parliament; they therefore com-"mitted it to the care of the King. And then reciting the Act made in "the 37*th.* year of his Fathers Reign, they give the King all ſuch Chan-"tries, Colledges, and Chappels, as were not poſſeſſed by the late King, "and all that had been in being any time theſe five years laſt paſt: as "alſo all Revenues belonging to any Church, for Anniverſaries, Obits, "and Lights; together with all Guild-Lands, which any Fraternity of "Men enjoyed, for Obits, or the like: and appoint theſe to be convert-"ed to the maintenance of Grammar-Schools, or Preachers, and for the "encreaſe of Vicarages. After this followed the Act giving the King the Cuſtoms known by the Name of Tonnage and Poundage, beſides ſome other Laws, of Matters that are not needful to be remembred in this Hiſtory. Laſt of all came the Kings general Pardon; with the common Exceptions, among which, one was of theſe who were then Priſoners in the Tower of *London*, in which the Duke of *Norfolk* was included. So all buſineſs being ended, the Parliament was Prorogued from the 24*th.* of *December* to the 20*th.* of *April* following.

Acts that were propoſed but not carried.

But having given this account of theſe Bills that were paſſed, I ſhall not eſteem it an unfruitful piece of Hiſtory to ſhew what other Bills were deſigned. There were put into the Houſe of Lords, two Bills that were ſtifled. The one was, for the uſe of the Scriptures, which came not to a ſecond reading. The other was a Bill for erecting a new Court of *Chancery*

Chancery for Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Cauſes, which was committed to ſome Biſhops and Temporal Lords, but never more mentioned. The Commons ſent up alſo ſome Bills, which the Lords did not agree to. One was about Benefices with Cure, and Reſidence. It was committed, but never reported. Another was for the Reformation of divers Laws, and of the Courts of Common-Law; and a third was, that married Men might be Prieſts, and have Benefices. To this the Commons did ſo readily agree, that it being put in on the 19*th.* of *December*, and read then for the firſt time, it was read twice the next day, and ſent up to the Lords on the 21*ſt.* But being read there once, it was like to have raiſed ſuch debates, that, it being reſolved to end the Seſſion before *Chriſtmas*, the Lords laid it aſide. 1547.

The Convocation meets.

But while the Parliament was ſitting, they were not idle in the Convocation; though the Popiſh Party was yet ſo prevalent in both Houſes, that *Cranmer* had no hopes of doing any thing, till they were freed of the trouble which ſome of the great Biſhops gave them. The moſt important thing they did, was the carrying up four Petitions to the Biſhops, which will be found in the *Collection*. 1. That according to the Statute made in the Reign of the late King there might be Perſons empow'red for reforming the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. The ſecond, That according to the ancient Cuſtom of the Nation, and the Tenor of the Biſhops Writ to the Parliament, the inferior Clergy might be admitted again to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, or that no Acts concerning matters of Religion might paſs without the ſight and aſſent of the Clergy. The third, That ſince divers Prelates, and other Divines, had been in the late Kings time appointed to alter the Service of the Church; and had made ſome progreſs in it, that this might be brought to its full perfection. The fourth, That ſome conſideration might be had for the maintenance of the Clergy, the firſt year they came into their Livings, in which they were charged with the Firſt-fruits; to which they added, a deſire to know whether they might ſafely ſpeak their minds about Religion, without the danger of any Law. For the firſt of theſe four Petitions, an account of it ſhall be given hereafter. As to the ſecond it was a thing of great conſequence, and deſerves to be farther conſidered in this place.

The lower Houſe made ſome Petitions Number 16.

The Inferior Clergy deſire to be admitted to have Repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons.

Anciently, all the free Men of *England*, or at leaſt thoſe that held of the Crown *in chief*, came to Parliament; and then the Inferior Clergy had Writs as well as the Superior, and the firſt of the three Eſtates of the Kingdom were the Biſhops, the other Prelates and the Inferior Clergy. But when the Parliament was divided into two Houſes, then the Clergy made likewiſe a Body of their own, and ſate in Convocation, which was the third Eſtate. But the Biſhops having a double capacity, the one of Eccleſiaſtical Prelature, the other of being the Kings Barons, they had a Right to ſit with the Lords as a part of their Eſtate, as well as in the Convocation. And though by parity of reaſon it might ſeem that the reſt of the Clergy, being Freeholders as well as Clarks, had an equal Right to chooſe, or be choſen, into the Houſe of Commons; yet whether they were ever in poſſeſſion of it, or whether according to the Clauſe *Premonentes* in the Biſhops Writ, they were ever a part of the Houſe of Commons, is a juſt doubt. For beſides this aſſertion in the Petition that was mentioned, and a more large one in the ſecond Petition, which they preſented to the ſame purpoſe, which is likewiſe in the *Collection*, I have never

Number 17.

1547. never met with any good reason to satisfie me in it. There was a general Tradition in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, that the Inferior Clergy departed from their Right of being in the House of Commons; when they were all brought into the *Præmunire* upon Cardinal *Wolsey*'s Legatine Power, and made their submission to the King. But that is not credible: for as there is no footstep of it, which in a time of so much writing and printing must have remained, if so great a change had been then made; so it cannot be thought, that those who made this Address but 17 years after that Submission, (many being alive in this, who were of that Convocation, *Polidore Virgil* in particular, a curious observer since he was maintained here to write the History of *England*) none of them should have remembred a thing that was so fresh, but have appealed to Writs and ancient Practices. But though this design of bringing the Inferior Clergy into the House of Commons did not take at this time, yet it was again set on foot, in the end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, and Reasons were offered to perswade her to set it forward. Which not being then successful, these same Reasons were again offered to King *James*, to induce him to endeavour it. The Paper that discovers this was communicated to me by Dr. *Borlace* the Worthy Author of the History of the *Irish* Rebellion. It is corrected in many places by the Hand of Bishop *Ravis*, then Bishop of *London*, a Man of great Worth. This, for the affinity of the matter, and the curiosity of the thing, I have put into
Number 18. the *Collection*, with a large Marginal Note, as it was designed to be transcribed for King *James*. But whether this Matter was ever much considered, or lightly laid aside, as a thing unfit and unpracticable, does not appear; certain it is, that it came to nothing. Upon the whole matter it is not certain what was the Power or Right of these Proctors of the Clergy in former times: Some are of opinion, that they were only assi-
Coke 4. Inst. 3, 4 stants to the Bishops, but had no Voice in either House of Parliament. This is much confirmed by an Act pass'd in the Parliament of *Ireland*, in the 28*th*. Year of the former Reign, which sets forth in the Preamble, "That though the Proctors of the Clergy were always summoned to "Parliament, yet they were no part of it; nor had they any right to "Vote in it, but were only Assistants in case Matters of Controversie or "Learning came before them, as the Convocation was in *England*, "which had been determined by the Judges of *England* after much en-"quiry made about it. But the Proctors were then pretending to so "high an Authority, that nothing could pass without their consents; "and it was presumed they were set on to it by the Bishops, whose "Chaplains they were for the most part. Therefore they were by that "Act declared to have no right to Vote.

From this some infer, they were no other in *England*, and that they were only the Bishops Assistants and Council. But as the Clause *Premunientes* in the Writ, seems to make them a part of the Parliament; so these Petitions suppose that they sate in the House of Commons anciently, where it cannot be imagined they could sit, if they came only to be Assistants to the Bishops, for then they must have sate in the House of Lords rather; as the Judges, the Masters of *Chancery*, and the King's Council do. Nor is it reasonable to think they had no Voice: for then their sitting in Parliament had been so insignificant a thing, that it is not likely they would have used such endeavours to be restored to it since

their

their coming to Parliament, upon such an account must have been only a charge to them. 1547.

There is against this Opinion an Objection of great force from the Acts pass'd in the 21*st.* Year of *Richard* the second's Reign. In the second Act of that Parliament it is said. "That it was first prayed by the "Commons, and that the Lords Spiritual, and the Proctors of the Cler- "gy, did assent to it, upon which the King, by the assent of all the "Lords and Commons, did enact it. The 12*th.* Act of that Parliament was a Repeal of the whole Parliament that was held in the 11*th.* Year of that Reign; and concerning it, it is expressed, "That the Lords Spiri- "tual and Temporal, the Proctors of the Clergy, and the Commons, "being severally examined, did all agree to it. From hence it appears, that these Proctors were then not only a part of the Parliament, but were a distinct Body of Men that did severally from all the rest deliver their Opinions. It may seem strange, that if they were then considered as a part of either House of Parliament, this should be the only time in which they should be mentioned as bearing their share in the Legislative Power. In a matter that is so perplexed and dark, I shall presume to offer a Conjecture which will not appear perhaps improbable. In the 129*th.* Page of the former part, I gave the Reasons that made me think the lower House of Convocation consisted at first only of the Proctors of the Clergy. So that by the Proctors of the Clergy, both in the Statute of *Ireland*, and in those made by *Richard* the second, is perhaps to be understood, the lower House of Convocation: and it is not unreasonable to think, that upon so great an occasion as the annulling a whole Parliament, to make it pass the better, in an Age in which the People payed so blind a Submission to the Clergy, the concurrence of the whole Representative of the Church might have been thought necessary. It is generally believed, that the whole Parliament sate together in one House before *Edward* the thirds time, and then the inferior Clergy were a part of that Body without question. But when the Lords and Commons sate a-part, the Clergy likewise sate in two Houses, and granted Subsidies as well as the Temporalty. It may pass for no unlikely conjecture that the Clause *Premonentes* was first put in the Bishops Writ for the summoning of the lower House of Convocation, consisting of these Proctors, and afterwards, though there was a special Writ for the Convocation, yet this might at first have been continued in the Bishops Writ by the neglect of a Clerk, and from thence be still used. So that it seems to me most probable, that the Proctors of the Clergy were both in *England* and *Ireland* the lower House of Convocation. Now before the Submission which the Clergy made to King *Henry*, as the Convocation gave the King great Subsidies, so the whole business of Religion lay within their Sphere. But after the Submission they were cut off from meddling with it, except as they were authorized by the King. So that having now so little Power left them, it is no wonder they desired to be put in the state they had been in before the Convocation was separated from the Parliament: or at least that matters of Religion should not be determined till they had been consulted, and had reported their Opinions and Reasons. The extreme of raising the Ecclesiastical Power too high in the Times of Popery, had now produced another of depressing it too much. For seldom is the Counterpoise

1547. so justly ballanced, that Extremes are reduced to a well-tempered Mediocrity.

For the third Petition, it was resolved that many Bishops and Divines should be sent to *Windsor* to labour in the Matter of the Church Service. But that required so much consideration, that they could not enter on it during a Session of Parliament. And for the fourth, what Answer was given to it doth not appear

On the 29*th* of *November* a Declaration was sent down from the Bishops concerning the Sacraments being to be received in both kinds. To which, *Jo. Tyler* the *Prolocutor*, and several others set their Hands; and being again brought before them, it was agreed to by all without a contradictory Vote: 64 being present, among whom I find *Polidore Virgil* was one. And on the 17*th* of *December* the Proposition concerning the Marriage of the Clergy was also sent to them, and subscribed, by 35 affirmatively, and by 14 negatively: so it was ordered, that a Bill should be drawn concerning it. I shall not here digress to give an account of what was alledged for, or against this, reserving that to its proper place, when the thing was finally setled.

And this is all the account I could recover of this Convocation. I have chiefly gathered it from some Notes, and other Papers, of the then Dr. *Parker*, (afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) which are carefully preserved with his other *MSS.* in *Corpus Christi Colledge* Library, at *Cambridge*. To which Library I had free access by the favour of the most learned Master Dr. *Spencer*, with the other Worthy Fellows of that House: and from thence I collected many remarkable things in this History.

The Parliament being brought to so good a Conclusion, the Protector took out a new Commission, in which all the Addition that is made to that Authority he formerly had, is, that in his absence he is impow'red to substitute another to whom he might delegate his Power.

The state of Affairs in *Germany*.

And thus this Year ended in *England*, but as they were carrying on the Reformation here, it was declining apace in *Germany*. The Duke of *Saxe* and the Landgrave were this Year to command their Armies apart. The Duke of *Saxe* kept within his own Country, but having there unfortunately divided his Forces, the Emperor overtook him near the *Alb* at *Mulberg*; where the Emperors Soldiers crossing the River, and pursuing him with great fury, after some resistance, in which he himself performed all that could be expected from so great a Captain, was taken Prisoner, and his Country all possessed by *Maurice*, who was now to be invested with the Electoral Dignity. He bore his misfortunes with a greatness and equality of mind that is scarce to be parrallel'd in History. Neither could the insolence with which the Emperor treated him, nor the fears of death to which he adjudged him, nor that tedious imprisonment which he suffered so long, ever shake or disorder a Mind that was raised so far above the inconstancies of Humane Affairs. And though he was forced to submit to the hardest Conditions possible, of renouncing his Dignity and Dominions, some few Places being only reserved for his Family; yet no Entreaties nor Fears could ever bring him to yield any thing in Matters of Religion. He made the Bible his chief Companion and comfort in his sharp Afflictions; which he bore so, as

1547. *Apr* 24. Duke of *Saxe* taken.

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he had been raiſed up to that end, to let the World ſee how much he was above it. It ſeemed unimitable; and therefore engaged *Thuanus*, with the other excellent Writers of that Age, to ſet it out with all the advantages that ſo unuſual a temper of mind deſerved. Yet had thoſe Writers lived in our Age, and ſeen a great King, not overpow'red by a Superior Prince, but by the meaneſt of his own People, and treated with equal degrees of malice and ſcorn, and at laſt put to death openly, with the Pageantry of Juſtice; and bearing all this with ſuch invincible Patience, Heroical Courage, and moſt Chriſtian Submiſſion to God, they had yet found a nobler Subject for their eloquent Pens: but he ſaved the World the labour of giving a juſt Repreſentation of his behaviour in his Sufferings, having left his own Portraiture drawn by himſelf in ſuch lively and laſting Colours. 1547.

The Landgrave of *Heſſe* ſaw he could not long withſtand the Emperors Army, now ſo lifted up with ſucceſs; and therefore was willing to ſubmit to him on the beſt terms that his Sons-in-law the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and *Maurice* of *Saxe*, could obtain for him. Which were very hard, only he was to enjoy his Liberty, without any Impriſonment, and to preſerve his Dominions. But the Emperors Miniſters dealt moſt unfaithfully with him in this: For in the *German* Language there was but one Letters difference, and that only inverted, between perpetual Impriſonment and any Impriſonment, (*Ewig* for *Emig*) ſo by this baſe Artifice, he was, when he came and ſubmitted to the Emperor, detained a Priſoner. He had not the Duke of *Saxes* temper, but was out of meaſure impatient, and did exclaim of his ill uſage: but there was no remedy, for the Emperor was now abſolute. All the Towns of *Germany*, *Magdeburg* and *Breme* only excepted, ſubmitted to him, and redeemed his favour by great Sums of Money, and many Pieces of Ordnance. And the *Bohemians* were alſo forced to implore his Brothers mercy, who before he would receive them into his Hands, got his Revenue to be raiſed vaſtly. And now the Empire was wholly at the Emperors mercy. Nothing could withſtand him who had in one year turned out two Electors. For *Herman* Biſhop of *Colen*, as he was before condemned by the Pope, ſo was alſo degraded from that Dignity by the Emperor; and *Adolph*, whom he had procured to be made his *Coadjutor*, was declared Elector. Many of his Subjects and Neighbour Princes offered their Service, if he would ſtand to his own defence; but he was very old, and of ſo meek a temper, that he would ſuffer no Blood to be ſhed on his account; and therefore withdrew peaceably to a retirement in which he lived four years till his death. His Brother that was Biſhop of *Munſter* and Dean of *Bonne*, who had gone along with him in his Reformation, was alſo turned out; and *Gropper* was made Dean, who was eſteemed one of the learneſt and beſt Men of the Clergy at this time. He is ſaid to have expreſſed a generous contempt of the higheſt Dignity the See of *Rome* could beſtow on him, for he refuſed a Cardinals Hat when it was offered him: yet in this matter he had not behaved himſelf as became ſo good a Man, and ſo Learned a Divine. For he had conſented to the Changes had been made, and was in a correſpondence with *Martin Bucer*, whom *Herman* brought to *Colen*: (as will appear by an excellent Letter of *Bucers* to him, which will be found in the *Collection* concerning that matter) by which it is plain he went along with them from the beginning. But it

1546. *Apr.* 16. *Herman* excommunicated at *Rome*.

Nov. 4. *Herman* reſigned.

Number 19.

1547. seems he did it covertly and fearfully, and was afterwards drawn off, either by the love of the World, or the fears of the Cross; of which it appears *Bucer* had then some apprehensions, though he expressed them very modestly, *Groppers* Memory being in such high esteem, and this Letter being found among *Bucers* Papers, I thought the publishing of it would not be unacceptable, though it be of a Forreign Matter.

Germany being thus under the Power and Dread of the Emperor, a *Diet* was summoned to *Ausburg*: Where the chief Church was taken from the Protestants, and put into the Cardinal of *Ausburg*'s Hands, to have the Mass set up again in it, though the Town was so much Protestant that they could find none that would come to it, but some poor People who were hired. The Emperor, among other Propositions he put in to the *Diet*, pressed this, That all differences in Religion, which had so distracted *Germany*, might be removed. The Ecclesiastical Princes answered, That the only way to effect that, was to submit to the General Council that was at *Trent*: Those that were for the *Ausburg* Confession, said, they could submit to no Council where the Pope Presided, and where the Bishops were sworn to obey him; but would submit to it, if that Oath was dispensed with, and their Divines admitted to defend their Opinions, and all the Decrees that had been made were again considered. In this difference of Opinion, the Emperor thought that if the whole matter should be left to his discretion, to which all should be bound to submit, he would then be able to determine it as he pleased. So he dealt privately with the Electors *Palatine*, and *Saxe*; and as they published it afterwards, gave them secret assurances about the freedom of their Religion, and that he only desired this to put him in a capacity of dealing on other terms with the Pope. Upon which, they consented to a Decree referring the Matter of Religion wholly to his care. But the Deputies from the Cities, who looked on this as a giving up of their Religion, could not be wrought to do it, without Conditions, which they put into another Writing, as explanatory of the Submission: But the Emperor took no notice of that, and only thanked them for their confidence in him, and so the Decree was published. All this was in some sort necessary for the Emperor, who was then in very ill terms with the Pope about the business of *Placenzia*. For the Popes Natural Son *Petrus Aloisius* being killed by a Conspiracy, the Governour of *Millain* had seized on *Placenzia*, which made the Pope believe the Emperour was accessary to it: for which the Reader is referred to the *Italian* Historians. The Pope saw the Emperor in one Summer delivered of a War, which he had hoped would have entangled him his whole life; and though in decency he could not but seem to rejoyce, and did so no doubt, at the ruine of those whom he called Hereticks, yet he was not a little grieved to see the Emperor so much exalted.

1547. *Sept.* 10. *Petrus Aloisius* killed.

The Proceedings at *Trent*. At *Trent* the Legates had been oft threatned and affronted by the Emperors Ambassadors and Bishops, who were much set on reforming abuses, and lessening the Power of the *See* of *Rome*. So they had a mind to break up the Council; but that would have been so scandalous a thing, and so resented by the Emperor, that they resolved rather on a Translation into some Town of the Popes, to which it was not likely the Imperialists would follow them, and so at least the Council would be suspended, if not dissolved. For this Remove, they laid hold on the first co-

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lour they could find. One dying of a malignant Feaver, it was given out and certified by Phyſicians, that he died of the Plague; ſo in all haſt they tranſlated the Council to *Bologna*. The Imperialiſts proteſted againſt it; but in vain, for thither they went. The Emperor was hereby quite diſappointed of his chief deſign, which was to force the *Germans* to ſubmit to a Council held in *Germany*: and therefore no Plague appearing at *Trent*, he preſſed the return of the Council thither. But the Pope ſaid, it was the Councils act, and not his; and that their Honour was to be kept up; that therefore ſuch as ſtayed at *Trent* were to go firſt to *Bologna*, and acknowledge the Council, and they ſhould then conſider what was to be done. So that now all the hope the *Germans* had, was, that this difference between the Pope and Emperor might give them ſome breathing; and time might bring them out of theſe extremities into which they were then driven. Upon theſe diſorders the Forreign Reformers, who generally made *Germany* their Sanctuary were now forced to ſeek it elſewhere. So *Peter Martyr*, in the end of *November* this Year, was brought over to *England*, by the Invitation which the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſent him in the Kings Name. He was born in *Florence*, where he had been an *Auguſtinian*-Monk. He was learned in the *Greek*, and the *Hebrew*, which drew on him the envy of the reſt of his Order, whoſe Manners he inveighed oft againſt. So he left them, and went to *Naples*, where he gathered an Aſſembly of thoſe who loved to Worſhip God more purely. This being made known, he was forced to leave that Place, and went next to *Lucca*, where he lived in ſociety with *Tremellius* and *Zanchius*. But being alſo in danger there, he went to *Zurick* with *Bernardinus Ochinus*, that had been one of the moſt celebrated Preachers of *Italy*, and now forſook his former Superſtitions. From *Zurick* he went to *Baſil*; and from thence by *Martin Bucers* means he was brought to *Strasburg*; where *Cranmers* Letters found both him and *Ochinus*. The Letter was made a Canon of *Canterbury*, with a Diſpenſation of Reſidence; and by other Letters Patents 40 Marks were given yearly to him, and as much to *Peter Martyr*.

1547.

Apr. 21. The firſt Seſſion of *Bologna*

There had been this Year ſome differences between the *Engliſh* and *French* concerning the Fortifications about *Bulloigne*. The *Engliſh* were raiſing a great Fort by the Harbour there. This being ſignified to King *Henry* by *Gaſpar Coligny*, afterwards the famous Admiral of *France*, then Governour of the neighbouring Parts to *Bulloigne*; it was complained of at the Court of *England*, It was anſwered, That this was only to make the Harbour more ſecure, and ſo the Works were ordered to be vigorouſly carried on. But this could not ſatisfie the *French*, who plainly ſaw it was of another ſort than to be intended only for the Sea. The King of *France* came and viewed the Country himſelf, and ordered *Coligny* to raiſe a Fort on a high Ground near it, which was called the *Chaſtilion* Fort, and commanded both the *Engliſh* Fort and the Harbour. But the Protector had no mind to give the *French* a colour for breaking with the *Engliſh*; ſo there was a Truce and further Ceſſation agreed on, in the end of *September*. Theſe are all the conſiderable Forreign Tranſactions of this Year, in which *England* was concerned. But there was a ſecret contrivance laid at home of a high nature, which though it broke not out till the next Year, yet the beginnings of it did now appear.

The *French* quarrel about *Bulloigne*.

The

1547. The Breach between the Protector and the Admiral.

The Protectors Brother, *Thomas Seimour*, was brought to ſuch a ſhare in his Fortunes, that he was made a Baron, and Lord Admiral. But this not ſatisfying his ambition, he endeavoured to have linked himſelf into a nearer relation with the Crown, by marrying the Kings Siſter the Lady *Elizabeth*. But finding he could not compaſs that, he made his Addreſſes to the Queen Dowager. Who enjoying now the Honour and Wealth the late King had left her, reſolved to ſatisfy her ſelf in her next Choice; and entertained him a little too early, for they were married ſo ſoon after the Kings death, that it was charged afterwards on the Admiral, that if ſhe had brought a Child as ſoon as might have been after the Marriage, it had given cauſe to doubt whether it had not been by the late King: which might have raiſed great diſturbance afterwards. But being thus married to the Queen, he concealed it for ſome time, till he procured a Letter from the King, recommending him to her for a Huſband: upon which they declared their Marriage, with which the Protector was much offended. Being thus poſſeſſed of great Wealth, and being Husband to the Queen Dowager, he ſtudied to engage all that were about the King to be his Friends: and he corrupted ſome of them by his Preſents, and forced one on Sir *John Cheek*. That which he deſigned, was, That whereas in former times, the Infant Kings of *England* had had Governours of their Perſons, diſtinct from the Protectors of their Realms; which Truſts were divided between their Unkles; it being judged too much to joyn both in one Perſon, who was thereby too great, whereas a Governour of the Kings Perſon might be a check on the Protector; he would therefore himſelf be made Governour of the Kings Perſon, alledging, that ſince he was the Kings Unkle as well as his Brother, he ought to have a proportioned ſhare with him in the Government. About *Eaſter* this Year he firſt ſet about this deſign; and corrupted ſome about the King who ſhould bring him ſometimes privately through the Gallery to the Queens Lodgings, and he deſired they would let him know when the King had occaſion for Money, and that they ſhould not always trouble the Treaſury, for he would be ready to furniſh him, and he thought a young Knight might be taken with this. So it happened that the firſt time *Latimer* preached at Court, the King ſent to him to know what Preſent he ſhould make him: *Seimour* ſent him 40 *l.* but ſaid, he thought 20 enough to give *Latimer*, and the King might diſpoſe of the reſt as he pleaſed. Thus he gained ground with the King, whoſe ſweet nature expoſed him to be eaſily won by ſuch Artifices.

It is generally ſaid, that all this difference between the Brothers was begun by their Wives, and that the Protectors Lady, being offended that the younger Brothers Wife had the precedence of her, which ſhe thought belonged to her ſelf, did thereupon raiſe and inflame the differences. But in all the Letters that I have ſeen concerning this Breach, I could never find any ſuch thing once mentioned. Nor is it reaſonable to imagine that the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* ſhould be ſo fooliſh as to think that ſhe ought to have the precedence of the Queen Dowager. Therefore I look upon this Story as a meer Fiction, though it is probable enough there might upon ſome other accounts have been ſome Animoſities between the two high-ſpirited Ladies, which might have afterwards be thought to have occaſioned their Husbands quarrel.

It

It is plain in the whole thread of this Affair, that the Protector was at first very easie to be reconciled to his Brother; and was only assaulted by him; but bore the trouble he gave him with much patience for a great while, though in the end, seeing his factious temper was incurable, he laid off Nature too much, when he consented to his Execution. Yet all along till then, he had rather too much encouraged his Brother to go on, by his readiness to be after every breach reconciled to him. When the Protector was in *Scotland*, the Admiral then began to act more avowedly, and was making a party for himself; of which *Paget* took notice, and charged him with it in plain terms. He asked him, why he would go about to reverse that, which himself and others had consented to under their Hands? Their Family was now so great, that nothing but their mutual quarrelling could do them any prejudice: But there would not be wanting officious Men to inflame them, if they once divided among themselves; and the Breaches among near Friends commonly turn to the most irreconcileable Quarrels. Yet all was ineffectual; for the Admiral was resolved to go on, and either get himself advanced higher, or to perish in the Attempt. It was the knowledge of this which forced the Protector to return from *Scotland* so abruptly and disadvantagiously, for the securing of his Interest with the King on whom his Brothers Artifices had made some impression. Whether there was any reconciliation made between them before the Parliament met, is not certain. But during the Session, the Admiral got the King to write with his own Hand a Message to the House of Commons, for the making of him the Governour of his Person; and he intended to have gone with it to the House, and had a Party there, by whose means he was confident to have carried his business. He dealt also with many of the Lords and Counsellors to assist him in it. When this was known, before he had gone with it to the House, some were sent to him in his Brothers Name to see if they could prevail with him to proceed no further. He refused to hearken to them; and said, That if he were cross'd in his attempt, he would make this the blackest Parliament that ever was in *England*. Upon that, he was sent for by Order from the Council, but refused to come. Then they threatned him severely, and told him the Kings Writing was nothing in Law, but that he who had procured it, was punishable for doing an Act of such a nature, to the disturbance of the Government, and for engaging the young King in it. So they resolved to have sent him to the Tower, and to have turned him out of all his Offices. But he submitted himself to the Protector and Council: and his Brother and he seemed to be perfectly reconciled. Yet as the Protector had reason to have a watchful Eye over him, so it was too soon visible that he had not laid down, but only put off his high Projects, till a fitter conjuncture. For he began the next *Christmas* to deal Money again among the Kings Servants, and was on all occasions infusing into the King a dislike of every thing that was done, and did often perswade him to assume the Government himself. But the sequel of this Quarrel proved fatal to him, as shall be told in its proper place. And thus ended the Year 1547. 1547.

On the 8*th* of *Jan.* next year, *Gardiner* was brought before the Council; where it was told him, that his former Offences being included in the Kings general Pardon, he was thereupon discharged; a grave admonition was given 1548. *Jan.* 8.

1548. given him to carry himself reverently and obediently, and he was desired to declare whether he would receive the *Injunctions* and *Homilies*, and the Doctrine to be set forth from time to time by the King and Clergy of the Realm. He answered, he would conform himself as the other Bishops did, and only excepted to the *Homily* of *Justification*, and desired four or five dayes to consider of it. What he did at the end of that time does not appear from the Council-Book, no farther mention being made of this matter; for the Clerks of Council did not then enter every thing with that exactness that is since used. He went home to his Diocess, where there still appeared in his whole behaviour great malignity to *Cranmer*, and to all motions for Reformation; yet he gave such outward compliance, that it was not easie to find any advantage against him, especially now since the Councils great Power was so much abridged.

The Marquess of *Northampton* sues a Divorce for Adultery.

In the end of *Jan.* the Council made an Order concerning the Marquess of *Northampton*, which will oblige me to look back a little for the clear account of it. This Lord, who was Brother to the Queen Dowager, had married *Anne Bourchier*, Daughter to the Earl of *Essex*, the last of that Name. But she being convicted of Adultery, he was divorced from her; which according to the Law of the Ecclesiastical Courts was only a separation from Bed and Board. Upon which Divorce, it was proposed in King *Henry*'s time to consider what might be done in favour of the Innocent Person, when the other was convicted of Adultery. So in the beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign, on the *7th.* of *May*, a Commission was granted to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Duresme* and *Rochester*, (this was *Holbeack*, who was not then translated to *Lincoln*) to Dr. *Ridley*, and six more, ten in all, of whom six were a *Quorum*, to try whether the Lady *Anne* was not by the Word of God so lawfully divorced, that she was no more his Wife, and whether thereupon he might not marry another Wife. This being a new Case, and of great importance, *Cranmer* resolved to examine it with his ordinary diligence, and searched into the Opinions of the Fathers and Doctors, so copiously, that his *Collections* about it grew into a large Book, (the Original whereof I have perused;) the greatest part of it being either written, or marked, and interlined, with his own Hand. This required a longer time, than the Marquess of *Northampton* could stay; and therefore presuming on his great Power, without waiting for Judgment, he solemnly married *Eliz.* Daughter to *Brooke* Lord *Cobham*. On the *28th* of *Jan.* Information was brought to the Council of this, which gave great scandal, since his first Marriage stood yet firm in Law. So he being put to answer for himself, said, he thought that by the Word of God he was discharged of his tye to his former Wife; and the making Marriages indissoluble was but a part of the Popish Law, by which it was reckoned a Sacrament; and yet the Popes, knowing that the World would not easily come under such a Yoke, had by the help of the *Canonists* invented such distinctions, that it was no uneasie thing to make a Marriage void among them: and that the condition of this Church was very hard, if upon Adulteries, the innocent must either live with the Guilty, or be exposed to temptations to the like sins, if a separation was only allowed, but the bond of the Marriage continued undissolved. But since he had proceeded so far before the Delegates had given sentence, it was Ordered, that he and his new Wife should be parted; and that

Ex MSS. D. Stillingfleet.

that ſhe ſhould be put into his Siſter the Queen Dowagers keeping, till the matter were tried, whether it was according to the Word of God, or not; and that then further order ſhould be given in it. Upon this the Delegates made haſte, and gathered their Arguments together, Of which I ſhall give an Abſtract, both for the clearing of this matter, (concerning which not many years ago there were great debates in Parliament) and alſo to ſhew the exactneſs of the Proceedings in that time. 1548.

Chriſt condemned all Marriages upon Divorces, *except in the Caſe of Adultery*; which ſeemed manifeſtly to allow them in that Caſe. And though this is not mentioned by St. *Mark*, and St. *Luke*, yet it is enough that St. *Matthew* has it. Chriſt alſo defined the ſtate of Marriage, to be that in which *two are one fleſh*; ſo that when either of the two hath broken that Union, by becoming one with another Perſon, then the Marriage is diſſolved. And it is oft repeated in the Goſpel, That married Perſons have *power over one anothers Bodies*, and that they are to give *due benevolence* to each other; which is plainly contrary to this way of ſeparation without diſſolving the Bond. St. *Paul* putting the caſe of an Unbeliever departing from the Partner in Marriage, ſays, *The Believing Party, whether Brother or Siſter, is not under Bondage* in ſuch a caſe: which ſeems a diſcharge of the Bond in caſe of Deſertion: and certainly Adultery is yet of a higher nature. But againſt this was alledged on the other ſide, That our Saviours allowing Divorce in the Caſe of Adultery was only for the *Jews*, to whom it was ſpoken, to mitigate the cruelty of their Law, by which the Adultereſs was to be put to death: and therefore he yielded Divorce in that Caſe, to mitigate the ſeverity of the other Law. But the Apoſtle writing to the *Gentile* Chriſtians, at *Rome*, and *Corinth*, ſaid, The Wife was *tied by the Law to the Husband, as long as he lived.* And that other general Rule, *Whom God has joyned together let no Man put aſunder*, ſeems againſt the diſſolving the Bond. To this it was anſwered, That it is againſt ſeparating as well as diſſolving: that the Wife is *tied to her Husband*; but if he ceaſeth to be her Husband, that tie is at an end: That our Saviour left the Wife at liberty to divorce her Husband for Adultery, though the Law of *Moſes* had only provided, That the Adulterous Wife, and he who defiled her, were to die, but the Husband who committed Adultery was not ſo puniſhable; therefore our Saviour had by that Proviſion declared the Marriage to be clearly diſſolved by Adultery.

The Grounds on which he was ſuffered to marry again.

From hence they went to examine the Authorities of the Fathers. *Hermes* was for putting away the Adultereſs, but ſo as to receive her again upon repentance. *Origen* thought the Wife could not marry again after divorce. *Tertullian* allowed Divorce, and though it diſſolved the Marriage as much as Death did. *Epiphanius* did alſo allow it. And *Ambroſe* in one Place allows the Husband to marry after divorce for Adultery, though he condemns it always in the Wife. *Baſil* allowed it on either ſide upon Adultery. *Jerome*, who condemns the Wife's marrying, though her Husband were guilty of Adultery; and who diſliked the Husbands marrying again, though he allowed him to divorce upon Adultery, or the ſuſpition of it; yet when his Friend *Fabiola* had married after a Divorce, he excuſes it, ſaying it was better for her to marry than to burn. *Chromatius* allowed of ſecond Marriages after Divorce.

1548. And so did *Chrysostome*, though he condemned them in Women so divorcing. St. *Austin* was sometimes for a Divorce, but against Marriage upon it; yet in his *Retractations*, he writ doubtfully of his former Opinion. In the *Civil* Law, the Christian Emperors allowed the power of Divorcing both to Husband and Wife, with the right of marrying afterwards. Nor did they restrain the Grounds of Divorce only to Adultery, but permitted it in many other Cases; as if the Wife were guilty of Treason, had treated for another Husband, had procured an Abortion, had been whole nights abroad, or had gone to see the publick Plays without leave from her Husband; besides many other Particulars. Against which, none of the *Fathers* had writ, nor endeavoured to get them repealed. All these Laws were confirmed by *Justinian*, when he gathered the Laws into a Body, and added to it where they were defective. In the *Canon* Law, it is provided, that he whose Wife is defiled must not be denied lawful Marriage. Pope *Gregory* denied a second Marriage to the guilty Person, but allowed it to the Innocent after Divorce. Pope *Zachary* allowed the Wife of an Incestuous Adulterer to be married, if she could not contain. In the *Canon* Law, the Council of *Tribury* is cited, for allowing the like Priviledge to the Husbands. By the Council of *Elvira*, a Man that finds that his Wife intends to kill him, may put her away, and marry another; but she must never marry. The Council of *Arles* recommended it to Husbands, whose Wives were found in Adultery, not to marry during their Lives. And that at *Elvira* denied the Sacrament, to a Wife who left an Adulterous Husband, and married another; but she might have the Communion when her first Husband died: So the second Marriage was accounted good, but only indecent. But the Council of *Milevi* forbids both Man and Wife to marry after Divorce. All these were collected by *Cranmer*, with several very important Reflections on most of the Quotations out of the Fathers. With these, there is another Paper, given in by one who was against the dissolving the Bond, in which there are many Quotations brought both from the Canon Law, and the Fathers, for the contrary Opinion. But most of the Fathers there cited are of the latter Ages; in which the state of Cœlibate had been so exalted by the Monks, that, in all doubtful Cases, they were resolved still to prefer that Opinion which denied Liberty for further Marriages. In conclusion, this whole Question was divided into eight Queries, which were put to some learned Men; (who these were does not appear) and they returned their Answer in favour of the second Marriage, which will be found in the *Collection*. In the end Sentence was given, allowing the second Marriage in that Case, and by consequence confirming the Marques of *Northampton*'s Marriage to his second Wife, who upon that was suffered to cohabit with him. Yet four years after, he was advised to have a special act of Parliament for confirming this Sentence; of which mention shall be made in its due time and Place.

Number 20.

Some further advance in the Reformation.

The next thing that came under consideration, was the great contradiction that was in most of the Sermons over *England*. Some were very earnest to justifie and maintain all the old Rites that yet remained; and others were no less hot to have them laid aside. So that in *London* especially, the People were wonderfully distracted by this variety among their Teachers. The Ceremonies of *Candlemass*, and their observance of

of *Lent*, with the Rites uſed on *Palm-Sunday*, *Good-Friday*, and *Eaſter*, were now approaching. Thoſe that were againſt them, condemned them as ſuperſtitious Additions to the Worſhip of God, invented in the dark Ages, when an outward Pageantry had been the chief thing that was looked after. But others ſet out the good uſe that might be made of theſe things, and taught that, till they were aboliſhed by the Kings Authority, they ought to be ſtill obſerved. In a Viſitation that had been made, (when I cannot learn, only it ſeems to have been about the end of King *Henry*'s Reign) it had been declared that Faſting in *Lent* was only a Poſitive Law. Several Directions were alſo given about the uſe of the Ceremonies, and ſome hints as if they were not to be long continued: and all Wakes, and Plough-Mondays, were ſuppreſſed, ſince they drew great Aſſenblies of People together, which ended in drinking and quarrelling. Theſe I have alſo inſerted in the *Collection*, having had a Copy of the Articles left at the Viſitation of the Deanary of *Doncaſter*, communicated to me by the favour of a moſt learned Phyſitian, and curious Antiquary, Dr. *Nathaniel Johnſton*, who ſent me this with ſeveral other Papers out of his generous zeal for contributing every thing in his power to the perfecting of this Work. 1548. Number 21.

The Country People generally loved all theſe Shews, Proceſſions, and Aſſemblies, as things of diverſion: and judged it a dull buſineſs, only to come to Church for Divine Worſhip, and the hearing of Sermons: therefore they were much delighted with the gayity and cheerfulneſs of thoſe Rites. But others, obſerving that they kept up all theſe things, juſt as the Heathens did their Plays and Feſtivities for their Gods, judged them contrary to the gravity and ſimplicity of the Chriſtian Religion, and therefore were earneſt to have them removed. This was ſo effectually repreſented to the Council, by *Cranmer*, that an Order was ſent to him about it. He ſent it to *Bonner*, who, being Dean of the Colledge of Biſhops in the Province of *Canterbury*, was to tranſmit, all ſuch Orders over the whole Province. By it, the carrying of Candles on *Candlemas* day, of Aſhes on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, and Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, were forbidden to be uſed any longer. And this was ſignified by *Bonner*, to *Thirleby* Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, on the 28*th*. of *June*, as appears by the Regiſter.

A Proclamation againſt thoſe who Innovated without Authority.

After this, on the 6*th*. of *February*, a Proclamation was iſſued out againſt ſuch as ſhould on the other hand raſhly innovate, or perſwade the People from the old accuſtomed Rites, under the Pains of Impriſonment, and other Puniſhments at the Kings pleaſure; excepting only the formerly mentioned Rites; to which are added, the creeping to the Croſs on *Good-Friday*, taking Holy Bread and Water, and any other that ſhould be afterwards at any time certified by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to the other Biſhops in the Kings Name to be laid aſide. And for preventing the miſchiefs occaſioned by raſh Preachers, none were to preach without Licence from the King or his Viſitors, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, where they lived; excepting only Incumbents preaching in their own Pariſhes. Thoſe who preached otherwiſe were to be impriſoned till Order were given for their puniſhment: and the inferiour Magiſtrates were required to ſee to the execution of theſe Orders. This Proclamation, which is in the *Collection*, was neceſſary for giving Authority to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*'s Number 22.

1548. Letters which were cenſured as a great preſumption for him without any publick Order to appoint changes in Sacred Rites. Some obſerved, that the Council went on making Proclamations with arbitrary Puniſhments, though the Act was repealed that had formerly given ſo great Authority to them. To this it was anſwered, That the King by his Supremacy might ſtill in matters of Religion make new Orders, and add Puniſhments upon the Tranſgreſſors; yet this was much queſtioned, though univerſally ſubmitted to.

The general taking away of all Images. Number 23.

On the 11*th.* of *Feb.* there was a Letter ſent from the Council to the Arch-biſhop for a more conſiderable Change. There were every where great Heats about the removing of Images which had been abuſed to ſuperſtition: Some affirming, and others denying, that their Images had been ſo abuſed. There were in the Churches ſome Images of ſo ſtrange a nature, that it could not be denied that they had been abuſed. Such was the Image of the Bleſſed Trinity, which was to be cenſed, on the day of the *Innocents*, by him that was made the Biſhop of the Children: This ſhews it was uſed on other days, in which it is like it was cenſed by the Biſhop where he was preſent. How this Image was made, can only be gathered from the Prints that were of it at that time: In which the Father is repreſented ſitting on the one Hand as an old Man with a Triple Crown and Rayes about him, the Son on the other hand as a young Man with a Crown and Rayes, and the Bleſſed Virgin between them, and the Emblem of the Holy Ghoſt a Dove ſpread over her Head. So it is repreſented in a fair Book of the Hours according to the uſe of *Sarum*, printed *Anno* 1526. The impiety of this did raiſe horror in moſt Mens Minds, when that unconceivable Myſtery was ſo groſly expreſſed. Beſides, the taking the Virgin into it, was done in purſuance to what had been ſaid by ſome blaſphemous Friars, of her being aſſumed into the Trinity. In another Edition of theſe it is repreſented by three Faces formed in one Head. Theſe things had not been ſet up by any publick Warrant; but having been ſo long in practice, they ſtood upon the general Plea that was for keeping the Traditions of the Church: for it was ſaid, that the Promiſes made to the Church were the ſame in all Ages, and that therefore every Age of the Church had an equal Right to them. But for the other Images, it was urged againſt them, that they had been all conſecrated with ſuch Rites and Prayers, that it was certain they were every one of them ſuperſtitious; ſince it was prayed, that they might be ſo bleſſed and conſecrated, that whoſoever worſhipped them might by the Saints Prayers and Aid, whom they repreſented, obtain every thing that he deſired. So they reſolved on an entire removal of all Images. And the Protector with the Council wrote to *Cranmer*, that for putting an end to all theſe Conteſts, and that the living Images of Chriſt might not quarrel about the dead ones, it was concluded they ſhould all of them be taken down: and he was to give order to ſee this executed in his own Dioceſs, and to tranſmit it to the other Biſhops to be in like manner executed by them. There were alſo Orders given, That all rich Shrines, with all the Plate belonging to them ſhould be brought in to the Kings uſe, and that the Cloaths that covered them, ſhould be converted to the uſe of the Poor. This gave *Gardiner*, and thoſe of his Party, a new affliction. For in his Dioceſs he had been always on their ſide that were for keeping up the Images. But they all ſubmitted, and

Proceſſionale in Feſto Innocentium.

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ſo the Churches were emptied of all theſe Pictures and Statues which had been for divers Ages the chief Objects of the Peoples Worſhip. 1548.

And now the greateſt care of the Reformers was, to find the beſt Men they could, who ſhould be licenſed by the Kings Authority to preach. To whom the Council ſent a Letter in the beginning of *May*, intimating, that by the reſtraint put on preaching, they only intended to put an end to the raſh contentions of indiſcreet Men, and not to extinguiſh the lively preaching of the pure Word of God, made after ſuch ſort as the Holy Ghoſt ſhould for the time put in the Preachers mind: They are therefore charged to preach ſincerely, and with that caution and moderation, that the time and Place ſhall require: and particularly that they ſhould not ſet on the People to make Innovations, or to run before thoſe whom they ſhould obey; but ſhould perſwade them to amend their Lives, and keep the Commandments of God, and to forſake all their old Superſtitions. And for the things not yet changed, they ought to wait patiently, and to conclude that the Prince did either allow, or ſuffer them: and in delivering things to the People, they were ordered to have a ſpecial regard to what they could bear. Some Reſtraints put on Preachers. *May* 4. Number 24.

But this temper was not obſerved. Some plainly condemned it as a political patching, and ſaid, Why ſhould not all theſe Superſtitions be ſwept away at once? To this it was anſwered by others, That as Chriſt forbade the pulling up of the Tares, leſt with them they ſhould pull up good Wheat; ſo if they went too forwardly to the changing of things, they might in that haſte change much for the worſe: and great care was to be had not to provoke the People too much, leſt in the infancy of the King, or in ſome ill conjuncture of Affairs, they might be diſpoſed to make Commotions. And the compliances that both Chriſt and his Apoſtles gave to the *Jews*, when they were to abrogate the Moſaical Law, were often inſiſted on. It was ſaid, if they who were cloathed with a Power of Miracles, for the more effectual conviction of the World, condeſcended ſo far; it was much more reaſonable for them, who had not that Authority over Mens Conſciences, and had no immediate ſigns to ſhew from Heaven, to perſwade the People rather by degrees to forſake their old miſtakes, and not to precipitate things by an over haſt.

This Winter there was a Committee of ſelected Biſhops and Divines appointed for examining all the Offices of the Church, and for reforming them. Some had been in King *Henry*'s time employed in the ſame buſineſs, in which they had made a good progreſs, which was now to be brought to a full perfection. Therefore the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, *Worceſter*, *Norwich*, St. *Aſaph*, *Saliſbury*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Carliſle*, *Briſtol*, St. *Davids*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, *Chicheſter*, *Hereford*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Rocheſter*, with Doctors *Cox*, *May*, *Tailor*, *Heins*, *Robertſon*, and *Redmayn*, were appointed to examine all the Offices of the Church, and to conſider how far any of them needed amendment. Biſhops and Divines examine the Offices of the Church.

The thing they firſt examined was the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*; which being the chief Symbole of Chriſtian Communion, was thought to deſerve their chief care. And here they managed their Enquiries in the ſame manner that was uſed in the former Reign; in which when any thing was conſidered in order to a Change, it was put into ſeveral Queries,

1548. ries, to which every one in Commission was to give his Answer in writing. It is no wonder if the confusions, that followed in Queen *Maries* Reign, have deprived us of most of these Papers; yet there is one Set of them preserved, relating to some Questions about the Priests single communicating; Whether one Mans receiving it can be useful to another? What was the Oblation or Sacrifice that was made of Christ in the Mass? Wherein the Mass consisted? When the Priests receiving alone began? Whether it was convenient to retain that, and continue Masses satisfactory for departed Souls? Whether the Gospel ought to be taught at the time of the Mass? Whether it were convenient to have it all in a known Tongue or not? And when the reserving or hanging up of the Sacrament first began? To these the Bishops made their several Answers. Some answered them all: others answered only a few of them; it is like suspending their Opinions about those which they answered not. The Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Chichester*, and *Hereford*, gave in their Answers once in one Paper together; but afterwards they joyned with the Bishops of *Norwich*, and *St. Asaph*, and all those six gave a joynt Answer in one Paper. Those are not all subscribed, as those which I inserted in the former *Volume* were; or at least the Papers I have, are not the Originals. But *Cranmers* Hand is over every one of them, marking the Name of the Bishop to whom they belonged; and Dr. *Cox* hath set his Hand and Seal to his Answer. By these, which are in the *Collection*, the Reader will perceive how generally the Bishops were addicted to the old Superstition, and how few did agree in all things with *Cranmer*. It may be thought that these Questions were given out before the Act of Parliament passed, in which the Priests single communicating is turned into a Communion of more. Yet by that Act it was only provided, That all who came to receive should be admitted, but Priests were not forbid to Consecrate if none were to Communicate, which was the thing now inquired into.

Number 25.

The Corruptions in the Office of the Communion examined.

It is certain there was no part of Worship more corrupted than this Sacrament was. The first Institution was so plain and Simple, that, except in the Words, *This is my Body*, there is nothing which could give a colour to the corruptions that were afterwards brought in. The Heathens had their Mysteries, which the Priests concealed with hard and dark words, and dressed up with much Pomp; and thereby supported their own esteem with the People; since they looked on these to be of so high a nature, that all those who had the ordering of them were accounted Sacred Persons. The Primitive Christians retained the first simplicity of Divine Institutions for some Ages. But afterwards, as their number encreased, they made use of some things not unlike those the Heathens had practised, to draw the *Gentiles* more easily into their belief; since external shews make deep impressions in the Vulgar. And those that were thus brought over, might afterwards come to like these things for their own sakes, which were at first made use of only to gain the World. Others finding some advantage in such Services, that were easie, and yet appeared very pompous, that they might cover great faults by countenancing and complying with the follies that were in vogue contributed liberally to the improvement of them. And after the *Roman* Emperors turned Christian, much of that vast Wealth, of which they and their People were Masters, was brought into the Church, and applied

applied to these Superstitions. Yet it became not so universally corrupted, till by the Invasion of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and other barbarous Nations, the *Roman* Empire was broken and divided into many Kingdoms. These new Conquerors were rude and ignorant, wholly given to sensible things, and Learning being universally extinguish'd, gross Superstition took place; for more refined Superstitions would not serve the turn of darker Ages: But as they grew in Ignorance they continued in the Belief and Practice of more absurd things. 1548.

The high opinion they justly had of this Sacrament being much raised by the Belief of the Corporal Presence of Christ in it, which came in afterwards, then the dull Wits of the Priests, and the Wealth of the People, were employed to magnifie it with all the pomp possible. All the Vessels and Garments belonging to it were consecrated and anointed with much devotion; the whole Office was in an unknown Tongue. A great part of it was to be secretly whispered, to make it appear the more wonderful charm. But chiefly the words of Consecration were by no means to be heard by the People; it being fabled, that when the words were spoken aloud, some Shepherds had repeated them over their Bread, which was thereupon presently turned into Flesh. Besides that it was but suitable that a Change which was not to be seen, should be made by words not to be heard. The Priest was not to approach it, but after so many Bowings, Crossings, and Kissings of the Altar; and all the while he went through with the Office, the People were only now and then blessed by a short Blessing, *The Lord be with you*, and even that in *Latin*. Then after Consecration, the Bread was lifted up, and all the People worshipped it, as if Christ had appeared in the Clouds. It was oft exposed on the Altar, and carried about in Processions, with the Ceremonies of carrying *Flambeaux* before it, which the greatest Persons accounted it an Honour to do; the Priest that carried it all the while going pompously under a rich Canopy.

This was also thought most effectual for all the accidents of life. And whereas it was first only intended to be a Commemoration and Communion of the Death of Christ; that seemed almost forgotten, but it was applied to all other ends imaginable. That which brought in most Custom was, *Trentals*, which was a Method of delivering Souls out of Purgatory, by saying 30 Masses a year for them. And whereas it was observed, that Men on the Anniversaries of their Birth-days, Wedding, or other happy accidents of their Lives, were commonly in better humour; so that favours were more easily obtained; they seemed to have had the same opinion of God and Christ. So they ordered it, that three of these should be said on *Christmas* day, three on *Epiphany*, three on the *Purification* of the Blessed Virgin, three on the *Annunciation*, three on the *Resurrection*, three on the *Ascention*, three on *Whit-Sunday*, three on *Trinity-Sunday*, three on the *Assumption* of the Blessed Virgin, and three on her *Birth-day*; hoping that these days would be the *Mollia tempora*, when God and Christ, or the Blessed Virgin, would be of easier access, and more ready to grant their desires. Yet the most unaccountable part of all, was the Masses on the Saints days, praying that the intercession of the Saint might make the Sacrifice acceptable, that the Saint, for whose Honour these Oblations were solemnly offered, would by his Merits procure them to be accepted, and that the Sacrifice might bring

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1548. to them a greater Indulgence, being offered up by the Suffrages of the Saint. If the Sacrifice was of Jesus Christ, and was of its own Nature expiatory, how this should be done in honour to a Saint, and become of greater vertue by his Intercession, was a thing very hard to be understood. There were many Pieces of ridiculous Pagantry also used in it, as the laying the Host in the Sepulchre they made for Christ on *Good-Friday*; and that not only the Candles that were to burn at the *Easter* Celebration, but the very Fire that was to kindle them, was particularly consecrated on *Easter Eve*. Some Masses were believed to have a peculiar Vertue in them. For in the Mass-Book printed at *London*, *Anno* 1500. there is a Mass for avoiding sudden death; which Pope *Clement* made in the Colledge with all his Cardinals, and granted to all who heard it 270 days of Indulgence, charging them that they should hold in their Hand a burning Candle all the while it was saying, and for five days after should likewise hold a Candle, kneeling during the whole Mass: and to those that did so, sudden death should do no harm. And it is added, that this was certain, and approved, in *Avignion*, and all the neighbouring Places. All this I have opened the more largely, to let the Reader plainly understand, what things were then in this Sacrament that required Reformation: and I have gathered these things out of the Mass-Book, then most used in *England*, and best known by the Name of the *Missa after the use of Sarum*.

A new Office for the Communion set out.

The first step these deputed Bishops and Divines made, was to reform this. But they did not at once mend every thing that required it, but left the Office of the Mass as it was, only adding to it that which made it a Communion. It began first with an Exhortation, to be used the day before, which differs not much from that now used. Only after the advice given concerning Confession, it is added, That such as desired to make auricular Confession, should not censure those who were satisfied with a general Confession to God, and that those who used only Confession to God and to the Church should not be offended with those who used auricular Confession to a Priest; but that all should keep the Rule of Charity, every man being satisfied to follow his own Conscience, and not judging another Mans in things not appointed by God. After the Priest had received the Sacrament, he was to turn to the People and read an Exhortation to them; the same we now use, only a little varied in words. After that, followed a Denunciation against Sinners, requiring them who were such, and had not repented, to withdraw, lest the Devil should enter into them as he did into *Judas*. Then after a little pause, to see if any would withdraw; there was to follow a short exhortation, with a Confession of sins, and Absolution, the very same which we do yet retain. Then those Texts of Scripture were read, which we yet read; followed with the Prayer, *We do not presume*, &c. After this, the Sacrament was to be given in both kinds; first to the Ministers then present, and then to all the People, with these words, *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy Body unto Everlasting Life*; and, *The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy Soul unto Everlasting Life*. When all was done, the Congregation was to be dismissed with a Blessing. The Bread was to be such as had been formerly used, and every one of the Breads so consecrated was to be broken in two or more pieces; and the People were to be taught

taught that there was no difference in the quantity they received, whether it were ſmall, or great, but that in each of them they received the whole Body of Chriſt. If the Wine, that was at firſt conſecrated, did not ſerve, the Prieſt was to conſecrate more; but all to be without any Elevation. This Office, being thus finiſhed, was ſet forth with a Proclamation, reciting, That whereas the Parliament had Enacted that the Communion ſhould be given in both kinds to all the Kings Subjects, it was now ordered to be given in the Form here ſet forth, and all were required to receive it with due reverence, and Chriſtian behaviour, and with ſuch uniformity as might encourage the King to go on in the ſetting forth godly Orders for Reformation, which he intended moſt earneſtly to bring to effect by the help of God: Willing his Subjects, not to run before his direction, and ſo by their raſhneſs to hinder ſuch things; aſſuring them of the earneſt zeal he had to ſet them forth, hoping they would quietly and reverently tarry for it. 1548.

This was publiſhed on the 8*th.* of *March*, and on the 13*th.* Books were ſent to all the Biſhops of *England*, requiring them to ſend them to every Pariſh in their Dioceſs, that the Curates might have time, both to inſtruct themſelves about it, and to acquaint their People with it; ſo that by the next *Eaſter* it might be univerſally received in all the Churches of the Nation. This was variouſly cenſured. Thoſe that were for the old Superſtition, were much troubled to have Confeſſion thus left indifferent, and a general Confeſſion of ſins to be uſed, with which they apprehended the People would for the moſt part content themſelves. In the Scripture there was a Power of Binding and Looſing ſins given to the Apoſtles. And St. *James* exhorted thoſe to whom he wrote, to confeſs their faults *to one another*. Afterwards Penitents came to be reconciled to the Church, when they had given publick ſcandal, either by their Apoſtacy, or ill Life, by an open Confeſſion of their ſins; and after ſome time of ſeparation from the other pure Chriſtians in Worſhip, and an abſtention from the Sacrament, they were admitted again to their ſhare of all the Priviledges that were given in common to Chriſtians. But according to the nature of their ſins, they were, beſides the publick Confeſſion, put under ſuch Rules as might be moſt proper for curing theſe ill Inclinations in them: and according to the ſeveral Ranks of ſins the time and degrees of this Penitence was proportioned. And the Councils that met in the fourth and fifth *Centuries* made the regulating theſe penitentiary Canons the chief Subject of their Conſultations. In many Churches, there were penitentiary Prieſts, who were more expert in the knowledge of theſe Rules, and gave directions about them; which were taken away in *Conſtantinople* upon the indiſcretion of which one of them had been guilty. For ſecret ſins, there was no obligation to confeſs, ſince all the Canons were about publick ſcandals: yet for theſe, the devout People generally went to their Prieſts for their Counſel, but were not obliged to it; and ſo went to them for the diſtempers of their Minds, as they did to Phyſitians for the Diſeaſes of their Bodies.

It is variouſly cenſured.

Chiefly that Auricular Confeſſion was laid down.

About the end of the 5*th. Century*, they began in ſome Places to have ſecret Penances; either within Monaſteries, or other Places which the Prieſts had appointed: and upon a ſecret Confeſſion, and performing the Penance impoſed, Abſolution was alſo given ſecretly: whereas in former times, Confeſſion and Abſolution had been performed openly in the

1548. Church. In the *7th. Century* it was every where practiſed, that there ſhould be ſecret Penance for ſecret ſins: which *Theodore* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* did firſt bring into a Method, and under Rules. But about the end of the *8th. Century*, the commutation of Penance, and exchanging it for Money, or other Services to the Church, came to be practiſed: and then began Pilgrimages to Holy Places, and afterwards the going to the Holy War: and all the ſeverities of Penance were diſpenſed with to ſuch as undertook theſe. This brought on a great Relaxation of all Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. Afterwards, Croiſadoes came in uſe, againſt ſuch Princes as were depoſed by Popes: and to theſe was likewiſe added, to encourage all to enter into them, that all Rules of Penitence were diſpenſed with two ſuch as put on that Croſs. But Penitence being now no more publick, but only private, the Prieſts managed it as they pleaſed, and ſo by Confeſſion entred into all Mens ſecrets, and by Abſolution had their Conſciences ſo intirely in their Power, that the People were generally governed by them. Yet becauſe the Secular Prieſts were commonly very ignorant, and were not put under ſuch an aſſociation as was needful to manage thoſe deſigns, for which this was thought an excellent Engine; therefore the Friars were employed every where to hear Confeſſions, and to give Abſolutions. And to bring in Cuſtomers to them, two new things were invented. The one was, a Reſerving of certain Caſes, in which ſuch as were guilty of them could not be abſolved but by the Popes, or thoſe deputed by them: and the Friars had faculties in the Popes Name to abſolve in theſe Caſes. The other was on ſome occaſion the uſe of certain new Secrets, by which Men were to obtain great Indulgences; either by ſaying ſuch Prayers, or performing ſuch Impoſitions; and theſe were all truſted to the Friars, who were to trade with them, and bring all the Money they could gather by that means to *Rome*. They being bred up to a voluntary Poverty, and expecting great Rewards for their Induſtry, ſold thoſe Secrets with as much cunning, as Mountebanks uſe in ſelling their Tricks: only here was the difference, that the ineffectualneſs of the Mountebanks Medicines was ſoon diſcovered, ſo their Trade muſt be but ſhort in one Place; whereas the other could not be ſo eaſily found out; the chief Piece of the Religion of thoſe Ages being to believe all that their Prieſts taught them. Of this ſort the Reader will find in the *Collection* an Eſſay of Indulgences as they were printed in the *Hours* after the uſe of *Sarum*, which were ſet down in *Engliſh*, though the Prayers be all *Latin*, that ſo all the People might know the value of ſuch Ware. Thoſe had been all by degrees brought from *Rome*, and put into Peoples Hands, and afterwards laid together in their Offices. By them, Indulgences of many years, Hundreds, Thouſands, and Millions of years, and of all ſins whatſoever, were granted to ſuch as devoutly ſaid ſuch Collects: but it was always underſtood that they muſt confeſs and be abſolved, which is the meaning of thoſe Expreſſions concerning their being in *a ſtate of Grace*. And ſo the whole buſineſs was a Cheat.

Collection Number 26.

And now all this Trade was laid aſide, and Confeſſion of ſecret ſins was left to all Mens free choice: ſince it was certain that the Confeſſion to a Prieſt was no where enjoyned in the Scriptures. It was a reaſonable Objection, that as ſecret Confeſſion and Private Penance had worn out the primitive practice of the publick cenſuring of ſcandalous Perſons,

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ſo it had been well if the reviving of that Diſcipline had driven out theſe later Abuſes: but to let that lie unreſtored, and yet to let Confeſſion wear out, was to diſcharge the world of all outward reſtraints, and to leave them to their full liberty, and ſo to throw up that Power of Binding and Looſing, which ought to take place, chiefly, in admitting them to the Sacrament. This was confeſſed to be a great defect, and effectual endeavours were uſed to retrieve it, though without ſucceſs: and it was openly declared to be a thing which they would ſtudy to repair: But the total diſuſe of all publick cenſure had made the Nation ſo unacquainted with it, that without the effectual concurrence of the Civil Authority, they could not compaſs it. And though it was acknowledged to be a great diſorder in the Church, yet as they could not keep up the neceſſity of private Confeſſion, ſince it was not commanded in the Goſpel; ſo the generality of the Clergy being ſuperſtitious Men, whoſe chief influence on the People was by thoſe ſecret Practices in Confeſſion, they judged it neceſſary to leave that free to all People, and to repreſent it as a thing to which they were not obliged, and in the place of that ordered the general Confeſſion to be made in the Church, with the Abſolution added to it. For the Power of Binding and Looſing, it was by many thought to be only Declarative; and ſo to be exerciſed, when the Goſpel was preached, and a General Abſolution granted, according to the Ancient Forms. In which Forms, the Abſolution was a Prayer that God would abſolve; and ſo it had been ſtill uſed in the Abſolution which was given on *Maundy-Thurſday*: but the Formal Abſolution given by the Prieſt in his own Name, *I abſolve thee*, was a late invention to raiſe their Authority higher, and ſignified nothing diſtinct from thoſe other Forms that were anciently uſed in the Church. 1548.

Others cenſured the Words in diſtributing the two kinds in the Lords Supper: the *Body* being given for the preſerving the *Body*, and the *Blood* of Chriſt for preſerving the *Soul*. This was thought done on deſign to poſſeſs the People with an high value of the Chalice, as that which preſerved their *Souls*; whereas the Bread was only for the preſervation of their *Bodies*. But *Cranmer* being ready to change any thing for which he ſaw good reaſon, did afterwards ſo alter it, that in both it was ſaid, *Preſerve thy Body and Soul*. And yet it ſtands ſo in the Prayer, *We do not preſume*, &c. On all this I have digreſſed ſo long, becauſe of the importance of the matter, and for ſatisfying the Scruples that many ſtill have upon the laying aſide of Confeſſion in our Reformation.

Commiſſions were next given to examine the ſtate of the Chantries and Guildable Lands. The Inſtruction about them will be found in the *Collection*, of which I need give no abſtract here, for they were only about the Methods of enquiring into their value, and how they were poſſeſſed, or what Alienations had been made of them. Collection Number 27.

The Protector and Council were now in much trouble. The War with *Scotland* they found was like to grow chargable, ſince they ſaw it was ſupported from *France*. There was a Rebellion alſo broke out in *Ireland*, and the King was much indebted, nor could they expect any Subſidies from the Parliament; in which it had been ſaid that they gave the *Chantry Lands*, that they might be delivered from all Subſidies. Therefore the Parliament was prorogued till Winter. Upon this the

1548. whole Council did on the 17*th.* of *April* unanimouſly reſolve, that it was neceſſary to ſell 5000 *l.* a year of *Chantry Lands* for raiſing ſuch a Sum as the Kings occaſions required, and Sir *Hen. Mildmay* was appointed to treat about the Sail of them.

Gardiner falls into new Troubles.

The new Communion-Book was received over *England* without any oppoſition. Only complaints were brought of *Gardiner*, that he did ſecretly detract from the Kings Proceedings. Upon which the Council took occaſion to reflect on all his former behaviour. And here it was remembred, how at firſt upon his refuſing to receive the Kings *Injunctions*, he had been put in the *Fleet*; where he had been as well uſed, as if it had been his own Houſe; (which is far contrary to his Letters to the Protector, of which mention has been already made) and that he upon promiſe of Conformity had been diſcharged. But when he was come home, being forgetful of his Promiſes; he had raiſed much ſtrife and contention, and had cauſed all his Servants to be ſecretly armed and harneſſed, and had put publick affronts on thoſe whom the Council ſent down to preach in his Dioceſs; for in ſome Places, to diſgrace them, he went into the Pulpit before them, and warned the People to beware of ſuch Teachers, and to receive no other Doctrine but what he had taught them. Upon this he had been ſent for a ſecond time, but again upon his Promiſe of Conformity was diſcharged, and ordered to ſtay at his own Houſe in *London*. That there he had continued ſtill to meddle in publick Matters, of which being again admoniſhed, he deſired that he might be ſuffered to clear himſelf of all miſrepreſentations that had been made of him, in a *Sermon* which he ſhould preach before the King, in which he ſhould openly declare how well he was ſatisfied with his Proceedings: yet it is added, That in his *Sermon*, where there was a wonderful Audience, he did moſt arrogantly meddle with ſome Matters that were contrary to an expreſs command given him both by word of Mouth and by Letters; and in other Mattters uſed ſuch words as had almoſt raiſed a great Tumult in the very time, and had ſpoken very ſeditiouſly concerning the Policy of the Kingdom. So they ſaw that Clemency wrought no good effect on him; and it ſeeming neceſſary to terrifie others by their Proceedings with him, he was ſent to the *Tower*, and the door of his Cloſet was ſealed up. Thus it is entred in the Council-Book, Signed *E. Somerſet*, *T. Cantuarien. W. St. Johns*, *J. Ruſſel*, and *T. Cheyney*. Yet it ſeems this Order was not Signed when it was made, but ſome years after. For the Lord *Ruſſel* Signed firſt *Bedford*, but remembring that at the time when this Order was made he had not that Title, therefore he daſhed it out, (but ſo as it ſtill appears) and Signed, *J. Ruſſel*.

Fox's Acts and Monuments.

The account that *Gardiner* himſelf gives of this Buſineſs, is, That being diſcharged upon the Act of Pardon, he was deſired to promiſe that he would ſet forth the *Homilies*; and a Form was given him to which he ſhould ſet his Hand; but he, conſidering of it a fortnight, returned, and ſaid he could not ſubſcribe it: ſo he was confined to his Houſe. Then *Ridley* and Mr. *Cecil*, (afterwards the great Lord *Burleigh*, Lord Treaſurer to Queen *Eliz.* at that time Secretary to the Protector) were ſent to him, and ſo prevailed, that he did ſet his Hand to it. But upon ſome Complaints that were made of him, he was ſent for after *Whit-Sunday*, and accuſed, that he had carried Palms, had crept to the Croſs, and had a Sepulchre

Sepulchre on *Good-Friday*, which was contrary to the Kings Proclamations: all which he denied, and ſaid, he had and would ſtill give obedience to what the King ſhould command. That of affronting the Kings Preachers was objected to him, to which he anſwered telling matter of fact how it was done, but he does not in his Writing ſet it down. Then it was complained, that in a *Sermon* he had ſaid, The Apoſtles came away rejoycing from *the Council*, *the Council*, *the Council*, repeating it thus, to make it ſeem applicable to himſelf. This he denied. Then it was objected, That he preached the *Real Preſence* in the Sacrament, the Word *Real* not being in Scripture, and ſo it was not the ſetting forth the pure Word of God: He ſaid he had not uſed the Word *Real*, only he had aſſerted the Preſence of Chriſt, in ſuch words as he had heard the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* diſpute for it againſt *Lambert*, that had been burnt. He was commanded to tarry in *London*; but he deſired, that ſince he was not an Offender, he might be at his liberty. He complained much of the *Songs* made of him, and of the Books written againſt him, and particularly of one *Philpot* in *Weſtminſter*, whom he accounted a mad Man. 1548.

Then he relates, That *Cecil* came to him, and propoſed to him to preach before the King, and that he ſhould write his *Sermon*; and alſo brought him ſome Notes which he wiſhed him to put in his *Sermon*: he ſaid he was willing to preach, but would not write it, for that was to preach as an Offender: nor would he make uſe of Notes prepared by other Men. Then he was privately brought to the Protector, none but the Lord *St. John* being preſent, who ſhewed him a Paper containing the opinion of ſome Lawyers, of the Kings Power, and of a Biſhops Authority, and of the Puniſhment of diſobeying the King: but he deſired to ſpeak with thoſe Lawyers, and ſaid, no ſubſcription of theirs ſhould oblige him to preach otherwiſe than as he was convinced. The Protector ſaid, he ſhould either do that, or do worſe. Secretary *Smith* came to him to preſs him further in ſome Points, but what they were is not mentioned. Yet by the other Papers in that Buſineſs it appears, they related to the Kings Authority when under Age, and for juſtifying the Kings proceedings in what had been done about the Ceremonies, and that Auricular Confeſſion was indifferent. So the Conteſt between him and the Protector ended; and there was no writing required of him; but he left the whole matter to him, ſo that he ſhould treat plainly of thoſe things mentioned to him by *Cecil*. He choſe St. *Peters* day, becauſe the Goſpel agreed to his purpoſe. *Cecil* ſhewed him ſome Notes, written with the Kings Hand, of the *Sermons* preached before him; eſpecially what was ſaid of the Duty of a King; and warned him, that when ever he named the King he ſhould add, *and his Council*. To this he made no Anſwer; for though he thought it wiſely done of a King to uſe his Council, yet being to ſpeak of the Kings Power according to Scripture, he did not think it neceſſary to add any thing of his Council: and hearing by a confuſed report ſome ſecret matter, he reſolved not to meddle with it. Two days before he preached, the Protector ſent him a Meſſage, not to meddle with thoſe Queſtions about the Sacrament; that were yet in controverſie among Learned Men; and that therefore he was reſolved there ſhould be no publick determination made of them before-hand in the Pulpit. He ſaid, he could not forbear to ſpeak of the Maſs, for he looked on it as the

1548. the chief foundation of Christian Religion: but he doubted not that he should so speak of it, as to give them all content. So the day following the Protector writ to him, (as will be found in the *Collection*) requiring him in the Kings Name, not to meddle with these points, but to preach concerning the Articles given him, and about Obedience, and good Life, which would afford him matter enough for a long *Sermon*: since the other points were to be reserved to a publick Consultation. The Protector added, That he held it a great part of his Duty under the King, not to suffer wilful Persons to dissuade the People from receiving such Truths as should be set forth by others. But *Gardiner* pretended that there was no Controversie about the Presence of Christ. And so the next day he took his Text out of the Gospel for the day, *Thou art Christ*, &c. In his *Sermon* (of which I have seen large Notes) he expressed himself very fully concerning the Popes Supremacy as justly abolished, and the Suppression of Monasteries and Chantries; he approved of the Kings Proceedings; he thought Images might have been well used, but yet they might be well taken away. He approved of the Sacrament in both kinds, and the taking away that great number of Masses satisfactory, and liked well the new Order for the Communion. But he asserted largely the Presence of Christs Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament: Upon which many of the Assembly, that were indiscreetly hot on both sides, cried out, some approving, and others disliking it. Of the Kings Authority under Age, and of the Power of the Council in that Case, he said not a word: and upon that he was imprisoned.

Number 28.

Parkers MSS. Ex C. Ch. Col. Cant.

He preached before the King.

The occasion of this was, the Popish Clergy began generally to have it spread among them, that though they had acknowledged the Kings Supremacy, yet they had never owned the Councils Supremacy. That the Council could only see to the execution of the Laws and Orders that had been made, but could not make new ones; and that therefore the Supremacy could not be exercised, till the King, in whose Person it was vested, came to be of Age to consider of Matters himself. Upon this, the Lawyers were consulted; who did unanimously resolve, that the Supremacy being annexed to the Regal Dignity, was the same in a King under Age, when it was executed by the Council, that it was in a King at full Age; and therefore, things ordered by the Council now, had the same Authority in Law that they could have when the King did act himself. But this did not satisfie the greater part of the Clergy. Some of whom, by the high Flatteries that had been given to Kings in King *Henry's* time, seemed to fancy that there were degrees of Divine Illumination derived unto Princes, by the anointing them at the Coronation; and these not exerting themselves till a King attained to a ripeness of understanding, they thought the Supremacy was to lie dormant while he was so young. The Protector and Council endeavoured to have got *Gardiner* to declare against this, but he would not meddle in it. How far he might set forward the other Opinion, I do not know. These Proceedings against him were thought too severe, and without Law; but he being generally hated, they were not so much censured, as they had been, if they had fallen on a more acceptable Man.

And thus were the Orders made by the Council generally obeyed; many being terrified with the usage *Gardiner* met with, from which others inferred what they might look for, if they were refractory, when so great a Bishop was so treated.

The

The next thing *Cranmer* ſet about, was the compiling of a *Catechiſm* or large inſtruction of young Perſons in the Grounds of the Chriſtian Religion. In it, he reckons the two firſt Commandments but one; though, he ſays, many of the Ancients divided them in two. But the diviſion was of no great conſequence, ſo no part of the Decalogue were ſuppreſſed by the Church. He ſhewed that the excuſes the Papiſts had for Images, were no other than what the Heathens brought for their Idolatry; who alſo ſaid, they did not worſhip the Image, but that only which was repreſented by it. He particularly takes notice of the Image of the Trinity. He ſhews how St. *Peter* would not ſuffer *Cornelius*, and the Angel would not ſuffer St. *John* to worſhip them. The believing that there is a vertue in one Image more than in another, he accounts plain Idolatry. *Ezekias* broke the Brazen Serpent, when abuſed, though it was a Type or Image of Chriſt, made by Gods command, to which a miraculous Vertue had been once given. So now there was good reaſon to break Images, when they had been ſo abuſed to ſuperſtition and Idolatry; and when they gave ſuch ſcandal to *Jews* and *Mahometans*, who generally accounted the *Chriſtians* Idolaters on that account. He aſſerts, beſides the two Sacraments, of Baptiſm, and the Lords Supper, the power of reconciling Sinners to God, as a third; and fully owns the Divine Inſtitution of Biſhops and Prieſts; and wiſhes that the Canons and Rites of it publick Penence were again reſtored; and exhorts much to Confeſſion, and the Peoples dealing with their Paſtors about their Conſciences, that ſo they might, upon knowledge, bind and looſe according to the Goſpel. Having finiſhed this eaſie, but moſt uſeful work, he dedicated it to the King. And in his *Epiſtle* to him, complains of the great neglect, that had been in former times, of *Catechiſing*; and that *Confirmation* had not been rightly adminiſtred, ſince it ought to be given only to theſe of Age, who underſtood the Principles of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and did upon knowledge, and with ſincere minds, renew their Baptiſmal Vow. From this it will appear, that from the beginning of this Reformation, the practice of the *Roman* Church in the matter of *Images* was held Idolatrous. *Cranmer*'s zeal for reſtoring the Penitentiary Canons is alſo clear: and it is plain, that he had now quite laid aſide thoſe ſingular opinions which he formerly held of the Eccleſiaſtical Functions; for now, in a Work which was wholly his own, without the concurrence of any others, he fully ſets forth their Divine Inſtitution.

1548. *Cranmer* ſets out a Catechiſm.

All theſe things made way for a greater Work, which theſe ſelected Biſhops and Divines, who had laboured in the ſetting forth of the Office of the Communion, were now preparing; which was the entire Reformation of the whole Service of the Church. In order to this, they brought together all the Offices uſed in *England*. In the *Southern* Parts, thoſe after the uſe of *Sarum* were univerſally received, which were believed to have been compiled by *Oſmund* Biſhop of *Sarum*. In the *North* of *England*, they had other Offices, after the uſe of *York*. In *South-Wales* they had them after the uſe of *Hereford*. In *North-Wales* after the uſe of *Bangor*. And in *Lincoln*, another ſort of an Office proper to that See.

A General Reformation of all the Offices of the Church is ſet about.

In the primitive Church, when the extraordinary Gifts ceaſed, the Biſhops of the ſeveral Churches put their Offices and Prayers into ſuch a Method,

1547. Method, as was neareſt to what they had heard or remembred from the Apoſtles. And theſe *Liturgies* were called by the Apoſtles Names from whoſe Forms they had been compoſed; as that at *Jeruſalem* carried the Name of St. *James*, and that of *Alexandria* the Name of St. *Mark*; though thoſe Books that we have now under theſe Names are certainly ſo interpolated, that they are of no great Authority: But in the fourth *Century* we have theſe *Liturgies* firſt mentioned. The Council of *Laodicea* appointed the ſame Office of Prayers to be uſed in the Mornings and Evenings. The Biſhops continued to draw up new Additions, and to put old Forms into other Methods. But this was left to every Biſhops care, nor was it made the Subject of any publick Conſultation, till St. *Auſtins* time; when in their dealings with Hereticks, they found they took advantages from ſome of the Prayers that were in ſome Churches. Upon this he tells us, it was ordered, that there ſhould be no Prayers uſed in the Church, but upon common advice: after that the *Liturgies* came to be more carefully conſidered. Formerly the Worſhip of God was a pure and ſimple thing, and ſo it continued, till Superſtition had ſo infected the Church that thoſe Forms were thought too naked, unleſs they were put under more Artificial Rules, and dreſſed up with much Ceremony. *Gregory* the Great was the firſt that took much care to make the Church Muſick very regular, and he did alſo put the *Liturgies* in another Method than had been formerly uſed. Yet he had no ſuch fondneſs of his own compoſures; but left it to *Auſtin* the Monk, whom he ſent over into *England*, when he conſulted him in it, either to uſe the *Roman* or *French* Rituals, or any other, as he ſhould find they were moſt likely to edifie the People. After this, in moſt Sees there were great variations; for as any Prelate came to be Canonized, or held in high eſteem by the People, ſome private *Collects* or particular Forms that he had uſed, were practiſed in his, or perhaps, as his Fame ſpread in the neighbouring Dioceſes. In every Age there were notable Additions made: and all the Writers almoſt, in the *8th.* and *9th. Centuries*, employed their Fancies to find out myſtical ſignifications for every Rite that was then uſed; and ſo, as a new Rite was added, it was no hard matter to add ſome Myſtery to it. This had made the Offices ſwell out of meaſure, and there was a great variety of them, *Miſſals*, *Breviaries*, *Rituals*, *Pontificals*, *Portoiſes*, *Pies*, *Gradualls*, *Antiphonalls*, *Pſalteries*, *Hours*, and a great many more. Every Religious Order had likewiſe their peculiar Rites, with the Saints days that belonged to their Order, and Services for them; and the underſtanding how to officiate was become ſo hard a piece of the Trade, that it was not eaſie to learn it exactly, without a long practice in it. So now it was reſolved to correct and examine theſe.

It was reſolved there ſhould be a new Liturgy.

I do not find it was ever brought under conſideration, whether they ſhould compoſe a Form for all the Parts of Divine Worſhip, or leave it to the ſudden and extemporary heats of thoſe who were to officiate, which ſome have called ſince that time, The worſhiping *by the Spirit*: Of this way of ſerving God, they did not then dream; much leſs that the appointing of Forms of Prayer was an encroaching on the Kingly Office of Chriſt, but thought, what ever *praying in the Spirit* might have been in the Apoſtles time, (where yet every man brought his Pſalms, which are a ſort of Prayers, as well as Praiſes, and theſe look like ſome written

written Compoſures, as St. *Paul* expreſſes it) that now to pray with warm affection and ſincere devotion was Spiritual Worſhip: and that where it was the ſame thing that was to be daily asked of God, the uſing the ſame expreſſions, was the ſign of a ſteady devotion, that was fixed on the thing prayed for; whereas the heat that new words raiſed, looked rather like a warmth in the fancy. Nor could it agree with the Principles of a Reformation, that was to deveſt the Church-men of that unlimited Authority which they had formerly exerciſed over Mens Conſciences, to leave them at liberty to make the People pray after them, as they pleaſed; this being as great a reſignation of the People, when their devotion depended on the ſudden heats of their Paſtors, as the former Superſtition had made of their Faith and Conſcience to them. So it being reſolved to bring the whole Worſhip of God under ſet Forms, they ſet one General Rule to themſelves, (which they afterwards declared) of changing nothing for novelties ſake, or meerly becauſe it had been formerly uſed. They reſolved to retain ſuch things as the Primitive Church had practiſed, cutting off ſuch abuſes as the later ages had grafted on them, and to continue the uſe of ſuch other things, which, though they had been brought in not ſo early, yet were of good uſe to beget devotion; and were ſo much recommended to the People by the practice of them, that the laying theſe aſide would perhaps have alienated them from the other changes they made. And therefore they reſolved to make no change without very good and weighty reaſons. In which they conſidered the practice of our Saviour; who did not only comply with the Rites of Judaiſm himſelf, but even the Prayer he gave to his Diſciples, was framed according to their Forms; and his two great Inſtitutions of Baptiſm, and the Euchariſt, did conſiſt of Rites that had been uſed among the *Jews*. And ſince he who was delivering a new Religion, and was authorized in the higheſt manner that ever any was, did yet ſo far comply with received Practices, as from them to take thoſe which he ſanctified for the uſe of his Church; it ſeemed much fitter for thoſe who had no ſuch extraordinary warrant to give them Authority in what they did, when they were reforming abuſes, to let the World ſee, they did it not from the wanton deſire of change, or any affectation of novelty: and with thoſe reſolutions they entred on their Work. 1548.

In the ſearch of the former Offices, they found an infinite deal of ſuperſtition, in the Conſecrations, of Water, Salt, Bread, Incenſe, Candles, Fire, Bells, Churches, Images, Altars, Croſſes, Veſſels, Garments, Palms, Flowers; all looked like the Rites of *Heatheniſm*, and ſeemed to ſpring from the ſame Fountain. When the Water or Salt were bleſſed, it was expreſſed to be to this end, that they might be health both to Soul and Body, and Devils (who might well laugh at theſe tricks which they had taught them) were adjured not to come to any place where they were ſprinkled: and the Holy Bread was bleſſed, to be a defence againſt all Diſeaſes, and ſnares of the Devil: and the Holy Incenſe, that Devils might not come near the ſmoak of it, but that all who ſmelled at it might perceive the Vertue of the Holy Ghoſt: and the Aſhes were bleſſed ſo, that all who were covered with them, might deſerve to obtain the remiſſion of their ſins. All thoſe things had drawn the People to ſuch confidence in them, that they generally thought that, without thoſe harder terms of true holineſs, they might upon ſuch ſuperſtitious

1548. observances be sure of Heaven. So all these they resolved to cast out, as things which had no warrant in Scripture, and were vain devices to draw Men away from a lively application to God through Christ, according to the method of the Gospel. Then the many Rites in Sacramental Actions were considered, all which had swelled up to an infinite heap. And as some of these, which had no foundation in Scripture, were thrown out; so the others were brought back to a greater simplicity. In no part of Religion was the corruption of the former Offices more remarkable, than in the Priests granting Absolution to the Living, and the Dead. To such as confessed, the Absolution was thus granted; *I absolve thee in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* To which this was added. And *I grant to thee that all the Indulgences, given, or to be given thee, by any Prelate, with the Blessings of them, all the Sprinklings of Holy Water, all the Devout Beatings of thy Breast, the Contritions of thy Heart, this Confession, and all thy other devout Confessions, all thy Fastings, Abstinencies, Almsgivings, Watchings, Disciplines, Prayers, and Pilgrimages, and all the good thou hast done, or shall do, and all the evils thou hast suffered, or shall suffer, for God; the Passions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Merits of the Glorious and Blessed Virgin* Mary, *and of all other Saints, and the suffrages of all the Holy Catholick Church, turn to thee for the remission of these, and all other thy sins, the encrease of thy Merits, and the attainment, of Everlasting Rewards.* When Extream Unction was given to dying Persons, they applied it to the Ears, Lips, Nose, and other Parts, with this Prayer; *By this Holy Unction, and his own most tender Mercy, and by the Intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and all the Saints, may God pardon thee whatever thou hast sinned, by thy Hearing, Speaking, or Smelling,* and so in the other Parts. And when the dead Body was laid in the Grave, this Absolution was said over it; *The Lord Jesus Christ, who gave to St.* Peter *and his other Disciples power to bind and loose, absolve thee from all the guilt of thy sins; and in so far as is committed to my weakness, be thou absolved before the Tribunal of our Lord, and may thou have Eternal Life, and live for evermore.* This was thought the highest abuse possible; when in giving the hopes of Heaven, and the pardon of sins, which were of all the other parts of Religion the most important, there were such mixtures: and that which the Scriptures had taught could be only attained by *Jesus Christ*, and that upon the sincere belief and obedience of his Gospel, was now ascribed to so many other procuring Causes. These things had possessed the World with that conceit that there was a trick for saving Souls, besides that plain method which Christ had taught; and that the Priests had the secret of it in their Hands; so that those who would not come under the Yoak of Christ, and be saved that way, needed only to apply themselves to Priests, and purchase their favour, and the business would be done.

There were two other changes, which run through the whole Offices. The one was, The translating them into a Vulgar Tongue. The *Jewish* Worship was either in *Hebrew*, or, after the Captivity, in the *Syriack*, the Vulgar Tongues of *Palestine*. The Apostles always officiated in the Tongues that were best understood: So that St. *Paul* did copiously censure those who in Prayers or Psalms, used any Language that was not understood. And *Origen*, *Basil*, with all the Fathers that had occasion to mention this,

this, took notice, that every one in their own Tongue worſhipped God. After the renting of the *Roman* Empire by the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations, the *Roman* Tongue did ſlowly mix with their Tongues, till it was much changed, and altered from it ſelf by degrees; yet it was ſo long a doing that, that it was not thought neceſſary to tranſlate the Liturgy into their Languages. But in the ninth *Century*, when the *Slavons* were converted, it being deſired that they might have Divine Offices in their own Language; while ſome oppoſed it, a Voice was ſaid to be heard, *Let every Tongue praiſe God*; Upon which, Pope *John* the 8*th*. writ to *Methodius* their Biſhop, that it might be granted, and founded it on St. *Pauls Epiſt.* to the *Cor.* and on theſe words of *David*, *Let every Tongue praiſe the Lord.* And in the fourth Council of *Lateran* it was decreed, that Biſhops who lived in Places where they were mixed with *Greeks*, ſhould provide fit Prieſts for performing Divine Offices, according to the Rites and Language of thoſe to whom they miniſtred. But the *Roman* Church, though ſo merciful to the *Greeks*, and *Slavons*, was more cruel to the reſt of *Europe*; and ſince only *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, had been written on the Croſs of Chriſt by *Pilate*, they argued that theſe Languages were thereby conſecrated: though it is not eaſie to apprehend what Holineſs could be derived into theſe Tongues by *Pilate*, who ordered theſe Inſcriptions. It was alſo pretended, that it was a part of the Communion of Saints, that every where the Worſhip ſhould be in the ſame Tongue. But the truth was, they had a mind to raiſe the value of the Prieſtly Function, by keeping all Divine Offices in a Tongue not underſtood; which in People otherwiſe well ſeaſoned with ſuperſtition, might have that effect; but it did very much alienate the reſt of the World from them. There was alſo a vaſt number of Holy-days, formerly obſerved, with ſo many Prayers and Hymns belonging to them, and ſo many Leſſons that were to be read; which were many of them ſuch impudent Forgeries, that the whole *Breviary* and *Miſſal* being full of theſe, a great deal was to be left out. There is in the whole *Breviary* ſcarce one Saint, but the Leſſons concerning him contain ſome ridiculous Legend, ſuch as indeed could not be well read in a Vulgar Tongue without the ſcorn and laughter of the Hearers; and for moſt part the Prayers and Hymns do relate to theſe lying Stories. Many of the Prayers and Hymns were alſo in ſuch a Style, that the pardon of Sin, Grace, and Heaven, were immediately deſired from the Saints; as if theſe things had come from their Bounty, or by their Merits; or were given by them only, of which the Reader ſhall have a little taſt in the *Collection*, in ſome of the Addreſſes made to them. 1548.

Collection. Number 29.

The Reformers having thus conſidered the corruptions of the former Offices, were thereby better prepared to frame new ones. But the Prieſts had officiated in ſome Garments, which were appropriated to that uſe, as Surplices, Copes, and other Veſtments; and it was long under conſideration whether theſe ſhould continue. It was objected, that theſe Garments had been parts of the Train of the Maſs, and had been ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed, only to ſet it off with the more pomp. On the other hand it was argued, That as White was anciently the Colour of the Prieſts Garments in the Moſaical diſpenſation, ſo it was uſed in the *African* Churches in the fourth *Century*: And it was thought a natural expreſſion of the purity and decency that became Prieſts: beſides the

1548. Clergy were then generally extream poor, so that they could scarce afford themselves decent Cloaths; the People also running from the other Extream of submitting too much to the Clergy, were now as much enclined to despise them, and to make light of the Holy Function; so that if they should officiate in their own mean Garments, it might make the Divine Offices grow also into contempt. And therefore, it was resolved to continue the use of them; and it was said, that their being blessed, and used superstitiously, gave as strong an Argument against the use of Churches, and Bells; but that St. *Paul* had said, *That every Creature of God was good*, and even the Meat of the Sacrifice offered to an Idol, than which there could be no greater abuse, might lawfully be eaten; therefore they saw no necessity because of a former abuse to throw away Habits, that had so much decency in them, and had been formerly in use.

In the compiling the Offices, they began with Morning and Evening Prayer. These were put in the same Form they are now; only there was no Confession nor Absolution; the Office beginning with the Lords Prayer. In the Communion Service, the Ten Commandments were not said, as they are now; but in other things, it was very near what it is now. All that had been in the Order of the Communion formerly mentioned was put into it. The Offertory was to be made of Bread and Wine mixed with Water. Then was said the Prayer for the state of Christs Church, in which they gave thanks to God for his wonderful Grace declared in his Saints, in the blessed Virgin, the Patriarchs, Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs; and they commended the Saints departed to Gods Mercy and Peace, that at the day of the Resurrection we with them might be set on Christs Right Hand. To this, the consecratory Prayer which we now use, was joyned as a part of it; only with these words that are since left out, *With thy Holy Spirit vouchsafe to Bless, and Sanctifie, these thy Gifts and Creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son*, &c. To the Consecration was also joyned the Prayer of Thanksgiving now used. After the Consecration, all Elevation was forbidden, which had been first used as a Rite expressing how Christ was lifted up on the Cross; but was, after the belief of the Corporal Presence, made use of to shew the Sacrament, that the People might all fall down and worship it. And it was ordered, That the whole Office of the Communion, except the Consecratory Prayer, should be used on all Holy-days, when there was no Communion, to put People in mind of it, and of the Sufferings of Christ. The Bread was to be unleavened, round, but no print on it, and somewhat thicker than it was formerly. And though it was anciently put in the Peoples Hands, yet because some might carry it away, and apply it to superstitious uses, it was ordered to be put by the Priest into their Mouths. It is clear that Christ delivered it into the Hands of the Apostles, and it so continued for many Ages, as appears by several remarkable Stories of Holy Men carrying it with them in their Journeys. In the *Greek* Church where the Bread and Wine were mingled together, some began to think it more decent to receive it in little Spoons of Gold, than in their Hands; but that was condemned by the Council in *Trullo*: Yet soon after they began in the *Latin* Church to appoint Men to receive it with their Hands, but Women to take it in a Linnen

Linnen Cloth, which was called their *Dominical.* But when the belief of the Corporeal Preſence was received, then a new way of receiving was invented among other things to ſupport it: the People were now no more to touch that which was conceived to be the Fleſh of their Saviour, and therefore the Prieſts Thumb and Fingers were particularly anointed, as a neceſſary diſpoſition for ſo holy a Contact, and ſo it was by them put into the Mouths of the People. A *Letany* was alſo gathered, conſiſting of many ſhort Petitions, interrupted by Suffrages between them: and was the ſame that we ſtill uſe, only they had one Suffrage that we have not, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and all his deteſtable enormities. 1548.

In Baptiſm there was, beſides the Forms which we ſtill retain, a Croſs at firſt made on the Childs Forehead, and Breaſt, with an adjuration of the Devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. Then the Prieſt was to take the Child by the Right Hand, and to place him within the Font: there he was to be dipt thrice, once on the right ſide, once on the left, and once on the Breaſt; which was to be diſcreetly done: but if the Child were weak, it was ſufficient to ſprinkle Water on his Face. Then was the Prieſt to put a White Veſtment or Chryſome on him, for a token of Innocence, and to anoint him on the Head, with a Prayer for the Unction of the Holy Ghoſt. In Confirmation, thoſe that came, were to be Catechiſed, which having in it a formal engagement to make good the Baptiſmal Vow, was all that was asked: (The *Catechiſm* then was the ſame that is now, only there is ſince added an Explanation of the Sacraments:) This being ſaid, the Biſhop was to Sign them with the Croſs, and to lay his Hands on them, and ſay, *I Sign thee with the Sign of the Croſs, and lay my Hands on thee, in the Name of the Father*, &c. The Sick, who deſired to be anointed, might have the Unction on their Forehead, or their Breaſt only; with a Prayer, that as their Body was outwardly anointed with Oyl, ſo they might receive the Holy Ghoſt, with Health, and victory over Sin, and Death. At Funerals, they recommended the Soul departed to Gods Mercy, and prayed that his ſins might be pardoned, that he might be delivered from Hell, and carried to Heaven, and that his Body might be raiſed at the laſt day.

They alſo took care that thoſe who could not come, or be brought to Church, ſhould not therefore be deprived of the uſe of the Sacraments. The Church of *Rome* had raiſed the belief of the indiſpenſable neceſſity of the Sacraments ſo high, that they taught they did *ex opere operato* by the very action it ſelf without inward acts, juſtifie and confer Grace, unleſs there were a barr put to it by the Receiver: and the firſt riſe of the Queſtions about Juſtification ſeems to have come from this: For that Church teaching that Men were juſtified by Sacramental Actions, the Reformers oppoſed this, and thought Men were juſtified by the Internal Acts of the Mind: If they had held at this, the Controverſie might have been managed with much greater advantages; which they loſt in a great meaſure by deſcending to ſome minuter ſubtleties. In the Church of *Rome* purſuant to their belief concerning the neceſſity of the Sacraments, Women were allowed in extream Caſes to Baptize: and the Midwives commonly did it; which might be the beginning of their being licenſed by Biſhops to exerciſe that Calling. And they alſo believed that a ſimple attrition with the Sacraments was ſufficient for Salvation in thoſe

1548. thoſe who were grown up, and upon theſe Grounds the Sacraments were adminiſtred to the Sick.

In the Primitive Church they ſent Portions of the Sacrament to thoſe who were ſick, or in Priſon: and did it not only without Pomp or Proceſſions, but ſent it often by the hands of Boys and other Laicks, as appears from the famed Story of *Serapion*: which as it ſhews they did not then believe it was the very Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt; ſo when that Doctrine was received it was a natural effect of that belief, to have the Sacrament carried by the Prieſt himſelf with ſome Pomp and Adoration. The Ancients thought it more decent and ſutable to the Communion of Saints to conſecrate the Elements only in the Church, and to ſend Portions to the Sick, thereby expreſſing their Communion with the reſt. The Reformers conſidering theſe things ſteered a middle courſe: They judged the Sacraments neceſſary, where they could be had; as appointments inſtituted by Chriſt: and though they thought it more expedient to have all Baptiſms done in the Church at the Fonts, than in private Houſes; thereby ſignifying that the Baptized were admitted to the Fellowſhip of that Church; yet ſince our Saviour had ſaid, *That where two or three are gathered together he will be in the midſt of them*: they thought it favoured too much of a Superſtition to the Walls or Fonts of Churches, to tie this Action ſo to theſe, that where Children, either through infirmity, or the ſharpneſs of Weather, could not be, without danger, carried to Church, they ſhould be denied Baptiſm. But ſtill they thought publick Baptiſm more expreſſive of the Communion of the Saints, ſo that they recommended it much, and only permitted the other in Caſes of neceſſity. This has ſince grown to a great abuſe; many thinking it a piece of ſtate to have their Children Baptized in their Houſes; and ſo bringing their pride with them even into the moſt Sacred Performances. There may be alſo a fault in the Miniſters, who are too eaſily brought to do it. But it is now become ſo univerſal, that all the endeavours of ſome of our Biſhops have not been able to bring it back, to the firſt deſign of not Baptizing in private Houſes; excepting only where there was ſome viſible danger in carrying the Children to Church.

As for the other Sacrament, it was thought by our Reformers, that according to the mind of the Primitive Church, none ſhould be denied it in their extremities: it never being more neceſſary, than at that time, to uſe all means that might ſtrengthen the faith, and quicken the devotion of dying perſons; it being alſo moſt expedient that they ſhould then profeſs their dying in the Faith, and with a good Conſcience, and in Charity with all Men; Therefore they ordered the Communion to be given to the Sick, and that before it was ſo given, the Prieſt ſhould examine their Conſciences; and upon the ſincere profeſſion of their Faith, and the Confeſſion of ſuch ſins as oppreſſed their Conſciences, with the doing of all that was then in their power, for the compleating of their Repentance, as the forgiving injuries, and dealing juſtly with all People, he ſhould give them the Peace of the Church in a formal Abſolution, and the Holy Euchariſt. But that they might avoid the pomp of vain Proceſſions on the one hand, and the indecencies of ſending the Sacrament by common Hands on the other, they thought it better to gather a Congregation about the Sick Perſon, and there to conſecrate and give

give the Sacrament to that ſmall Aſſembly: where, as Chriſts Promiſe, *of being in the midſt of two or three that were gathered together in his Name*, ſhould have put an end to the weak exceptions ſome have made to theſe private Communions; ſo on the other hand it is to be feared, that the greater part retain ſtill too much of the Superſtition of Popery; as if the Prieſts Abſolution with the Sacrament, and ſome ſlight ſorrow for ſin, would be a ſure paſs-port for their admittance to Heaven: which it is certain can only be had, upon ſo true a Faith as carries a ſincere Repentance with a change of Heart and Life along with it: for to ſuch only the Mercies of God through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt are applied in all ordinary Caſes. 1548.

The Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer.

To all this they prefixed a Preface concerning Ceremonies, the ſame that is ſtill before the Common-Prayer-Book. In which Preface they make a difference between thoſe Ceremonies that were brought in with a good intent, and were afterwards abuſed; and others that had been brought in out of a vanity and ſuperſtition at firſt, and grew to be more abuſed: The one they had quite rejected, the other they had reformed, and retained, for decency and edification. Some were ſo ſet on their old Forms, that they thought it a great matter to depart from any of them; others were deſirous to innovate in every thing; between both which they had kept a mean. The burthen of Ceremonies in St. *Auſtins* days was ſuch that he complained of them, then as intollerable, by which the ſtate of Chriſtians was worſe than that of the *Jews*; but theſe were ſwelled to a far greater number ſince his days, which did indeed darken Religion and had brought Chriſtians under a heavy Yoke. Therefore they had only reſerved ſuch as were decent, and apt to ſtir up Mens Minds with ſome good ſignification. Many Ceremonies had been ſo abuſed by ſuperſtition and avarice, that it was neceſſary to take them quite away: But ſince it was fit to retain ſome, for decency and order, it ſeemed better to keep thoſe which were old, than to ſeek new ones. But theſe that were kept, were not thought equal with Gods Law, and ſo were upon juſt cauſes to be altered: they were alſo plain, and eaſie to be underſtood, and not very ſubject to be abuſed. Nor did they in retaining theſe, condemn other Nations, or preſcribe to any but their own People. And thus was this Book made ready againſt the next meeting of Parliament.

Reflections made on the new Liturgy.

In it, the uſe of the Croſs was retained, ſince it had been uſed by the ancient Chriſtians, as a publick declaration that they were not aſhamed of the Croſs of Chriſt. Though they acknowledged this had been ſtrangely abuſed in the later Ages, in which the bare uſe of the Croſs was thought to have ſome Magical Vertue in it: and this had gone ſo far, that in the *Roman Pontifical* it was declared, that the Croſier Staff was to be worſhiped with that ſupream degree of Adoration, called *Latria*. But it was thought fit to retain it in ſome parts of Worſhip; and the rather, becauſe it was made uſe of among the People to defame the Reformers, that they had no Veneration for the Croſs of Chriſt. And therefore as an outward expreſſion of that, in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and in the Office of Confirmation, and in the conſecration of the Sacramental Elements, it was ordered to be retained, but with this difference, that the Sign of the Croſs was not made with the opinion of any vertue or efficacy in it to drive away evil Spirits, or to preſerve one out of dan-

gers;

1548. gers, which were thought Vertues that followed the uſe of it in the *Roman* Church; for in Baptiſm, as they uſed the Sign of the Croſs, they added an Adjuration to the *evil Spirit not to violate it*, and in the making it ſaid, *Receive the Sign of the Croſs both in thy Forehead and in thy Heart, and take the Faith of the Heavenly Precepts.* Thus a Sacramental Vertue was pretended to be affixed to it; which the Reformers thought could not be done without a Warrant from a Divine Inſtitution, of which it is plain there was none in Scripture. But they thought the uſe of it only as an expreſſion of the Belief of the Church, and as a Badge of Chriſtianity, with ſuch words added to it as could import no more, was liable to no exception. This ſeems more neceſſary to be well explained, by reaſon of the Scruples that many have ſince raiſed againſt ſignificant Ceremonies, as if it were too great a preſumption in any Church to appoint ſuch; ſince theſe ſeem to be of the nature of Sacraments. Ceremonies that ſignifie the Conveyance of a Divine Grace, and Vertue, are indeed Sacraments, and ought not to be uſed without an expreſs Inſtitution in Scripture: but Ceremonies that only ſignifie the ſenſe we have, which is ſometimes expreſſed as ſignificantly in dumb ſhows as in words, are of another kind; and it is as much within the power of the Church to appoint ſuch to be uſed, as it is to order Collects or Prayers, words and ſigns being but different ways of expreſſing our thoughts. The belief of Chriſts Corporal Preſence was yet under conſideration. And they obſerving wiſely how the *Germans* had broken, by their running too ſoon into Conteſts about that, reſolved to keep up ſtill the old general Expreſſions, of the Sacraments being the whole and true Body of Chriſt, without coming to a more particular explanation of it. The uſe of Oyl on ſo many occaſions, was taken from the Ancient Chriſtians, who, as *Theophilus* ſays, began early to be anointed; and underſtood thoſe words of St. *Paul*, of *Gods anointing* and *ſealing*, literally. It was alſo anciently applied to the receiving of Penitents. But it was not uſed about the Sick, from the Apoſtles times till about the 10*th. Century.* And then, from what St. *James* writ to thoſe in the Diſperſion, of ſending for the Elders to come to ſuch as were ſick, who ſhould anoint them with Oyl, and their ſins ſhould be forgiven them, and they ſhould recover; they came to give it to thoſe that were dying; but not while there was any hope of Life left in them. Though it is clear, that what St. *James* writ, related to that extraordinary Gift of Healing, by impoſition of Hands, and anointing with Oyl, which yet continued in the Church when he writ that *Epiſtle.* And it is plain, that this Paſſage in St. *James* was not ſo underſtood by the Ancients, as it is now in the *Roman* Church; ſince the Ancients, though they uſed Oyl on many other occaſions, yet applied it not at all to the Sick, till after ſo many Ages, that groſs Superſtition had ſo diſpoſed the World to new Rites, that there could be no diſcovery or invention more acceptable, than the addition of a new Ceremony; though they were then much oppreſſed with the old ones.

The Changes that were made, and thoſe that were deſigned to be made, occaſioned great heats every where. And the Pulpits generally contending with one another; to reſtrain that claſhing, the power of granting Licences to Preach, was taken from the Biſhops of each Dioceſs, ſo that none might give them, but the King and the Arch-biſhop of

of *Canterbury*. Yet that not proving an effectual reſtraint, on the 23*d*. of *September* a Proclamation is ſaid to have come out, ſetting forth, That whereas according to former Proclamations none was to preach, but ſuch as had obtained Licenſes from the King or the Arch biſhop; yet ſome of thoſe that were ſo licenſed, had abuſed that permiſſion, and had carried themſelves irreverently contrary to the Inſtructions that were ſent them. Therefore the King intending to have ſhortly an uniform Order over all the Kingdom, and to put an end to all Controverſies in Religion; about which ſome Biſhops and other Learned Men were then aſſembled; and though many of the Preachers ſo licenſed had carried themſelves wiſely, to the Honour of God, and the Kings great contentation; yet till the Order now preparing ſhould be ſet forth, he did inhibit all manner of Perſons to preach in any publick Audience; to the intent that the Clergy might apply themſelves to Prayer, for a Bleſſing on what the King was then about to do: not doubting but the People would be employed likewiſe in Prayer, and hearing the *Homilies* read in their Churches, and be ready to receive that uniform Order that was to be ſet forth: and the inferior Magiſtrates were required to ſee to the execution of this. I never met with any footſtep of this Proclamation, neither in Records, nor in Letters, nor in any Book written at that time. But Mr. *Fuller* has printed it, and Dr. *Heylin* has given an Abſtract of it from him. If *Fuller* had told how he came by it, it might have been further examined. But we know not whether he ſaw the printed Proclamation, or only a Copy of it. And if he ſaw but a Copy, we have reaſon to doubt of it; for that might have been only the Eſſay of ſome projecting Man's Pen. But becauſe I found it in thoſe Authors, I thought beſt to ſet it down as it is, and leave the Reader to judge of it. 1548. All Preaching was for a time reſtrained.

Having thus given an account of the Progreſs of the Reformation this Summer, I ſhall now turn to tranſactions of State, and ſhall firſt look towards *Scotland*. The *Scots* gaining time the laſt Winter, and being in daily expectation of Succours from *France*, were reſolved to carry on the War. The Governour began the Year with the Siege of *Broughty Caſtle*, a little below *Dundee*. But the *Engliſh* that were in it defended themſelves ſo well, that after they had been beſieged three Months, the Siege was raiſed, and only ſo many were left about it as might cover the Country from their excurſions. The *Engliſh* on the other ſide had taken, and fortified, *Hadingtoun*; and were at work alſo at *Lauder* to make it ſtrong. The former of theſe, lying in a Plain, and in one of the moſt fruitful Counties of *Scotland*, within twelve Miles of *Edenburgh*, was a very fit Place to be kept as a Curb upon the Country. About the end of *May* 6000 Men were ſent from *France* under the Command of *Deſſe*: 3000 of theſe were *Germans*, commanded by the *Rhinegrave*; 2000 of them were *French*, and a Thouſand were of other Nations. They landed at *Lieth*; and the Governour having gathered 8000 *Scots* to joyn with them, they ſate down before *Hadingtoun*; and here the *Scottiſh* Nobility entred into a long Conſultation about their Affairs. The Affairs in *Scotland* this Year.

The Protector had ſent a Propoſition to them, that there might be a Truce for Ten Years. (But whether he offered to remove the Gariſons, does not appear.) This he was forced to upon many accounts. He ſaw the War was like to laſt long, and to draw on great expence, and would certainly end in another War with *France*; he durſt not any more go from

1548. Court, and march himself at the Head of the Army, and leave the King to the Practices of his Brother: There were also great discontents in *England*, many were offended with the Changes made in Religion; the Commons complained generally of oppression, and of the enclosing of Grounds, of which the sad effects broke out next Year: He began to labour under the envy of the Nobility; the Clergy were almost all displeased with him; and the state of Affairs in *Germany* made it necessary to joyn with the King of *France* against the *Emperour*. All this made him very desirous of such a Peace with *Scotland*, as might at least preserve the Queen from being disposed of, for Ten Years. In that time, by Treaty and Pensions, they might hope to gain their ends; more certainly than by a War, which only inflamed the *Scots* against them; according to the witty Saying of one of the *Scots*, who being asked what he thought of the Match with *England*, said, he knew not how he should like the Marriage, but he was sure he did not like the way of wooing. On the other hand, the *French* pressed the *Scots* to send their young Queen into *France*, in the Ships that had brought over their Forces; who should be married to the *Dolphin*, and then they might depend on the Protection of *France*. Many were for accepting the Proposition from *England*, (particularly all those who secretly favoured the Reformation) they thought it would give them present quiet, and free them from all the distractions, which they either felt, or might apprehend, from a lasting War with so powerful an Enemy: whereas the sending away of their Queen would put them out of a capacity of obtaining a Peace, if the War this year proved as unsuccessful as it was the last; and the defence they had from *France* was almost as bad as the Invasions of the *English*, for the *French* were very insolent, and committed great disorders. But all the Clergy were so apprehensive of their ruine by the Marriage with *England*, that they never judged themselves safe till this thing was out of their power, by the sending their Queen into *France*. And it was said, that when once the *English* saw the hopes of the Marriage irrecoverably lost, they would soon grow weary of the War: for then the King of *France* would engage in the defence of *Scotland* with his whole Force, so that nothing would keep up the War so much as having their Queen still among them. To this many of the Nobility yielded, being corrupted by Money from *France*; and the Governour consented to it, for which he was to be made Duke of *Chastelherault* in *France*, and to have an Estate of 12000 Livres a year. And so it was agreed to send their Queen away. This being gained, the *French* Ships set sail to Sea, as if they had been to return to *France*; but sailed round *Scotland* by the Isles of *Orkney*, and came into *Dunbriton* Frith, near to which the Queen was kept in *Dunbriton* Castle; and receiving her from thence, with an Honourable Convoy that was sent to attend on her, they carried her over to *Britaigne* in *France*, and so by easie Journeys she was brought to Court, where her Unkles received her with great joy, hoping by her means to raise and establish their Fortunes in *France*.

The *Scottish* Queen is sent to *France*.

In the mean time the Siege of *Hadingtoun* was carried on with great valour, on both sides. The *French* were astonished at the courage, the nimbleness, and labours, of the *Scotch* Highlanders; who were half naked; but capable of great hardships, and used to run on with marvellous swift-

The Siege of *Hadingtoun*.

Tonanus.

swiftneſs. In one Sally which the Beſieged made, one of thoſe got an *Engliſh* Man on his Shoulders, and carried him away, with that quickneſs that nothing could ſtop him: and though the *Engliſh* Man bit him ſo in the Neck, that as ſoon as he had brought him into the Camp, he himſelf fell down as dead, yet he carried him off; for which he was nobly rewarded by *Deſſie*. The *Engliſh* defended themſelves no leſs couragiouſly; and though a Recruit of about 1000 Foot and 300 Horſe, that was ſent from *Berwick*, led by Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Tho. Palmer*, was ſo fatally intercepted, that they were almoſt all to a Man killed, yet they loſt no Heart. Another Party, of about 300, eſcaped the Ambuſh laid for them, and got into the Town, with a great deal of Ammunition and Proviſions, of which the Beſieged were come to be in want. But at the ſame time both *Home* Caſtle and *Faſcaſtle* were loſt. The former was taken by treachery: for ſome coming in as deſerters, ſeeming to be very zealous for the *Engliſh* quarrel, and being too much truſted by the Governour, and going often out to bring intelligence, gave the Lord *Home* notice, that on that ſide where the Rock was, the *Engliſh* kept no good Watches, truſting to the ſteepneſs of the Place; ſo they agreed that ſome ſhould come and climb the Rock, to whom they ſhould give aſſiſtance; which was accordingly done, and ſo it was ſurprized in the night. The Governour of *Faſcaſtle* had ſummoned the Country People to bring him in Proviſions; upon which (by a common Stratagem) Soldiers, coming as Country-men, threw down their Carriages at the Gates, and fell on the Sentinels: and ſo the Signal being given, ſome, that lay concealed near at hand, came in time to aſſiſt them, and took the Caſtle. 1548.

The Protector, till the Army was gathered together, ſent a Fleet of Ships to diſturb the *Scots*, by the deſcents they ſhould make in divers places: and his Brother being Admiral, he commanded him to go to his charge. He landed firſt in *Fife*, at St. *Mimins*, but there the Queens natural Brother, *James*, afterwards Earl of *Murray*, and Regent of *Scotland*, gathered the Country People together, and made Head againſt them. The *Engliſh* were 1200, and had brought their Cannon to Land; but the *Scots* charged them ſo home, that they forced them to their Ships: Many were drowned, and many killed; the *Scots* reckoned the number of the ſlain to be 600, and a hundred Priſoners taken. The next deſcent they made was no more proſperous to them. For landing in the night at *Mountroſs*, *Erskin* of *Dun* gathered the Country together, and divided them in three Bodies, ordering one to appear ſoon after the former had engaged: the Enemy, ſeeing a ſecond, and a third Body come againſt them, apprehending greater numbers, run back to their Ships; but with ſo much loſs, that of 800 who had landed, the third Man got not ſafe to the Ships again. So the Admiral returned, having got nothing but loſs and diſgrace by the Expedition. A Fleet ſent againſt *Scotland*. But was not ſucceſsful.

But now the *Engliſh* Army came into *Scotland*, commanded by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: though both the *Scotch* Writers and *Thuanus* ſay, the Earl of *Lennox* had the chief command; but he only came with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, as knowing the Country and People beſt, and ſo being the fitter both to get intelligence, and to negotiate, if there was room for it. The *Scots* were by this time gone home for the moſt part; and the Nobility with *Deſſie* agreed that it was not fit to put all

1548. *Aug.* 20. The Siege of *Hadingtoun* raiſ'd.

to hazard, and therefore raiſed the Siege of *Hadingtoun*, and marched back to *Edenburgh*. The Lord *Gray* with a great part of the *Engliſh* Army followed him in the Rear, but did not engage him into any great Action: by which a good opportunity was loſt, for the *French* were in great diſorder. The *Engliſh* Army came into *Hadingtoun*. They conſiſted of about 17000 Men: of which Number 7000 were Horſe; and 3000 of the Foot were *German Landsknights*, whom the Protector had entertained in his Service. Theſe *Germans* were ſome of the broken Troops of the Proteſtant Army, who, ſeeing the ſtate of their own Country deſperate, offered their Service to the Protector. He too eaſily entertained them; reckoning, that being Proteſtants, they would be ſure to him, and would depend wholly on himſelf. But this proved a fatal Counſel to him; the *Engliſh* having been always jealous of a ſtanding, but much more of a Forreign Force about their Prince: ſo there was great occaſion given by this to thoſe who traded in ſowing Jealouſies among the People. The *Engliſh*, having victualled *Hadingtoun*, and repaired the Fortifications, returned back into their own Country. But had they gone on to *Edenburgh*, they had found things there in great confuſion. For *Deſſie*, when he got thither, having loſt 500 of his Men in the Retreat, went to quarter his Soldiers in the Town; but the Provoſt, (ſo is the chief Magiſtrate there called) oppoſed it. The *French* broke in with force, and killed him and his Son, with all they found in the Streets, Men, Women, and Children: and as a Spie, whom the *Engliſh* had in *Edenburgh*, gave them notice, the *Scots* were now more alienated from the *French* than from the *Engliſh*. The *French* had carried it very gently till the *Queen* was ſent away; but reckoned *Scotland* now a Conquered Country, and a Province to *France*. So the *Scots* began, though too late, to repent the ſending away of the *Queen*. But it ſeems the *Engliſh* had orders not to venture too far; for the hopes of the Marriage were now gone, and the Protector had no mind to engage in a War with *France*. Theſe things happened in the beginning of *October*. *Deſſie*, apprehending that at *Hadingtoun* they were now ſecure, the Siege being ſo lately raiſed, reſolved to try if he could carry the Place by ſurprize. The *Engliſh* from thence had made Excurſions as far as *Edenburgh*; in one of which the *French* fell on them, purſued them, and killed about 200, and took ſixſcore Priſoners, almoſt within their Works. Soon after, *Deſſie* marched in the night, and ſurprized one of their Out-works, and was come to the Gates; where the Place had been certainly loſt, if it had not been for a *French* Deſerter, who knew, if he were taken, what he was to expect. He therefore fired one of the great Cannon, which being diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of the *French*, killed ſo many, and put the reſt in ſuch diſorder, that *Deſſie* was forced to quit the Attempt. From thence he went and fortified *Lieth*, which was then but a mean Village; but the ſituation of the Place being recommended by the ſecurity it now had, it ſoon came to be one of the beſt Peopled Towns in *Scotland*. From thence he intended to have gone on, to take *Broughty Caſtle*, and to recover *Dundee*, which were then in the Hands of the *Engliſh*, but he was ordered by the Queen Regent to make an Inroad into *England*. There, after ſome ſlight Engagements, in which the *Engliſh* had the worſt, the *Scotch* and *French* came in as far as *Newcaſtle*, and returned loaded with Spoil: which the *French* divided among them-

themſelves, allowing the *Scots* no ſhare of it. An *Engliſh* Prieſt was taken, who bore that diſgrace of his Country ſo heavily, that he threw himſelf on the ground, and would not eat, nor ſo much as open his Eyes, but lay thus proſtrate till he died. This the *French*, who ſeldom let their misfortunes afflict them, look'd on with much aſtoniſhment. But at that time, the *Engliſh* had fortified *Inch-keith*, an Iſland in the *Frith*, and put 800 Men in it. Seventeen days after that, *Deſſie* brought his Forces from *Leith*, and recovered it; having killed 400 *Engliſh*, and forced the reſt to ſurrender. 1548.

Thus ended this Year, and with it *Deſſie*'s Power in *Scotland*. For the Queen Mother and the Governour had made great complaints of him at the Court of *France*, that he put the Nation to vaſt charge to little purpoſe; ſo that he was more uneaſie to his Friends than his Enemies: and his laſt diſorder at *Edenburgh*, had on the one hand ſo raiſed the inſolence of the *French* Soldiers, and on the other hand ſo alienated and inflamed the People, that unleſs another were ſent to command, who ſhould govern more mildly, there might be great danger of a defection of a whole Kingdom. For now, the Seeds of their diſtaſt of the *French* Government were ſo ſown, that Men came generally to condemn their ſending the Queen away; and to hate the Governour for conſenting to it, but chiefly, to abhor the Clergy, who had wrought it for their own ends. Diſcontents in *Scotland*.

Monſieur de Thormes was ſent over to command; and *Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence* came with him to govern the Councils, and be Chancellor of the Kingdom. He had lately returned from his Ambaſſy at *Conſtantinople*. He was one of the wiſeſt Men of that time, and was always for moderate Councils in Matters of Religion: which made him be ſometime ſuſpected of hereſie. And indeed the whole ſequel of his life declared him to be one of the greateſt Men of that Age: only his being ſo long, and ſo firmly, united to Queen *Katharine Medici*'s Intereſt, takes off a great deal of the high Character which the reſt of his Life has given of him. But he was at this time unknown, and ill repreſented, in *Scotland*; where they that looked for advantages from their alliance with *France*, took it ill to ſee a *French* Man ſent over to enjoy the beſt Office in the Kingdom. The Queen Mother her ſelf was afraid of him: So to avoid new grounds of diſcontent, he left the Kingdom, and returned into *France*. *Monluc* ſent thither to be Lord Chancellor. But was not well received.

Thus ended the War between *Scotland* and *England* this Year, in almoſt an equal mixture of good and bad ſucceſs. The *Engliſh* had preſerved *Hadingtoun*, which was the chief matter of this Years Action. But they had been at great charge in the War, in which they were only on the defenſive: they had loſt other Places, and been unſucceſsful at Sea: and which was worſt of all, they had now loſt all hopes of the Marriage, and were almoſt engaged in a War with *France*, which was like to fall on the King, when his Affairs were in an ill condition, his People being divided and diſcontented at home, and his Treaſure much exhauſted by this War.

The ſtate of *Germany* was at this time moſt deplorable: The *Pope* and *Emperor* continued their quarrelling about the tranſlation of the Council. *Mendoza* at *Rome*, and *Velaſco* at *Bologna*, declared in the Emperors Name, that a Council being called by his great and long endeavours The Affairs of *Germany*.

1548. deavours for the quieting of *Germany*, and he being engaged in a War to get it to be received; and having procured a ſubmiſſion of the Empire to the Council, it was, upon frivolous and feigned cauſes, removed out of *Germany*, to one of the Popes Towns: by which the *Germans* thought themſelves diſengaged of their promiſe, which was to ſubmit to a Council in *Germany*: and therefore that he proteſted againſt it, as an unlawful Meeting, to whoſe Decrees he would not ſubmit; and that if they did not return to *Trent*, he would take care of ſetling Religion ſome other way. But the *Pope*, being encouraged by the *French* King, was not ill pleaſed to ſee the *Emperor* anew embroil himſelf with the *Germans*: and therefore intended the Council ſhould be continued at *Bologna*. Upon this the *Emperor* ordered three Divines, *Julius Flugius* Biſhop of *Naumburg*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *Iſtebius Agricola*, to draw a Form of Religion. The two former had been always Papiſts, and the latter was formerly a Proteſtant, but was believed to be now corrupted by the *Emperor*, that the Name of one of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion might make what they were to ſet out, paſs the more eaſily. They drew up all the Points of Religion in a *Book* which was beſt known by the Name of the *Interim*, becauſe it was to laſt during that Interval, till a General Council ſhould meet in *Germany*. In it, all the Points of the *Romiſh* Doctrine were ſet forth in the ſmootheſt terms poſſible: only married Men might officiate as Prieſts, and the Communion was to be given in both kinds. The *Book* being thus prepared, a *Diet* was ſummoned to *Ausburg* in *Feb.* where the firſt thing done was the ſolemn Inveſtiture of *Maurice* in the *Electorate* of *Saxony*. He had been declared *Elector* laſt year by the *Emperor* before *Wittenberg*; but now it was performed with great Ceremony on the 24*th.* of *Feb.* which was the Emperors Birth-day: *John Frederick* looking on with his uſual conſtancy of mind. All he ſaid, was, "Now they triumph in that Dignity, of which they have a-"gainſt Juſtice and Equity ſpoiled me: God grant they may enjoy it "peaceably and happily, and may never need any aſſiſtance from me or "my Poſterity. And without expreſſing any further concern about it, he went to his Studies, which were almoſt wholly employed in the Scriptures.

The Emperor being diſpleaſed with the Tranſlation of the Council, orders the *Interim* to be drawn.

Feb. *Diet* at *Ausburg*.

Feb. 24. *Maurice* made Elector of *Saxony*.

The Book of the *Interim* being prepared, the *Elector* of *Brandenburgh* ſent for *Martin Bucer*, who was both a learned and moderate Divine; and ſhewed it him. *Bucer* having read it, plainly told him, that it was nothing but downright Popery, only a little diſguiſed: at which the *Elector* was much offended, for he was pleaſed with it; and *Bucer* not without great danger returned back to *Strasburg*. On the 15*th.* of *March*, the *Book* was propoſed to the *Diet*: and the *Elector* of *Mentz*, without any order, did in all the Princes Names, give the *Emperor* thanks for it: which he interpreted as the aſſent of the whole *Diet*; and after that would not hear any that came to him to ſtop it, but publiſhed it as agreed to by the *Diet*.

March 15. The *Interim* received in the *Diet*.

The Papiſts offended at it as well as the Proteſtants.

At *Rome*, and *Bologna*, it was much condemned, as an high attempt in the Emperor to meddle with Points of Religion; ſuch as diſpenſing with the Marriage of Prieſts, and the Communion in both kinds. Wherefore ſome of that Church writ againſt it. And Matters went ſo high, that wiſe Men of that ſide began to fear the Breach between the *Emperor* and them might, before they were aware, be paſt reconciling: for they had

had not forgot that the laſt Popes ſtiffneſs had loſt *England*, and they were not a little afraid they might now loſe the *Emperor*. But if the *Pope* were offended for the conceſſions in theſe two Particulars, the *Proteſtants* thought they had much greater cauſe to diſlike it; ſince in all other controverted Points it was againſt them. So that ſeveral of that ſide writ likewiſe againſt it. But the *Emperor* was now ſo much exalted with his ſucceſs, that he reſolved to go through with it, little regarding the oppoſition of either hand. The new *Elector* of *Saxony* went home, and offered it to his Subjects. But they refuſed to receive it, and ſaid, (as Sir *Philip Hobbey*, then Ambaſſador from *England* at the *Emperors* Court, writ over) that they had it under the Emperors Hand and Seal, that he ſhould not meddle with Matters of Religion, but only with reforming the Common-wealth: and that if their Prince would not protect them in this matter, they ſhould find another, who would defend them from ſuch oppreſſion. An Exhortation for the receiving of it was read at *Ausburg*; but they alſo refuſed it. Many Towns ſent their Addreſſes to the Emperor, deſiring him not to oppreſs their Conſciences. But none was of ſuch a nature as that from *Linda*, a little Town near *Conſtance*, which had declared for the *Emperor* in the former War. They returned anſwer, That they could not agree to the *Interim*, without incurring Eternal Damnation: but to ſhew their ſubmiſſion to him in all other things, they ſhould not ſhut their Gates, nor make reſiſtance, againſt any he ſhould find, though it were to ſpoil and deſtroy their Town. This let the *Emperor* and his Council ſee how difficult a work it would be to ſubdue the Conſciences of the *Germans*. But his Chancellor *Granvell* preſſed him to extream Councils, and to make an example of that Town, who had ſo peremptorily refuſed to obey his Commands. Yet he had little reaſon to hope he ſhould prevail on thoſe who were at liberty, when he could work ſo little on his Priſoner the Duke of *Saxe*. For he had endeavoured by great offers to perſwade him to agree to it: but all was in vain, for he always told them that kept him, that his Perſon was in their Power, but his Conſcience was in his own, and that he would not on any terms depart from the *Ausburg* Confeſſion. Upon this he was ſeverely uſed, his Chaplain was put from him, with moſt of his Servants; but he continued ſtill unmoved, and as cheerful as in his greateſt Proſperity. The *Lutheran* Divines entred into great diſputes how far they might comply. *Melanchthon* thought that the Ceremonies of Popery might be uſed, ſince they were of their own nature indifferent. Others, as *Amſtorfius*, *Illiricus*, with the greateſt part of the *Lutherans*, thought the receiving the Ceremonies would make way for all the errors of Popery; and though they were of their own nature indifferent, yet they ceaſed to be ſo, when they were enjoyned as things neceſſary to Salvation. But the *Emperor* going on reſolutely, many Divines were driven away; ſome concealed themſelves in *Germany*, others fled into *Switzerland*, and ſome came over into *England*.

1548.

Cotton Library *Titus B.* 2.

When the news of the Changes that were made here in *England* were carried beyond Sea, and after *Peter Martyr*'s being with *Cranmer*, were more copiouſly written by him to his friends; *Calvin*, and *Mar. Bucer*, who began to think the Reformation almoſt oppreſt in *Germany*, now turned their Eyes more upon *England*. *Calvin* writ to the *Protector* on the 29*th.* of *October*, encouraging him to go on notwithſtanding the Wars: as

Calvin writ to the Protector.

Heze-

1548. *Hezekias* had done in his Reformation. He lamented the heats of ſome that profeſſed the Goſpel, but complained that he heard there were few lively Sermons preached in *England*; and that the Preachers recited their diſcourſes coldly. He much approves a ſet-form of Prayers, whereby the conſent of all the Churches did more manifeſtly appear. But he adviſes a more compleat Reformation: he taxed the *Prayers for the Dead*, the *uſe of Chriſme* and *Extream Unction*, ſince they were no where recommended in Scripture. He had heard that the reaſon why they went no further was, becauſe the Times could not bear it; but this was to do the Work of God by Political Maximes; which though they ought to take place in other things, yet ſhould not be followed in Matters in which the Salvation of Souls was concerned. But above all things he complained of the great impieties and vices that were ſo common in *England*; as *Swearing*, *Drinking*, and *Uncleanneſs*; and prayed him earneſtly that theſe things might be looked after.

Bucer writ againſt *Gardiner*.

Martin Bucer writ alſo a Diſcourſe, congratulating the Changes then made in *England*, which was tranſlated into *Engliſh* by Sir *Philip Hobbey*'s Brother. In it he anſwered the Book that *Gardiner* had written againſt him; which he had formerly delayed to do, becauſe King *Henry* had deſired he would let it alone, till the *Engliſh* and *Germans* had conferr'd about Religion. That Book did chiefly relate to the Marriage of the Clergy: *Bucer* ſhewed from many Fathers, that they thought every Man had not the Gift of Chaſtity, which *Gardiner* thought every one might have that pleaſed. He taxed the open lewdneſs of the *Romiſh* Clergy, who being much ſet againſt Marriage, which was Gods Ordinance, did gently paſs over the impurities which the forbidding it had occaſioned among themſelves. He particularly taxed *Gardiner* himſelf, that he had his Rents payed him out of *Stews*. He taxed him alſo for his ſtate and pompous way of living, and ſhewed how indecent it was for a Churchman to be ſent in Ambaſſies: and that St. *Ambroſe*, though ſent to make Peace, was aſhamed of it, and thought it unbecoming the Prieſthood. Both *Fagius*, and *he*, being forced to leave *Germany*, upon the buſineſs of the *Interim*, *Cranmer* invited them over to *England*; and ſent them to *Cambridge*, as he had done *Peter Martyr* to *Oxford*. But *Fagius*, not agreeing with this Air, died ſoon after, a Man greatly learned in the *Oriental* Tongues, and a good Expounder of the Scripture.

Nov. 24. Parliament ſits.

This being the ſtate of Affairs both abroad and at home, a Seſſion of Parliament was held in *England* on the 24*th*. of *November*, to which day it had been prorogued from the 15*th*. of *October*, by reaſon of the Plague then in *London*. The firſt *Bill* that was finiſhed, was that about the Marriage of the Prieſts. It was brought into the Houſe of *Commons* the 3*d*. of *December*, read the ſecond time on the 5*th*, and the third time the 6*th*. But this *Bill* being only that married Men might be made Prieſts, a new Bill was framed, that, beſides the former Proviſion, Prieſts might marry: This was read the firſt time the 7*th*, the ſecond time the 10*th*, and was fully argued on the 11*th*, and agreed on the 12*th*, and ſent up to the Lords on the 13*th*. of *December*. In that *Houſe* it ſtuck as long, as it had been ſoon diſpatched, by the *Commons*. It lay on the Table till the 9*th*. of *February*. Then it was read the firſt time, and the 11*th*. the ſecond time; on the 16*th*. it was committed to the *Biſhops* of *Ely*

Ely and *Weſtminſter*, the Lord *Chief-Juſtice*, and the *Attorney-General*: and on the 19*th.* of *Feb.* it was agreed to; the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, *Norwich*, *Carliſle*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Briſtol*, *Chicheſter*, and *Landaff*; and the Lords *Morley*, *Dacres*, *Windſor*, and *Wharton*, diſſenting. It had the Royal Aſſent, and ſo became a Law. The Preamble ſets forth, "That it were better for Prieſts and other Miniſters of the "Church to live chaſt and without Marriage; whereby they might bet- "ter attend to the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and be leſs diſtracted with "ſecular cares, ſo that it were much to be wiſhed, that they would of "themſelves abſtain. But great filthineſs of living, with other incon- "veniences, had followed on the Laws that compelled Chaſtity, and "prohibited Marriage, ſo that it was better they ſhould be ſuffered to "marry, than be ſo reſtrained Therefore all Laws and Canons that "had been made againſt it, being only made by humane Authority, are "repealed. So that all Spiritual Perſons of what degree ſoever might "lawfully marry, providing they married according to the Order of the "Church. But a *Proviſo* was added, that becauſe many Divorces of Prieſts "had been made after the ſix Articles were enacted, and that the Women "might have thereupon married again, all theſe Divorces with every thing "that had followed on them, ſhould be confirmed, There was no Law that paſſed in this Reign with more contradiction and cenſure than this, and therefore the Reader may expect the larger account of this matter. 1548. An Act about the Marriage of the Clergy.

The unmarried ſtate of the Clergy had ſo much to be ſaid for it, as being a courſe of life that was more diſengaged from ſecular cares, and pleaſures; that it was caſt on the Reformers every where as a foul reproach, that they could not reſtrain their appetites, but engaged in a life that drew after it domeſtick cares, with many other diſtractions. This was an Objection ſo eaſie to be apprehended, that the People had been more prejudiced againſt the Marriage of the Clergy, if they had not felt greater inconveniences by the debaucheries of Prieſts; who being reſtrained from Marriage, had defiled the Beds, and deflow'red the Daughters of their Neighbours, into whoſe Houſes they had free and unſuſpected acceſs, and whom under the Cloak of receiving Confeſſions they could more eaſily entice. This made them that they were not ſo much wrought on by the noiſe of Chaſtity, (when they ſaw ſo much and ſo plainly to the contrary) as otherwiſe they would have been, by a thing that ſounded ſo well. But on the other hand, there was no Argument which the Reformers had more conſidered. There were two things upon which the Queſtion turned: The one was, the Obligation that Prieſthood brought with it to live unmarried; the other was, the tie they might be under by any Vow they had made. For the former, they conſidered, that God having ordained a Race of Men to be Prieſts under *Moſes* Law, who ſhould offer up expiatory Sacrifices for the ſins of the *Jews*, did not only not forbid Marriage, but made it neceſſary, for that office was to deſcend by inheritance; ſo that Prieſthood was not inconſiſtent with that ſtate. In the New Teſtament ſome of the qualifications of a Biſhop and Deacon are their being the Husband of one Wife, and their having well ordered their Houſe, and brought up their Children: St. *Peter* and other *Apoſtles* were married; it was thought St. *Paul* was ſo likewiſe; *Aquila* was certainly married to *Priſcilla*, and carried her about with him. Our *Saviour*, ſpeaking of the help that an unmarried ſtate was to the Kingdom Which was much enquired into. Arguments for it from Scripture.

1548. of God, recommended it equally to all Ranks of Men as they could bear it. St. *Paul* said, *Let every Man have his own Wife; It is better to marry than to burn*; and, *Marriage is honourable in all*; and the *forbidding to marry* is reckon'd by him a mark of the Apostacy of the latter times; so that the matter seemed clear from the Scriptures.

And from the Fathers. In the first Ages *Saturninus*, *Basilides*, *Montanus*, *Novatus*, and the *Encratites* condemned Marriage as a state of liberty more than was fit for Christians. Against those was asserted by the Primitive Fathers the lawfulness of Marriage to all Christians without discrimination: and they who entring into Holy Orders forsook their Wives, were severely condemned by the *Apostolical Canons*, and by the Council of *Gangra* in the beginning of fourth, and the Council in *Trullo* in the fifth Age. Many great Bishops in these times lived still with their Wives, and had Children by them, as namely both *Nazianzen*'s and *Basil*'s Fathers: and *Hilary* of *Poictiers*, when banished to *Phrygia* and very old, writing to his own Daughter *Abra*, bid her ask her Mother the meaning of those things which she by reason of her Age understood not; by which it appears that his Daughter was then very young, and by consequence born to him after he was Bishop. In the Council of *Nice*, it being proposed that Clergy-men should depart from their Wives, *Paphnutius*, though himself unmarried, opposed it as an unreasonable Yoke. And *Heliodorus* Bishop of *Trica*, the Author of the first of those Love-Fables, now known by the Name of *Romances*, being suspected of too much lasciviousness, and concerned to clear himself of that charge, did first move that Clergy-men should be obliged to live single, which the *Historian* says they were not tied to before, but Bishops as they pleased lived still with their Wives. The *Fathers* in those times extolled a single life very high, and yet they all thought a Man once married might be a Bishop though his Wife were yet living; they did not allow it indeed to him that had married twice; but for this they had a distinction, that if a Man had been once married before his Baptism, and again after his Baptism, he was to be understood to be in the state of a single Marriage. So that *Jerome*, who writ warmly enough against second Marriages, yet says, *Ad Oceanum*, that the Bishops in his Age who were but once married in that sence were not to be numbred, and that more of these could be reckoned than were at the Council of *Ariminum*, who are said to have been 800 Bishops. It is true that in that Age they began to make *Canons* against the Marriages of those who were in Orders, especially in the *Roman* and *African* Churches; but those were only Positive Laws of the Church, and the frequent repeating of those Canons shews that even there, they were not generally obeyed. Of *Synesius* we read, that when he was ordained Priest, he declared that he would not live secretly with his Wife as some did, but that he would dwell publickly with her, and wisht that he might have many Children by her. In the *Eastern* Church all their Clergy below the Order of Bishops are usually married before they be ordained, and afterward live with their Wives, and have Children by them, without any kind of Prohibition. In the *Western* Church the Married Clergy are taken notice of in many of the *Spanish* and *Gallican* Synods, and the Bishops and Priests Wives are called *Episcopæ* and *Presbyteræ*. In most of the Cathedrals of *England* the Clergy were married in the *Saxon* times, but as was shewn, *Page* 22. of the *first* Part, because they would

not

not quit their Wives they were put out, not of Sacred Orders, but only out of the Seats they were then in, and thoſe were given to the Monks. When Pope *Nicolas* had preſſed the Cœlibate of the Clergy in the *9th. Century*, there was great oppoſition made to it, chiefly by *Huldericus* Biſhop of *Ausburg*, who was held a Saint notwithſtanding this oppoſition. *Reſtitutus* Biſhop of *London* lived openly with his Wife: nor was the Cœlibate of the Clergy generally impoſed till Pope *Gregory* the *7th*'s time in the *eleventh Century*, who projecting to have the Clergy depend wholly on himſelf, and ſo to ſeparate them from the Intereſts of thoſe Princes in whoſe Dominions they lived, conſidered that by having Wives and Children they gave Pledges to the State where they lived, and reckoned that if they were free from this incumbrance, then their Perſons being Sacred, there would be nothing to hinder, but that they might do as they pleaſed in obedience to the Popes, and oppoſition to their own Princes Orders. The Writers near *Gregory* the *7th*'s time called this a new thing, againſt the Mind of the Holy Fathers, and full of raſhneſs in him thus to turn out married Prieſts. *Lanfranc* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* did not impoſe Cœlibate on the Clergy in the Villages, but only on thoſe that lived in Towns, and on Prebendaries. But *Anſelm* carried it further, and ſimply impoſed it on all the Clergy: yet himſelf laments that *Sodomy* was become then very common, and even publick, which was alſo the complaint of *Petrus Damiani* in Pope *Gregories* time. *Bernard* ſaid that, *that* ſin was frequent among the Biſhops in his time, and that this with many other abominations was the natural effect of prohibiting Marriage. This made Abbot *Panormitan* wiſh that it were left to Mens liberty to marry if they pleaſed. And *Pius* the ſecond ſaid there might have been good reaſons for impoſing Cœlibate on the Clergy, but he believed there were far better Reaſons for taking away theſe Laws that impoſed it. Yet even ſince thoſe Laws have been made, *Petrarch* had a Licenſe to marry, and keep his Preferments ſtill. *Boniface* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and *Geofrey* Biſhop of *Ely* are ſaid to have had Wives; and though there were not ſo many Inſtances of Prieſts marrying after Orders, yet if there were any thing in the nature of Prieſthood inconſiſtent by the Law of God with Marriage, then it was as unlawful for them to continue in their former Marriages as to contract a new one. Some few Inſtances were alſo gathered out of Church Hiſtory of Biſhops and Prieſts marrying after Orders: but as theſe were few, ſo there was juſt reaſon to controvert them. 1548

Upon the whole matter it was clear that the Cœlibate of the Clergy flowed from no Law of God, nor from any general Law of the Church; but the contrary, of Clergy-mens living with their Wives, was univerſally received for many Ages. As for Vows, it was much queſtioned how far they did bind in ſuch Caſes. It ſeemed a great ſin to impoſe ſuch on any, when they were yet young, and did not well know their own diſpoſitions. Nor was it in a Mans power to keep them. For, Continence being none of thoſe Graces that are promiſed by God to all that ask it, as it was not in a Mans power without extreme ſeverities on himſelf to govern his own conſtitution of Body, ſo he had no reaſon to expect God ſhould interpoſe when he had provided another remedy for ſuch Caſes. Beſides, the promiſe made by Clergy-men, according to The Vows and other Reaſons againſt it examined.

1548. the Rites of the *Roman Pontifical*, did not oblige them to Cœlibate. The words were, *Wilt thou follow Chaſtity and Sobriety?* to which the Sub-Deacon anſwered, *I will.* By *Chaſtity* was not to be underſtood a total abſtinence from all, but only from unlawful embraces; ſince a Man might live chaſt in a ſtate of Marriage, as well as out of it. But whatever might be in this, the *Engliſh* Clergy were not concerned in it: for there was no ſuch Queſtion nor Anſwer made in the Forms of their Ordination. So they were not by any Vow precluded from Marriage. And for the Expediency of it, nothing was more evident, than that theſe Laws had brought in much uncleanneſs into the Church, and thoſe who preſſed them moſt had been ſignally noted for theſe Vices. No Prince in the *Engliſh* Hiſtory lewder than *Edgar* that had ſo promoted it. The *Legate* that in King *Henry* the ſecond's time got that ſevere Decree made, that put all the married Clergy from their Livings, was found the very night after (for the credit of Cœlibate) in bed with a Whore. On this Subject many undecent Stories were gathered, eſpecially by *Bale*, who was a learned Man, but did not write with that temper and diſcretion that became a Divine. He gathered all the lewd Stories that could be raked together to this purpoſe; and the many abominable things found in the Monaſteries were then freſh in all Mens memories. It was alſo obſerved, that the unmarried Clergy had been, as much as the married could be, intent upon the raiſing Families, and the enriching of their Nephews and Kindred, (and ſometimes of their Baſtards, witneſs the preſent Pope *Paul* the third, and not long before him *Alexander* the 6th) ſo that the married Clergy could not be tempted to more covetouſneſs than had appeared in the unmarried. And for the Diſtraction of Domeſtick Affairs, the Clergy had formerly given themſelves up to ſuch a ſecular courſe of Life, that it was thought nothing could encreaſe it; but if the married Clergy ſhould ſet themſelves to raiſe more than a decent maintenance for their Children, ſuch as might fit them for Letters or Callings, and ſhould neglect Hoſpitality, become covetous, and accumulate Livings and Preferments, to make Eſtates for their Children; this might be juſtly curbed by new Laws, or rather the renewing of the ancient Canons, by which Clergy-men were declared to be only entruſted with the Goods of the Church for publick ends, and were not to apply them to their own private uſes, nor to leave them to their Children and Friends.

Thus had this matter been argued in many Books that were written on this Subject, by *Poinet*, and *Parker*, the one afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the other Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; alſo by *Bale* Biſhop of *Oſſory*, with many more. Dr. *Ridley*, Dr. *Taylor*, (afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*) Dr. *Benſon*, and Dr. *Redmayn*, appeared more confidently in it, than many others; being Men that were reſolved never to marry themſelves; who yet thought it neceſſary, and therefore pleaded, (according to the Pattern that *Paphnutius* had ſet them) that all ſhould be left to their liberty in this matter.

The Debate about it was brought into the Convocation, where Dr. *Redmayn*'s Authority went a great way. He was a Man of great Learning and Probity, and of ſo much greater weight, becauſe he did not in all Points agree with the Reformers: but being at this time ſick, his opinion was brought under his Hand, which will be found in the *Collection*, copied

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copied from the Original. It was to this purpoſe, "That though the "Scriptures exhorted Prieſts to live chaſt, and out of the cares of the "World; yet the Laws forbidding them Marriage, were only Canons "and Conſtitutions of the Church; not founded on the Word of God: "and therefore he thought that a Man once married might be a Prieſt: "and he did not find the Prieſts in the Church of *England* had made any "Vow againſt Marriage; and therefore he thought that the King and "the higher Powers of the Church, might take away the Clog of per- "petual continence from the Prieſts, and grant that ſuch as could not or "would not contain, might marry once, and not be put from their "holy Miniſtration. It was oppoſed by many in both Houſes, but car- ried at laſt by the Major Vote. All this I gather from what is printed con- cerning it: For I have ſeen no Remains of this, or of any of the other Convocations that came afterwards in this Reign; the Regiſters of them being deſtroyed in the fire of *London*. This Act ſeemed rather a conni- vance, and permiſſion of the Clergy to marry, than any direct allowance of it. So the Enemies of that ſtate of life continued to reproach the married Clergy ſtill: and this was much heightned by many undecent Marriages, and other light behaviour of ſome Prieſts. But theſe things made way for a more full Act concerning this matter about three years after. 1548.

The next Act that paſſ'd in this Parliament was about the publick Ser- vice; which was put into the Houſe of *Commons* on the *9th.* of *December*, and the next day was alſo put into the Houſe of *Lords*: It lay long be- fore them, and was not agreed to till the *15th.* of *Jan.* The Earl of *Derby*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſme*, *Norwich*, *Carliſle*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Chicheſter*, and the Lords, *Dacres*, and *Windſor*, proteſting. The Preamble of the *Act* ſets forth, "That there "had been ſeveral Forms of Service, and that of late there had been great "difference in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other parts of "Divine Worſhip: and that the moſt effectual endeavours could not ſtop "the Inclinations of many to depart from the former Cuſtoms, which "the King had not puniſhed, believing they flowed from a good zeal. But "that there might be an uniform way over all the Kingdom, the King, "by the advice of the Lord Protector and his Council, had appointed "the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, with other learned and diſcreet Biſhops "and Divines, to draw an Order of Divine Worſhip, having reſpect to "the pure Religion of Chriſt taught in the Scripture, and to the practice "of the Primitive Church, which they by the aid of the Holy Ghoſt, "had with one uniform agreement concluded on; wherefore the Par- "liament having conſidered the *Book*, and the things that were altered or "retained in it, they gave their moſt humble thanks to the King for his "care about it: and did pray that all who had formerly offended in theſe "matters, except ſuch as were in the Tower of *London*, or the Priſon "of the *Fleet*, ſhould be pardoned; and did Enact, that from the Feaſt "of *Whit-Sunday* next, all Divine Offices ſhould be performed accor- "ding to it, and that ſuch of the Clergy as ſhould refuſe to do it, or con- "tinue to officiate in any other manner, ſhould upon the firſt conviction "be impriſoned ſix Months, and forfeit a years profit of their Bene- "fice: For the ſecond offence forfeit all their Church Preferments, and "ſuffer a years Impriſonment: And for the third offence ſhould be impri- "ſoned

An Act con- firming the Liturgy.

1548. "soned during life., And all that should write, or put out things in print "against it, or threaten any Clergy-men for using it, were to be fined in "10 *l.* for the first offence, 20 for the second, and to forfeit all their "Goods, and be imprisoned for life, upon a third offence. Only at the "*Universities* they might use it in *Latin* and *Greek*, excepting the Office "of the Communion. It was also lawful to use other *Psalms* or *Prayers* "taken out of the Bible, so these in the Book were not omitted, This Act was variously censured by those who disliked it. Some thought it too much, that it was said the *Book* was drawn *by the Aid of the Holy Ghost*. But others said this was not to be so understood, as if they had been inspired by extraordinary assistance; for then there had been no room for any correction of what was now done: and therefore it was only to be understood in that sence, as all good Motions and Consultations are directed or assisted by the secret influences of Gods Holy Spirit; which do oft help good Men, even in their imperfect actions, where the good that is done is justly ascribed to the Grace of God. Others censured it, because it was said to be done by uniform agreement, though four of the Bishops that were employed in the drawing of it, protested against it. These were the Bishops of *Norwich*, *Hereford*, *Chichester*, and *Westminster*; but these had agreed in the main parts of the Work, though in some few Particulars they were not satisfied, which made them dissent from the whole.

The Censures passed upon it.

Singing of Psalms brought in.

The *Proviso* for the *Psalms* and *Prayers* taken out of the Bible, was for the *Singing Psalms*, which were translated into Verse, and much sung by all who loved the Reformation, and were in many Places used in Churches. In the Ancient Church the Christians were much exercised in repeating the *Psalms* of *David*: many had them all by heart, and used to be reciting them when they went about their Work; and those who retired into a Monastical course of life, spent many of their hours in repeating the *Psalter*. *Apollinaris* put them in verse, as being easier for the memory. Other devout *Hymns* came to be also in use. *Nazianzen* among the *Greeks*, and *Prudentius* among the *Latines*, laboured on that Argument with the greatest success. There were other *Hymns* that were not put in verse, the chief of which were, that most ancient Hymn which we use now after the Sacrament, and the Celebrated *Ambrosian* Hymn that begins *Te Deum Laudamus*. But as when the Worship of the departed Saints came to be dressed up with much pomp, Hymns were also made for their honour: and the *Latin* Tongue, as well as *Prosody*, being then much decayed, these came to be cast into Rithmes, and were written generally in a fantastical affected Style: So now at the Reformation, some Poets, such as the times afforded, translated *Davids* Psalms into verse; and it was a sign by which Mens affections to that Work were every where measured, whether they used to sing these, or not. But as the *Poetry* then was low, and not raised to that justness to which it is since brought, so this Work, which then might pass for a tolerable composure, has not been since that time so reviewed or changed as perhaps the thing required: hence it is that this piece of Divine Worship, by the meanness of the Verse, has not maintained its due esteem. Another thing, that some thought deserved to be considered in such a Work, was, that many of the *Psalms*, being such as related more specially to *Davids* Victories, and contained Passages in them not easily understood, it seemed better

better to leave out these, which it was not so easie to sing with Devotion, because the meaning of them either lay hid, or did not at all concern *Christians.* 1548.

The Parliament was adjourned from the 22*d.* of *December* to the second of *Jan.* On the 7*th.* of *Jan.* the Commons sent an Address to the Protector to restore *Latimer* to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*: but this took no effect, for that good old Man did choose rather to go about and preach, than to engage in a matter of Government, being now very ancient. A Bill was put in by the Lords for appointing of Parks, and agreed to, the Earl of *Arundel* only dissenting; but being sent down to the Commons, it was upon the second reading thrown out, yet not so unanimously but that the House was divided about it. 1549. Jour. Proc.

On the fourth of *Feb.* a Bill was put in against eating Flesh in *Lent*, and on Fasting days; it was committed to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, *Worcester*, and *Chichester*; and sent to the Commons on the 16*th*, who sent it up on the 7*th.* of *March*, with a *Proviso*, to which the Lords agreed. In the *Preamble* it is said, "That though "it is clear by the Word of God, that there is no Day, nor kind of "Meat, purer than another, but that all are in themselves alike; yet "many out of sensuality had contemned such abstinence, as had been "formerly used; and since due abstinence was a mean to vertue, and to "subdue Mens Bodies to their Soul and Spirit, and was also necessary to "encourage the Trade of Fishing, and for saving of Flesh; therefore all "former Laws about Fasting and Abstinence were to be after the first of "*May* repealed, and it was Enacted, That from the first of *May*, none "should eat Flesh on *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, *Ember-days*, in *Lent*, or any "other days that should be declared Fish-days, under several Penalties. "A *Proviso* was added for excepting such as should obtain the Kings Li-"cence, or were Sick, or weak, or that none should be indicted but "within three Months after the offence. An Act about Fasts.

Christ had told his Disciples, that when he should *be taken from them, then they should fast.* Accordingly the Primitive Christians used to fast oft, more particularly before the Anniversary of the *Passion* of Christ, which ended in a high Festivity at *Easter.* Yet this was differently observed, as to the number of days. Some abstained 40 days in imitation of Christs Fast, others only that Week, and others had only an entire Fast from the time of Christs death till his Resurrection. On these Fasts they eat nothing till the Evening, and then they eat most commonly Herbs and Roots. Afterwards the *Fridays* were kept as Fasts, because on that day Christ suffered. *Saturdays* were also added in the *Roman* Church, but not without contradiction. *Ember-weeks* came in afterwards, being some days before those *Sundays*, in which *Orders* were given. And a General Rule being laid down, that every Christian *Festival* should be preceded by a *Fast*, thereupon the Vigils of Holy-days came, though not so soon, into the Number. But this, with the other good Institutions of the Primitive times, became degenerate; even in St. *Austins* time, Religion came to be placed in these observances, and anxious Rules were made about them. Afterwards in the Church of *Rome* they were turned into a Mockery; for, as on Fast-days they dined, which the Ancients did not, so the use of the most delicious Fish, dress't in the most

1549. most exquisite manner, with the richest Wines that could be had, was allowed, which made it ridiculous. So now they resolved to take off the severities of the former Laws, and yet to keep up such Laws about Fasting and Abstinence, as might be agreeable to its true end: which is, to subdue the Flesh to the Spirit, and not to gratifie it by a change of one sort of diet into another, which may be both more delicate, and more inflaming. So fond a thing is Superstition, that it will help Men to deceive themselves by the slightest Pretences that can be imagined.

It was much lamented then, and there is as much cause for it still, that carnal men have taken advantages from the abuses that were formerly practised, to throw off good and profitable Institutions: since the frequent use of Fasting, with Prayer and true Devotion joyned to it, is perhaps one of the greatest helps that can be devised, to advance one to a spiritual temper of Mind, and to promote a holy course of Life: And the mockery that is discernable in the way of some Mens Fasting, is a very slight excuse for any to lay aside the use of that which the Scriptures have so much recommended.

Some Bills were rejected.

There were other *Bills* put in into both Houses, but did not pass. One was, for declaring it Treason to marry the Kings Sisters without consent of the King and his Council: but it was thought that King *Henry*'s Will, disabling them from the Succession in that case, would be a stronger restraint; and so it was laid aside. Another *Bill* was put in for Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. Great Complaints were made of the abounding of Vices and Immorallities, which the Clergy could neither restrain nor punish, and so they had nothing left but to preach against them, which was done by many with great freedom. In some of these *Sermons*, the Preachers expressed their apprehensions of signal and speedy Judgments from Heaven, if the People did not repent, but their Sermons had no great effect, for the Nation grew very corrupt, and this brought on them severe punishments. The Temporal Lords were so jealous of putting power in Church-mens hands, especially to correct those vices of which themselves perhaps were most guilty, that the Bill was laid aside. The pretence of opposing it, was, that the greatest part of the Bishops and Clergy were still Papists in their Hearts; so that if Power were put into such Mens hands, it was reasonable to expect, they would employ it chiefly against those who favoured the Reformation, and would vex them on that score, though with Pretences fetcht from other things.

A design for digesting the Common Law into a Body.

There was also put into the House of Commons a *Bill* for reforming of Processes at Common Law, which was sent up by the Commons to the Lords, but it fell in that House. I have seen a large discourse written then upon that Argument; in which it is set forth, that the Law of *England* was a barbarous kind of Study, and did not lead Men into a finer sort of Learning, which made the Common Lawyers to be generally so ignorant of Forreign Matters, and so unable to negotiate in them; therefore it was proposed, that the *Common* and *Statute* Laws, should be, in imitation of the *Roman* Law, digested into a *Body* under *Titles* and *Heads*, and put in good *Latin*. But this was too great a Design to be set on, or finished under an Infant King. If it was then necessary, it will be readily acknowledged to be much more so now, the Volume of our *Statutes* being so much swell'd since that time; besides the vast number of *Reports*, and *Cases*, and the *Pleadings* growing much

much longer than formerly: yet whether this is a thing to be much expected or desired, I refer it to the learned and wise Men of that Robe. 1549.

The only Act that remains of this Session of Parliament, about which I shall inform the Reader, is the *Attainder* of the *Admiral*. The *Queen Dowager* that had married him died in *September* last, not without suspition of Poison. She was a good and vertuous Lady, and in her whole Life had done nothing unseemly, but the marrying him so indecently, and so soon after the Kings death. There was found among her Papers a Discourse written by her concerning her self; entituled, *The Lamentation of a Sinner*, which was published by *Cecil*, who writ a Preface to it. In it, she, with great sincerity, acknowledges the sinful course of her Life for many years, in which she, relying on external Performances, such as *Fasts*, and *Pilgrimages*, was all that while a Stranger to the Internal and True Power of Religion: which she came afterwards to feel by the study of the Scripture, and the calling upon God for his Holy Spirit. She explains clearly the Notion she had of Justification by Faith, so that Holiness necessarily followed upon it: but lamented the great scandal given by many Gospellers: So were all these called who were given to the reading of the Scriptures. The Admirals Attainder.

She being thus dead, the *Admiral* renewed his Addresses to the Lady *Elizabeth*, but in vain; for as he could not expect that his Brother and the Council would consent to it, so if he had married her without that, the possibility of succeeding to the Crown was cut off by King *Henry*'s Will. And this Attempt of his occasioned that *Act* to be put in, which was formerly mentioned, for declaring the marrying the Kings Sisters, without consent of Council, to be Treason. Seeing he could not compass that design, he resolved to carry away the King to his House of *Holt* in the Country; and so to displace his Brother, and to take the Government into his own hands. For this end, he had laid in Magazines of Arms, and listed about 10000 Men in several Places: and openly complained, that his Brother intended to enslave the Nation, and make himself Master of all; and had therefore brought over those *German* Souldiers. He had also entred into Treaty with several of the Nobility, that envied his Brothers greatness, and were not ill pleased to see a breach between them, and that grown to be irreconcilable. To these he promised that they should be of the Council, and that he would dispose of the King in Marriage to one of their Daughters: the Person is not named. The *Protector* had often told him of these things, and warned him of the danger into which he would throw himself by such ways; but he persisted still in his designs; though he denied and excused them as long as was possible. Now his restless ambition seeming incurable, he was on the 19*th*. of *Jan*. sent to the *Tower*. The original Warrant, Signed by all the Privy Council, is in the Council-Book formerly mentioned; where the Earl of *Southampton* Signs with the rest; who was now, in outward appearance reconciled to the *Protector*. On the day following the *Admirals* Seal of his Office was sent for, and put into Secretary *Smiths* Hands. And now many things broke out against him; and particularly a Conspiracy of his with Sir *W. Sharington*, Vice-Treasurer of the Mint at *Bristol*, who was to have furnished him with 10000 *l*. and had already coined about 12000 *l*. false Money, and had clipt a great deal more, to The Queen Dowager dying, he courted the Lady *Eliz.* *Jan.* 19. The Admiral sent to the *Tower*.

1549. the value of 40000 *l.* in all; for which he was attainted by a Proceſs at Common Law, and that was confirmed in Parliament. *Fowler* alſo, that waited in the Privy Chamber, with ſome few others, were ſent to the *Tower*: Many complaints being uſually brought againſt a ſinking Man, the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Secretary *Petre*, were ordered to receive their Examinations. And thus the buſineſs was let alone till the 28*th.* of *Feb.* in which time his Brother did again try if it were poſſible to bring him to a better temper: And as he had, ſince their firſt breach, granted him 800 *l.* a year in Land, to gain his friendſhip; ſo means were now uſed to perſwade him to ſubmit himſelf, and to withdraw from Court, and from all employment. But it appeared that nothing could be done to him that could cure his ambition, or the hatred he carried to his Brother. And therefore on the 22*d.* of *Feb.* a full report was made to the Council of all the things that were informed againſt him; conſiſting not only of the Particulars formerly mentioned, but of many foul miſdemeanours in the diſcharge of the Admiralty: ſeveral Pirates being entertained by him, who gave him a ſhare of their Robberies, and whom he had protected, notwithſtanding the Complaints made by other Princes, by which the King was in danger of a War from the Princes ſo complaining. The whole Charge conſiſts of 33 Articles, which will be found in the *Collection*. The Particulars, as it is entred in the Council-Book, were ſo manifeſtly proved, not only by Witneſſes, but by Letters under his own Hand, that it did not ſeem poſſible to deny them. Yet he had been ſent to, and examined, by ſome of the Council, but refuſed to make a direct Anſwer to them, or to Sign thoſe Anſwers that he had made. So it was ordered, that the next day, all the Privy Council except the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *John Baker*, Speaker to the Houſe of Commons, who was engaged to attend in the Houſe, ſhould go to the *Tower*, and examine him. On the 23*d.* the Lord *Chancellor*, with the other Councellors, went to him, and read the Articles of his Charge, and earneſtly deſired him to make plain Anſwers to them, excuſing himſelf where he could, and ſubmitting himſelf in other things: and that he would ſhew no obſtinacy of Mind. He anſwered them, That he expected an open Trial, and his Accuſers to be brought face to face. All the Councellors endeavoured to perſwade him to be more tractable, but to no purpoſe. At laſt the Lord *Chancellor* required him on his Allegiance to make his Anſwer. He deſired they would leave the Articles with him, and he would conſider of them, otherwiſe he would make no Anſwer to them. But the Councellors reſolved not to leave them with him on thoſe terms. On the 24*th.* of *Feb.* it was reſolved in Council, that the whole Board ſhould after Dinner acquaint the King with the ſtate of that Affair, and deſire to know of him whether he would have the Law to take place; and ſince the thing had been before the Parliament, whether he would leave it to their determination: ſo tender they were of their young King in a Caſe that concerned his Unkles Life. But the King had begun to diſcern his ſeditious temper, and was now much alienated from him.

Collection Number 31.

The Council deſired the King to refer the Matter to the Parliament.

When the Councellors waited on him, the Lord *Chancellor* opened the Matter to the King, and delivered his Opinion for leaving it to the Parliament. Then every Councellor by himſelf ſpake his mind, all to the ſame purpoſe. Laſt of all the *Protector* ſpake; he proteſted this was

moſt

moſt ſorrowful buſineſs to him, that he had uſed all the means in his power to keep it from coming to this extremity; but were it Son or Brother, he muſt prefer his Majeſties ſafety to them, for he weighed his Allegiance more than his Blood: and that therefore he was not againſt the requeſt that the other Lords had made; and ſaid, if he himſelf were guilty of ſuch offences, he ſhould not think he were worthy of life; and the rather becauſe he was of all Men the moſt bound to his Majeſty, and therefore he could not refuſe Juſtice. The King anſwered them in theſe words. "We perceive that there are great things objected and laid to "my Lord *Admiral* my Unkle, and they tend to Treaſon, and We per- "ceive that you require but Juſtice to be done. We think it reaſonable, "and We Will, that you proceed according to your Requeſt. Which "words, (as it is marked in the Council-Book) coming ſo ſuddenly from "his *Graces* Mouth, of his own motion, as the Lords might well perceive, "they were marvellouſly rejoyced, and gave the King moſt hearty praiſe "and thanks: yet reſolved that ſome of both Houſes ſhould be ſent to the "*Admiral*, before the Bill ſhould be put in againſt him, to ſee what "he could or would ſay. All this was done to try if he could be brought to a Submiſſion. So the Lord *Chancellor*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Warwick*, and *Southampton*, and Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, and Sir *Anth. Denny*, were ſent to him. He was long obſtinate, but after much perſwaſion was brought to give an Anſwer to the firſt three Articles, which will be found in the *Collection* at the end of the Articles: and then on a ſudden he ſtopt, and bade them be content, for he would go no further: and no entreaties would work on him, either to anſwer the reſt, or to ſet his Hand to the Anſwers he had made. 1549. Who conſented to it.

On the 25*th.* of *Feb.* the *Bill* was put in for attainting him, and the *Peers* had been ſo accuſtomed to agree to ſuch *Bills* in King *Henry*'s time, that they did eaſily paſs it. All the Judges, and the Kings Council, delivered their Opinions, that the Articles were Treaſon. Then the Evidence was brought, many Lords gave it ſo fully, that all the reſt with one Voice conſented to the *Bill*; only the *Protector*, *for natural pities ſake*, as is in the Council-Book, deſired leave to withdraw. On the 27*th.* the *Bill* was ſent down to the *Commons*, with a Meſſage, That if they deſired to proceed as the *Lords* had done, thoſe Lords that had given their Evidence in their own Houſe, ſhould come down and declare it to the *Commons*. But there was more oppoſition made in the Houſe of *Commons*. Many argued againſt *Attainders* in abſence, and thought it an odd way that ſome *Peers* ſhould riſe up in their Places in their own Houſe, and relate ſomewhat to the ſlander of another, and that he ſhould be thereupon attainted: therefore it was preſſed, that it might be done by a *Trial*, and that the *Admiral* ſhould be brought to the Barr, and be heard plead for himſelf. But on the fourth of *March* a Meſſage was ſent from the King, that he thought it was not neceſſary to ſend for the *Admiral*: and that the *Lords* ſhould come down and renew before them the Evidence they had given in their own Houſe. This was done: and ſo the *Bill* was agreed to by the *Commons* in a full Houſe, judged about 400, and there were not above ten or twelve that voted in the negative. The Royal aſſent was given on the 5*th.* of *March*. On the 10*th.* of *March*, the Council reſolved to preſs the King that Juſtice might be done on the *Admiral*: and ſince the Caſe was ſo heavy and lamentable The Bill paſſed in both Houſes.

1549. to the *Protector*, (so it is in the Council-Book) though it was also sorrowful to them all, they resolved to proceed in it, so that neither the King, nor he, should be further troubled with it. After Dinner they went to the King, the *Protector* being with them. The King said, he had well observed their Proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his safety, and commanded them to proceed in it without further molesting him or the *Protector*: and ended, *I pray you my Lords do so.* Upon this they ordered the Bishop of *Ely* to go to the *Admiral*, and to instruct him in the things that related to another Life: and to prepare him to take patiently his deserved Execution. And on the 17th. of *March*, he having made report to them of his Attendance on the *Admiral*, the Council Signed a Warrant for his Execution, which will be found in the *Collection*, to which both the Lord *Protector* and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* set their Hands. And on the 20th. his Head was cut off. What his behaviour was on the Scaffold I do not find.

Collection Number 32.

March 20. The Admiral beheaded.

Thus fell *Tho.* Lord *Seimour*, Lord high *Admiral* of *England*, a Man of high thoughts, of great violence of temper, and ambitious out of measure. The *Protector* was much censured for giving way to his Execution, by those who looked only at that relation between them, which they thought should have made him still preserve him. But others, who knew the whole *Series* of the affair, saw it was scarce possible for him to do more for the gaining his Brother, than he had done. Yet the other being a popular Notion, that it was against Nature for one Brother to destroy another, was more easily entertain'd by the Multitude, who could not penetrate into the Mysteries of State. But the way of Proceeding was much condemned; since to attaint a Man without bringing him to make his own defence, or to object what he could say to the Witnesses that were brought against him, was so illegal and unjust, that it could not be defended. Only this was to be said for it, that it was a little more regular than *Parliamentary Attainders* had been formerly: for here the Evidence upon which it was founded was given before both Houses.

Censures past upon it.

One Particular seemed a little odd, that *Cranmer* Signed the Warrant for his Execution; which being in a *Cause of Blood*, was contrary to the *Canon* Law. In the Primitive Times, Church-men had only the Cure of Souls lying on them, together with the reconciling of such differences as might otherwise end in Suits of Law before the Civil Courts which were made up of Infidels. When the Empire became Christian these Judgments, which they gave originally on so charitable an account, were by the Imperial Laws made to have great Authority; but further than these, or the care of Widows and Orphans, they were forbid both by the Council of *Chalcedon*, and other lesser Councils, to meddle in secular Matters. Among the Endowments made to some Churches, there were Lands given, where the Slaves, according to the *Roman* Law, came within the Patrimony of these Churches, and by that Law Masters had Power of Life and Death over their Slaves.

And on *Cranmers* signing the Warrant for his Execution.

In some Churches this Power had been severely exercised, even to maiming and death, which seemed very indecent in a Church-man. Besides, there was an Apprehension that some severe Church-men, who were but Masters for life, might be more profuse of the Lives of such Slaves, than those that were to transmit them to their Families. There-

Laws against Church-mens meddling in Matters of Blood.

for:

fore to prevent the waſt that ſhould be made in the Churches Patrimony, it was agreed on that Church-men ſhould not proceed capitally againſt any of their Vaſſals or Slaves. And in the Confuſions that were in *Spain*, the Princes that prevailed, had appointed Prieſts to be Judges, to give the greater reputation to their Courts. This being found much to the prejudice of the Church, it was decreed in the fourth Council of *Toledo*, that Prieſts who were choſen by Chriſt to the Miniſtry of Salvation, ſhould not judge in Capital Matters, unleſs the Prince ſhould ſwear to them, that he would remit the puniſhment: and ſuch as did otherwiſe, were held guilty of Blood-ſhedding, and were to loſe their Degree in the Church. This was ſoon received over all the *Weſtern* Church; and Arguments were found out afterwards by the *Canoniſts* to prove the neceſſity of continuing it; from *Davids* not being ſuffered to build the Temple, ſince he was *a Man of Blood*; and from the qualification required by St. *Paul* in a Biſhop, *That he ſhould be no ſtriker*, ſince he ſeemed to ſtrike, that did it either in Perſon, or by one whom he deputed to do it. But when afterwards *Charls* the Great, and all the Chriſtian Princes in the *Weſt*, gave their Biſhops great Lands and Dominions; they obliged them to be in all their Councils, and to do them ſuch *Services* as they required of them by vertue of their Tenures. The Popes, deſigning to ſet up a Spiritual Empire, and to bring all Church-lands within it; required the Biſhops to ſeparate themſelves from a dependance on their Princes, as much as it was poſſible: And theſe Laws formerly made about Caſes of Blood, were judged a Colour good enough why they ſhould not meddle in ſuch Trials: ſo they procured theſe Caſes to be excepted. But it ſeems *Cranmer* thought his Conſcience was under no tie from thoſe *Canons*, and ſo judged it not contrary to his Function to Sign that Order. 1549.

The *Parliament* was on the 14*th.* of *March* Prorogued to the 4*th.* of *Nov.* the Clergy having granted the King a Subſidy of 6*s.* in the Pound to be paid in three Years. In the *Preamble* of the *Bill* of Subſidy they acknowledged the great quietneſs they enjoyed under him, having no Let nor Impediment in the Service of God. But the Laity ſet out their Subſidy with a much fuller *Preamble*, of the great happineſs they had by the true Religion of Chriſt; declaring that they were ready to forſake all things rather than Chriſt; as alſo to aſſiſt the King in the Conqueſt of *Scotland*, which they call a part of his Dominion; therefore they give 12 *d.* in the Pound of all Mens Perſonal Eſtates to be paid in three Years. Subſidies granted by the Clergy and Laity.

But now to look into Matters of Religion, there was, immediately after the Act of *Uniformity* paſs'd, a new *Viſitation*, which, it is probable went in the ſame Method that was obſerved in the former. There were two things much complained of; the one was, that the Prieſts read the Prayers generally with the ſame tone of Voice that they had uſed formerly in the *Latin* Service: ſo that, it was ſaid, the People did not underſtand it much better than they had done the *Latin* formerly. This I have ſeen repreſented in many Letters; and it was very ſeriouſly laid before *Cranmer* by *Martin Bucer*. The courſe taken in it, was, that in all *Pariſh* Churches the Service ſhould be read in a plain audible Voice; but that the former way ſhould remain in *Cathedrals*, where they were great *Quires*, who were well acquainted with that Tone, and where it agreed better with the Muſick that was uſed in the *Anthems*. Yet even A new Viſitation.

there,

1549. there many thought it no proper way in the *Letany*, where the greateſt gravity was more agreeable to ſuch humble Addreſſes, than ſuch a modulation of the Voice, which to thoſe unacquainted with it ſeemed light, and for others that were more accuſtomed to it, it ſeemed to be rather uſe that had reconciled them to it, than the natural decency of the thing, or any fitneſs in it to advance the devotion of their Prayers. But this was a thing judged of leſs importance: It was ſaid that thoſe who had been accuſtomed to read in that voice, could not eaſily alter it: but as thoſe dropt off and died, others would be put in their Places, who would officiate in a plainer Voice. Other Abuſes were more important. Some uſed in the *Communion-Service* many of the old *Rites*, ſuch as kiſſing the Altar, croſſing themſelves, lifting the Book from one Place to another, breathing on the Bread, ſhewing it openly before the diſtribution, with ſome other of the old Ceremonies. The People did alſo continue the uſe of their praying by *Beads*, which was called an Innovation of *Peter* the Hermite in the 12*th. Century*. By it, ten *Aves* went for one *Pater Noſter*, and the reciting theſe ſo oft in *Latin*, had come to be almoſt all the Devotion of the Vulgar: and therefore the People were ordered to leave that unreaſonable way of Praying, it ſeeming a moſt unaccountable thing that the reciting the Angels Salutation to the bleſſed Virgin, ſhould be ſuch a high piece of Divine Worſhip. And that this ſhould be done ten times, for one Prayer to God, looked ſo like *preferring the Creature to the Creator*, that it was not eaſie to defend it from an appearance of Idolatry. The Prieſts were alſo ordered to exhort the People to give to the Poor. The Curates were required to preach and declare the *Catechiſm*, at leaſt every ſixth Week. And ſome Prieſts continuing ſecretly the uſe of *Soul Maſſes*, in which, for avoiding the cenſure of the Law, they had one to communicate with them, but had many of theſe in one day; It was ordered, that there ſhould be no ſelling of the Communion, in *Trentals*, and that there ſhould be but one Communion in one Church, except on *Eaſter-day* and *Chriſtmas*; in which the People coming to the Sacrament in greater Numbers, there ſhould be one Sacrament in the Morning, and another near Noon. And there being great abuſes in Churches, and Church-yards, in which in the times of Popery, Markets had been held, and Bargains made, *that* was forbid, chiefly in the time of Divine Service or Sermon.

Some of the old Abuſes continued in the new Service.

Collection Number 33.

Theſe Inſtructions, which the Reader will find in the *Collection*, were given in charge to the Viſitors. *Cranmer* had alſo a *Viſitation* about the ſame time, in which the Articles he gave out are all drawn according to the Kings Injunctions. By ſome Queſtions in them, they ſeem to have been ſent out before the Parliament, becauſe the Book of Service is not mentioned: but the laſt Queſtion ſave one, being of ſuch as contemned married Prieſts, and refuſed to receive the Sacrament at their hands, I conceive that theſe were compiled after the *Act* concerning their Marriage was paſs'd, but before the Feaſt of *Whit-Sunday* following, for till then the *Common-Prayer-Book* was not to be received. There were alſo Orders ſent by the Council to the Biſhop of *London*, to ſee that there ſhould be no ſpecial Maſſes in St. *Pauls* Church; which being the Mother-Church in the chief City of the Kingdom, would be an example to all the reſt; and that therefore there ſhould be only one Communion at the great Altar, and that at the time when the high Maſs was wont to be celebrated, unleſs

ſome

ſome deſired a Sacrament in the Morning, and then it was to be celebrated at the high Altar. *Bonner*, who reſolved to comply in every thing, ſent the Councils Letter to the *Dean* and *Reſidentiaries* of St. *Pauls*, to ſee it obeyed: and indeed all *England* over the Book was ſo univerſally received, that the Viſitors did return no complaint from any corner of the whole Kingdom. Only the Lady *Mary* continued to have Maſs ſaid in her Houſe, of which the Council being advertiſed, writ to her to conform her ſelf to the Laws, and not to caſt a reproach on the Kings Government; for the nearer ſhe was to him in Blood, ſhe was to give the better example to others: and her diſobedience might encourage others to follow her in that contempt of the Kings Authority. So they deſired her to ſend to them, her *Comptroller*, and Dr. *Hopton* her Chaplain, by whom ſhe ſhould be more fully advertiſed of the King and Councils Pleaſure. Upon this ſhe ſent one to the *Emperor* to interpoſe for her, that ſhe might not be forced to any thing againſt her Conſcience. 1549.

All received the new Service except the Lady *Mary*.

At this time there was a Complaint made at the *Emperors* Court, of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador Sir *Philip Hobby*, for uſing the new *Common-Prayer-Book* there: To which he anſwered, He was to be obedient to the Laws of his own Prince and Country; and as the *Emperors* Ambaſſador had Maſs at his Chappel at *London*, without diſturbance, though it was contrary to the Law of *England*, ſo he had the ſame reaſon to expect the like liberty. But the *Emperor* eſpouſing the Intereſt of the Lady *Mary*, both *Paget*, (who was ſent over Ambaſſador Extraordinary to him upon his coming into *Flanders*) and *Hobby* promiſed in the Kings Name that he ſhould diſpenſe with her, for ſome time, as they afterwards declared upon their Honours, when the thing was further queſtioned: though the *Emperor* and his Miniſters pretended, that without any Qualification it was promiſed that ſhe ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of her Religion. The *Emperor* was now grown ſo high with his ſucceſs in *Germany*, and that at a time when a War was coming on with *France*, that it was not thought adviſable to give him any offence. There was likewiſe a Propoſition ſent over by him to the *Protector* and *Council*, for the Lady *Mary* to be married to *Alphonſo*, Brother to the King of *Portugal*. The Council entertained it: and though the late King had left his Daughters but 10000 *l.* a-piece, yet they offered to give with her 100000 Crowns in Money, and 20000 Crowns worth of Jewels. The *Infant* of *Portugal* was about her own Age, and offered 20000 Crowns Jointure. But this Propoſition fell, on what hand I do not know. The Lady *Mary* writ on the 22*d.* of *June* to the Council, that ſhe could not obey their late Laws; and that ſhe did not eſteem them Laws, as made when the King was not of Age, and contrary to thoſe made by her Father, which they were all bound by Oath to maintain. She excuſed the not ſending her *Comptroller*, (Mr. *Arundel*) and her Prieſt: the one did all her buſineſs, ſo that ſhe could not well be without him; the other was then ſo ill that he could not travel. Upon this the Council ſent a peremptory Command to theſe, requiring them to come up, and receive their Orders. The Lady *Mary* wrote a ſecond Letter to them on the 27*th.* of *June*, in which ſhe expoſtulated the matter with the Council. She ſaid, She was ſubject to none of them, and would obey none of the Laws they made; but proteſted great Obedience and Subjection to the King. When her Officers came to Court, they were commanded to declare to the Lady *Mary*,

The Ambaſſador at the Emperors Court not ſuffered to uſe it.

A Treaty of Marriage for the Lady *Mary*.

Cotton lib. Galba B. 12.

She writ to the Council concerning the new Service.

1549. *Mary*, that though the King was young in Perſon, yet his Authority was now as great as ever: that thoſe who have his Authority and act in his Name are to be obeyed; and though they as ſingle Perſons were her humble Servants, yet when they met in Council, they acted in the Kings Name, and ſo were to be conſidered by all the Kings Subjects as if they were the King himſelf: they had indeed ſworn to obey the late Kings Laws, but that could bind them no longer than they were in force; and being now repealed, they were no more Laws; other Laws being made in their room: There was no exception in the Laws, all the Kings Subjects were included in them; and for a Reformation of Religion made when a King was under Age, one of the moſt perfect that was recorded in Scripture was ſo carried on, when *Joſiah* was much younger than their King was: therefore they gave them in charge to perſwade her *Grace*, (for that was her *Title*) to be a good example of obedience, and not to encourage peeviſh and obſtinate Perſons, by her ſtiffneſs. But this Buſineſs was for ſome time laid aſide.

Who required her to obey as other Subjects did.

And now the Reformation was to be carried on to the eſtabliſhing of a Form of *Doctrine*, which ſhould contain the chief Points of Religion. In order to which, there was this Year great enquiry made into many particular Opinions, and chiefly concerning the *Preſence of Chriſt* in the *Sacrament*. There was no Opinion, for which the Prieſts contended more ignorantly and eagerly, and that the People generally believed more blindly and firmly, as if a ſtrong belief were nothing elſe but winking very hard. The Prieſts, becauſe they accounted it the chief ſupport now left of their falling Dominion, which being kept up, might in time retrieve all the reſt. For while it was believed, that their Character qualified them for ſo ſtrange and mighty a Performance, they muſt needs be held in great reverence. The People, becauſe they thought they received the very Fleſh of Chriſt, and ſo (notwithſtanding our Saviours expreſs Declaration to the contrary, that *the Fleſh profiteth nothing*) looked on thoſe who went about to perſwade them otherwiſe, as Men that intended to rob them of the greateſt Priviledge they had. And therefore it was thought neceſſary to open this fully, before there ſhould be any change made in the Doctrine of the Church.

The manner of Chriſts Preſence in the Sacrament examined.

The *Lutherans* ſeemed to agree with that which had been the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church, that in the Sacrament there was both the Subſtance of Bread and Wine, and Chriſts Body likewiſe. Only many of them defended it by an Opinion that was thought a-kin to the *Eutychian* Hereſie, that his humane Nature by vertue of the union of the God-head, was every where: though even in this way it did not appear that there was any ſpecial Preſence in the Sacrament, more than in other things. Thoſe of *Switzerland* had on the other hand, taught that the Sacrament was only an Inſtitution to commemorate the Sufferings of Chriſt. This, becauſe it was intelligible, was thought by many too low and mean a thing, and not equal to the high expreſſions that are in the Scripture, of its being *the Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt*. The *Princes* of *Germany* ſaw what miſchief was like to follow on the diverſity of Opinions in explaining the *Sacrament*: and as *Luther*, being impatient in his temper, and too much given to dictate, took it very ill to ſee his Doctrine ſo rejected; ſo by the undecent way of writing in matters of Controverſie, to which the *Germans* are too much inclined, this difference

rence turned to a direct breach among them. The *Landgrave* of *Hesse* had laboured much to have these diversities of Opinion laid asleep, since nothing gave their common Enemies such advantage, as their quarrelling among themselves. *Martin Bucer* was of a moderate temper, and had found a middle Opinion in this matter, though not so easie to be understood. He thought there was more than a *Remembrance*, to wit, a *Communication* of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, that in general a *Real Presence* ought to be asserted, and that the way of explaining it ought not to be anxiously enquired into: and with him *Calvin* agreed, that it was *truly* the *Body and Blood of Christ*, not *figuratively*, but *really* present. The advantage of these general Expressions was, that thereby they hoped to have silenced the Debates between the *German* and *Helvetian* Divines, whose Doctrine came likewise to be received by many of the *Cities* of the *Empire*, and by the *Elector Palatine*. And among *Martin Bucers* Papers, I met with an Original Paper of *Luthers*, (which will be found in the *Collection*) in which he was willing to have that difference thus settled: "Those of the *Ausburg* "Confession should declare, that in the Sacrament there was truly Bread "and Wine, and those of the *Helvetian* Confession should declare, that "Christs Body was truly present, and so without any further curiosities "in the way of explaining it, in which Divines might use their liberty, "the difference should end. But how this came to take no effect, I do not understand. It was also thought that this way of expressing the Doctrine would give least offence; for the People were scarce able to bear the Opinion of the Sacraments being only a *Figure*: but wherein this *Real Presence* consisted, was not so easie to be made out. Some explained it more intelligibly in a sense of Law that in the Sacrament there was a real application of the Merit of Christs Death, to those who received it worthily: so that Christ as crucified was really present: and these had this to say for themselves, that the words of the Institution do not call the Elements simply Christs *Body* and *Blood*, but his *Body broken*, and his *Blood shed*, and that therefore Christ was really present, as he was crucified, so that the importance of *Really* was *Effectually*. Others thought all ways of explaining the manner of the Presence were needless curiosities, and apt to beget differences: that therefore the Doctrine was to be established in general words, and to save the labour both of explaining and understanding it, it was to be esteemed a Mystery. This seems to have been *Bucers* Opinion, but *Peter Martyr* inclined more to the *Helvetians*.

1549.

Collection Numb. 34.

There were publick Disputations held this Year both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge* upon this Matter. At *Oxford* the Popish Party did so encourage themselves by the Indulgence of the Government, and the gentleness of *Cranmers* temper, that they became upon this Head insolent out of measure. *Peter Martyr* had read in the Chair concerning the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which he explained according to the Doctrine of the *Helvetian* Churches: Dr. *Smith* did upon this resolve to contradict him openly in the Schools, and challenge him to dispute on these Points: and had brought many thither, who should by their Clamours and Applauses run him down: yet this was not so secretly laid, but a friend of *P. Martyrs* brought him word of it before he had come from his House, and perswaded him not to go to the Schools that day, and

Publick Disputations about it.

Antiq. Oxon.

1549. ſo diſappoint *Smith*. But he looked on that as ſo mean a thing, that he would by no means comply with it. So he went to the Divinity Schools; on his way one brought him a Challenge from *Smith* to diſpute with him, concerning the Euchariſt. He went on and took his place in the Chair, where he behaved himſelf with an equal meaſure of courage and diſcretion: He gravely check'd *Smiths* preſumption, and ſaid, he did not decline a diſpute; but was reſolved to have his Reading that day, nor would he engage in a publick Diſpute without leave from the Kings Council: Upon this a Tumult was like to riſe; ſo the Vice-Chancellor ſent for them before him: *P. Martyr* ſaid he was ready to defend every thing that he had read in the Chair, in a Diſpute: but he would manage it only in Scripture Terms, and not in the Terms of the Schools.

This was the beating the Popiſh Doctors out of that which was their chief ſtrength; for they had little other Learning, but a ſlight of toſſing ſome Arguments from hand to hand, with a gibberiſh kind of Language, that ſounded like ſomewhat that was ſublime; but had really nothing under it. By conſtant practice they were very nimble at this ſort of Legerdemain, of which both *Eraſmus* and Sir *Thomas More*, with the other learned Men of that Age, had made ſuch ſport, that it was become ſufficiently ridiculous: and the Proteſtants laid hold on that advantage which ſuch great Authorities gave them to diſparage it. They ſet up another way of diſputing from the original Text of the Scripture in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, which ſeemed a more proper thing in matters of Divinity, than the Metaphyſical Language of the School-men.

This whole Matter being referred to the Privy-Council, they appointed ſome Delegates to hear and preſide in the Diſputation: but Dr. *Smith* being brought in ſome trouble, either for this Tumult, or upon ſome other account, was forced to put in Sureties for his good behaviour: he deſiring that he might be diſcharged of any further proſecution, made the moſt humble ſubmiſſion to *Cranmer* that was poſſible: and being thereupon ſet at liberty, he fled out of the Kingdom, it is ſaid he went firſt to *Scotland*, and from thence to *Flanders*. But not long after this *Peter Martyr* had a Diſputation before the *Commiſſioners* ſent by the King, who were the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *Cox*, then Chancellor of the Univerſity, and ſome others; in which *Treſham*, *Chadſey*, and *Morgan* diſputed againſt thoſe three Propoſitions: 1. *In the Sacrament of Thanksgiving there is no Tranſubſtantiation of Bread and Wine in the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* 2. *The Body or Blood of Chriſt is not Carnally or Corporally in the Bread and Wine, nor as others uſe to ſay, under the Bread and Wine.* 3. *The Body and Blood of Chriſt are united to the Bread and Wine Sacramentally.* *Ridley* was ſent alſo to *Cambridge* with ſome others of the Kings Commiſſioners, where, on the 20*th*, 24*th* and 27*th*. of *June*, there were publick Diſputations on theſe two *Poſitions*.

"Tranſubſtantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifeſt
"words of Scripture; nor can it be neceſſarily collected from it; nor yet
"confirmed by the conſent of the Ancient Fathers.

"In the Lords Supper there is none other Oblation and Sacrifice, than
"of a Remembrance of Chriſts Death, and of Thankſgiving.

Dr. *Madew* defended theſe, and *Glyn*, *Langdale*, *Sedgwick*, and *Young* diſputed againſt them the firſt day; and the ſecond day *Glyn* defended the

the contrary Propoſitions, and *Peru*, *Grindal*, *Geſt*, and *Pilkington*, diſputed againſt them. On the third day the diſpute went on, and was ſummed up in a learned *Determination* by *Ridley* againſt the Corporal Preſence. There had been alſo a long Diſputation in the Parliament on the ſame Subject; but of this we have nothing remaining, but what King *Edward* writ in his *Journal*. *Ridley* had, by reading *Bertrams* Book of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, been firſt ſet on to examine well the old Opinion concerning the Preſence of Chriſts very Fleſh and Blood in the Sacrament: and wondering to find that in the *9th. Century* that Opinion was ſo much controverted, and ſo learnedly writ againſt by one of the moſt eſteemed Men of that Age, began to conclude, that it was none of the ancient Doctrines of the Church, but lately brought in, and not fully received, till after *Bertrams* Age. He communicated the Matter with *Cranmer*, and they ſet themſelves to examine it with more than ordinary care. *Cranmer* afterwards gathered all the Arguments about it into the Book which he writ on that Subject, to which *Gardiner* ſet out an Anſwer under the diſguiſed Name of *Marcus Conſtantius*; and *Cranmer* replied to it, I ſhall offer the Reader in ſhort, the Subſtance of what was in theſe Books, and of the Arguments uſed in the Diſputations, and in many other Books which were at that time written on this Subject. 1549.

The manner of the Preſence explained according to the Scripture.

Chriſt in the Inſtitution took Bread, and gave it. So that his words, *This is my Body*, could only be meant of the Bread: Now the Bread could not be his Body literally. He himſelf alſo calls the Cup, *The Fruit of the Vine*. St. *Paul* calls it, *The Bread that we break*, and *the Cup that we bleſs*; and ſpeaking of it after it was bleſſed, calls it, *That Bread and that Cup*. For the reaſon of that Expreſſion, *This is my Body*; it was conſidered that the Diſciples, to whom Chriſt ſpoke thus, were *Jews*; and that they being accuſtomed to the Moſaical Rites, muſt needs have underſtood his words in the ſame ſenſe they did *Moſes*'s words, concerning the *Paſchal Lamb*, which is called *the Lords Paſſover*. It was not that literally, for *the Lords Paſſover* was the Angels paſſing by the *Iſraelites* when he ſmote the firſt-born of the *Egyptians*; ſo the *Lamb* was only the *Lords Paſſover* as it was the Memorial of it: and thus Chriſt ſubſtituting the *Euchariſt* to the *Paſchal Lamb*, uſed ſuch an Expreſſion, calling it *his Body*, in the ſame manner of ſpeaking as the *Lamb* was called *the Lords Paſſover*. This was plain enough, for his Diſciples could not well underſtand him in any other ſenſe than that to which they had been formerly accuſtomed. In the Scripture many ſuch Figurative Expreſſions occur frequently. In Baptiſm, the other Sacrament inſtituted by Chriſt, he is ſaid to Baptize *with the Holy Ghoſt and with Fire*: and ſuch as are Baptized, are ſaid to *put on Chriſt*: which were Figurative Expreſſions: As alſo in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the Cup is called *the New Teſtament in Chriſts Blood*, which is an Expreſſion full of Figure. Farther it was obſerved, that *that* Sacrament was inſtituted for a Remembrance of Chriſt, and of his death: which implied that he was to be abſent at the time when he was to be remembred. Nor was it ſimply ſaid, that the Elements were his Body and Blood; but that they were his *Body broken*, and his *Blood ſhed*, that is, they were theſe as ſuffering on the Croſs; which as they could not be underſtood literally, for Chriſt did Inſtitute this Sacrament before he had

1549. suffered on the Cross; so now Christ must be present in the Sacrament, not as glorified in Heaven, but as suffering on his Cross. From those Places where it is said, that Christ is in Heaven, and that he is to continue there; they argued, that he was not to be any more upon Earth. And those words in the *6th.* of St. *John*, of *eating Christs Flesh*, and *drinking his Blood*, they said were to be understood not of the Sacrament: since many receive the Sacrament unworthily, and of them it cannot be said that *they have Eternal Life in them*; but Christ there said of them that received him in the sence that was meant in that *Chapter*, that *all that did so eat his Flesh had Eternal Life in them*; therefore these words can only be understood *Figuratively* of receiving him *by Faith*, as himself there explains it: And so in the end of that Discourse, finding some were startled at that way of expressing himself, he gave a Key to the whole, when he said *his Words were Spirit and Life*, and *that the Flesh profited nothing, it was the Spirit that quickned.* It was ordinary for him to teach in Parables; and *the receiving of any Doctrine*, being oft expressed by the *Prophets*, by the Figure of *eating and drinking*, he, upon the occasion of the Peoples coming to him after he had fed them with a few Loaves, did discourse of their believing, in these dark Expressions; which did not seem to relate to the Sacrament, since it was not then Instituted. They also argued from Christs appealing to the Senses of his Hearers, in his Miracles, and especially in his discourses upon his Resurrection, that the Testimony of Sense was to be received, where the Object was duly applied, and the Sense not vitiated. They also alledged natural Reasons against a Bodies being in more Places than one, or being in a Place in the manner of a Spirit, so that the Substance of a compleat Body, could be in a crumb of Bread or drop of Wine: and argued, that since the Elements after Consecration, would nourish, might putrifie, or could be poisoned, these things clearly evinced, That the Substance of Bread and Wine remained in the Sacrament.

And from the Fathers. From this they went to examine the Ancient Fathers. Some of them called it *Bread and Wine*; others said it *nourished the Body*, as *Justin Martyr*; others, *that it was digested in the Stomach*, and *went into the draught*, as *Origen*. Some called it a *Figure* of Christs Body, so *Tertullian*, and St. *Austin*; others called the Elements *Types* and *Signs*, so almost all the Ancient *Liturgies*, and the *Greek* Fathers generally. In the *Creeds* of the Church it was professed, that Christ still sate on the Right Hand of God; the *Fathers* argued from thence, that he was in Heaven, and not on Earth. And the *Marcionites*, and other *Heretick*, denying that Christ had a true Body, or did really suffer; the *Fathers* appealed in that to the Testimony of Sense, as Infallible. And St. *Austin* giving Rules concerning Figurative Speeches in Scripture; one is this, that they must be taken Figuratively, where in the literal sence the thing were a Crime; which he applies to these Words of *eating Christs Flesh, and drinking his Blood.* But that on which they put the stress of the whole cause, as to the Doctrine of the Fathers, was the reasoning that they used against the *Eutychians*, who said that Christs Body and Humane Nature was swallowed up by his Divinity. The *Eutychians*, arguing from the Eucharists being called Christs Body and Blood, in which they said Christs Presence did convert the Substance of the Bread and Wine into his own Flesh and Blood; so in like manner, said they, his Godhead had converted the

the Manhood into it ſelf: Againſt this, *Gelaſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and *Theodoret*, one of the learnedeſt Fathers of his Age, argue in plain words, That the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remained, as it was formerly, in its own Nature, and Form; and from their Opinion of the Preſence of Chriſts Body in it without converting the Elements, they turned the Argument to ſhew how the Divine and Humane Nature can be together in Chriſt, without the ones being changed by the other. *Peter Martyr* had brought over with him the Copy of a *Letter* of St. *Chryſoſtomes*, which he found in a *MS.* at *Florence*, written to the ſame purpoſe, and on the ſame Argument: which was the more remarkable, becauſe that *Chryſoſtome* had ſaid higher things in his *Sermons* and *Commentaries* concerning Chriſts being preſent in the Sacrament than any of all the Fathers; but it appeared by this Letter, that thoſe high Expreſſions were no other than Rhetorical Figures of Speech to beget a great reverence to this Inſtitution: and from hence it was reaſonable to judge that ſuch were the like Expreſſions in other Fathers, and that they were nevertheleſs of *Chryſoſtomes* mind touching the Preſence of Chriſt in this Sacrament. That *Epiſtle* of his does lie ſtill unpubliſhed, though a very learned Man now in *France* has procured a Copy of it: but thoſe of that Church know the conſequence that the printing of it would have, and ſo it ſeems are reſolved to ſuppreſs it if they can. From all theſe things it was plain that though the Fathers believed there was an extraordinary Vertue in the Sacrament, and an unaccountable Preſence of Chriſt in it, yet they thought not of Tranſubſtantiation nor any thing like it. But when darkneſs and ignorance crept into the Church, the People were apt to believe any thing that was incredible: and were willing enough to ſupport ſuch opinions as turned Religion into external Pageantry. The Prieſts alſo knowing little of the Scriptures, and being only or chiefly converſant in thoſe Writings of the Ancients that had highly extolled the Sacrament; came generally to take up the Opinion of the Corporal Preſence, and being ſoon apprehenſive of the great eſteem it would bring to them, cheriſhed it much. In the *9th. Century Bertram*, *Rabanus Maurus*, *Amalarius*, *Alcuinus*, and *Joannes Scotus*, all writ againſt it: nor were any of them cenſured or condemned for theſe Opinions. It was plainly and ſtrongly contradicted by ſome *Homilies* that were in the *Saxon* Tongue, in which not a few of *Bertrams* words occur: particularly in that which was to be read in the Churches on *Eaſter* day. But in the *11th.* or *12th. Century* it came to be univerſally received; as indeed any thing would have been that much advanced the Dignity of Prieſthood. And it was farther advanced by Pope *Innocent* the third, and ſo eſtabliſhed in the fourth Council of *Lateran*; That ſame Council, in which the rooting out of Hereticks, and the Popes Power of depoſing Heretical Princes, and giving their Dominions to others, were alſo decreed. 1549.

But there was another curious Remark made of the Progreſs of this Opinion. When the Doctrine of the Corporal Preſence was firſt received in the *Weſtern* Church, they believed that the whole Loaf was turned into one entire Body of Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that in the diſtribution one had an Eye, a Noſe, or an Ear, another a Tooth, a Finger, or a Toe, a third a Collop, or a piece of Tripe; and this was ſupported by pretended Miracles ſuited to that Opinion, for ſometimes the Hoſt was

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1549. ſaid to bleed, Parts of it were alſo ſaid to be turned to pieces of Fleſh. This continued to be the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* for near 300 Years. It appears clearly in the Renunciation which they made *Berengarius* ſwear. But when the School-men began to form the Tenets of that Church by more artificial and ſubtil Rules; as they thought it an ungentle way of treating Chriſt to be thus mangling his Body, and eating it up in Gobbets, ſo the Maxims they ſet up about the Extenſion of matter, and of the manner of Spirits filling a ſpace, made them think of a more decent way of explaining this Prodigious Myſtery. They taught that Chriſt was ſo in the Hoſt and Chalice, that there was one entire Body in every crumb and drop; ſo that the Body was no more broken, but upon every breaking of the Hoſt, a new whole Body flew off from the other parts, which yet remained an entire Body, notwithſtanding that diminution. And then the former Miracles being contrary to this conceit, were laid aſide, and new ones invented, fitted for this Explanation, by which Chriſts body was believed preſent after the manner of a Spirit. It was given out, that he ſometimes appeared as a Child all in Raies upon the Hoſt, ſometimes with Angels about him, or ſometimes in his Mothers Arms. And that the Senſes might give as little contradiction as was poſſible, in ſtead of a Loaf they bleſſed then only Wafers, which are ſuch a ſhadow of Bread as might more eaſily agree with their Doctrine of the accidents of Bread being only preſent: and leaſt a larger meaſure of Wine might have encouraged the People to have thought it was Wine ſtill, by the ſenſible effects of it, that came alſo to be denied them.

This was the Subſtance of the Arguments that were in thoſe Writings. But an opinion that had been ſo generally received, was not of a ſudden to be altered. Therefore they went on ſlowly in diſcuſſing it, and thereby did the better diſpoſe the People to receive what they intended afterwards to eſtabliſh concerning it. And this was the ſtate of Religion for this *Year*.

Proceedings againſt Anabaptiſts.

At this time there were many *Anabaptiſts* in ſeveral parts of *England*. They were generally *Germans*, whom the Revolutions there had forced to change their Seats. Upon *Luthers* firſt preaching in *Germany*, there aroſe many, who building on ſome of his Principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief Foundation he laid down was, That the Scripture was to be the only Rule of Chriſtians. Upon this many argued, that the Myſteries of the Trinity, and Chriſts Incarnation and Sufferings, of the Fall of Man, and the Aids of Grace, were indeed Philoſophical Subtilties, and only pretended to be deduced from Scripture, as almoſt all Opinions of Religion were; and therefore they rejected them. Among theſe, the Baptiſm of Infants was one. They held that to be no Baptiſm, and ſo were re-baptiz'd: but from this, which was moſt taken notice of, as being a viſible thing, they carried all the general name of *Anabaptiſts*. Of theſe there were two ſorts moſt remarkable. The one was of thoſe who only thought that Baptiſm ought not to be given but to thoſe who were of an Age capable of Inſtruction, and who did earneſtly deſire it. This Opinion they grounded on the ſilence of the New Teſtament about the Baptiſm of Children; they obſerved, that our Saviour commanding the Apoſtles to baptize, did joyn Teaching with it; and they ſaid, the great decay of Chriſtianity flowed from

Of whom there were two ſorts.

from this way of making Children Christians before they understood what they did. These were called the gentle or moderate *Anabaptists*. But others who carried that Name, denied almost all the Principles of the Christian Doctrine, and were Men of fierce and barbarous tempers. They had broke out into a general revolt over *Germany*, and raised the War called *The Rustick War*: and possessing themselves of *Munster*, made one of their Teachers, *John* of *Leyden*, their King, under the Title of the *King of the new Jerusalem*. Some of them set up a fantastical unintelligible way of talking of Religion, which they turned all into Allegories: These being joyned in the common Name of *Anabaptists* with the other, brought them also under an ill Character. 1549.

On the 12*th*. of *April* there was a Complaint brought to the Council, that with the Strangers that were come into *England*, some of that Perswasion had come over, and were disseminating their Errors, and making Proselites: So a Commission was ordered for the Arch bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Lincoln*, and *Rochester*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Tho. Smith*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *May*, and some others, three of them being a *Quorum*, to examine and search after all Anabaptists, Hereticks, or Contemners of the Common-Prayer. They were to endeavour to reclaim them, to enjoyn them Penance, and give them Absolution: or if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the Secular Power to be farther proceeded against. Some Tradesmen in *London* were brought before these *Commissioners* in *May*, and were perswaded to abjure their former Opinions: which were, "That a Man regenerate could "not sin; that though the outward Man sinned, the inward Man sinned "not; That there was no Trinity of Persons; that Christ was only a "Holy Prophet, and not at all God; That all we had by Christ, was that "he taught us the way to Heaven; That he took no Flesh of the Virgin; "and that the Baptism of Infants was not profitable. One of those who thus abjured was commanded to carry a Faggot next *Sunday* at St. *Pauls*, where there should be a Sermon setting forth his Heresie. But there was another of these extream obstinate, *Joan Bocher*, commonly called *Joan of Kent*. "She denied that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, "whose Flesh being sinful, he could take none of it: but the Word by "the consent of the inward Man in the Virgin, took Flesh of her: these were her words. They took much pains about her, and had many Conferences with her; but she was so extravagantly conceited of her own Notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn: whereupon she was adjudged an obstinate Heretick, and so left to the Secular Power: The Sentence against her will be found in the *Collection*. This being returned to the Council, the good King was moved to Sign a Warrant for burning her, but could not be prevailed on to do it: he thought it a piece of cruelty too like that which they had condemned in Papists, to burn any for their Consciences. And in a long Discourse he had with Sir *Jo. Cheek*, he seemed much confirmed in that Opinion. *Cranmer* was employed to perswade him to Sign the Warrant. He argued from the Law of *Moses*, by which Blasphemers were to be stoned: He told the King he made a great difference between Errors in other Points of Divinity, and those which were directly against the Apostles *Creed*: that these were impieties against God, which a Prince, as being Gods Deputy, ought to punish;

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as

1549. as the Kings Deputies were obliged to puniſh offences, againſt the Kings Perſon. Theſe Reaſons did rather ſilence than ſatisfie the young King, who ſtill thought it a hard thing (as in truth it was) to proceed ſo ſeverely in ſuch Caſes: ſo he ſet his hand to the Warrant, with Tears in his Eyes, ſaying to *Cranmer*, That if he did wrong, ſince it was in ſubmiſſion to his Authority, he ſhould anſwer for it to God. This ſtruck the Arch-biſhop with much horror, ſo that he was very unwilling to have the Sentence executed. And both he, and *Ridley*, took the Woman then in cuſtody to their Houſes, to ſee if they could perſwade her. But ſhe continued, by Jeers and other Inſolences, to carry her ſelf ſo contemptuouſly, that at laſt the Sentence was executed on her, the ſecond of *May* the next Year, Biſhop *Scory* preaching at her burning: ſhe carried her ſelf then as ſhe had done in the former parts of her Proceſs, very undecently, and in the end was burnt.

An Anabaptiſt burnt.

This Action was much cenſured, as being contrary to the clemency of the Goſpel; and was made oft uſe of by the *Papiſts*, who ſaid it was plain that the Reformers were only againſt Burning, when they were in fear of it themſelves. The Womans carriage made her be look'd on as a frantick Perſon, fitter for *Bedlam* than a *Stake*. People had generally believed that all the Statutes for burning Hereticks had been repealed: but now, when the thing was better conſidered, it was found that the burning of Hereticks was done by the Common Law, ſo that the Statutes made about it were only for making the Conviction more eaſie, and the Repealing the Statutes did not take away that which was grounded on a *Writ* at *Common Law*. To end all this matter at once; two years after this, one *George Van Pare*, a *Dutch-man*, being accuſed for ſaying that God the Father was only God, and that Chriſt was not very God, he was dealt with long to abjure: but would not: ſo on the *6th.* of *April* 1551. he was condemned in the ſame manner that *Joan* of *Kent* was, and on the *25th.* of *April* was burnt in *Smithfield*. He ſuffered with great conſtancy of mind, and kiſſed the Stake and Faggots, that were to burn him. Of this *Pare* I find a *Popiſh* Writer ſaying, That he was a Man of moſt wonderful ſtrict Life, that he uſed not to eat above once in two days, and before he did eat would lie ſometime in his devotion proſtrate on the ground. All this they made uſe of to leſſen the credit of thoſe who had ſuffered formerly; for it was ſaid, they ſaw now that Men of harmleſs Lives, might be put to death for Hereſie, by the confeſſion of the Reformers themſelves: And in all the Books publiſhed in Queen *Mary's* days, juſtifying her ſeverity againſt the Proteſtants, theſe Inſtances were always made uſe of: and no part of *Cranmers* Life expoſed him more than this did. It was ſaid he had conſented both to *Lamberts* and *Anne Askews* death, in the former Reign, who both ſuffered for Opinions which he himſelf held now: and he had now procured the death of theſe two Perſons, and when he was brought to ſuffer himſelf afterwards it was called a juſt retaliation on him. One thing was certain, that what he did in this matter flowed from no cruelty of temper in him, no Man being further from that black diſpoſition of Mind; but it was truly the effect of thoſe Principles by which he governed himſelf.

Another burnt.

This was much cenſured.

For the other ſort of *Anabaptiſts*, who only denied Infants Baptiſm, I find no ſeverities uſed to them: but ſeveral Books were written againſt them, to which they wrote ſome Anſwers. It was ſaid that Chriſt allowed

Diſputes concerning the Baptiſm of Infants.

allowed little Children to be brought to him, and ſaid, of *ſuch was the Kingdom of Heaven*, and bleſſed them: Now if they were capable of the *Kingdom of Heaven*, they muſt be regenerated, for Chriſt ſaid none but ſuch as were *born of Water and of the Spirit* could enter into it. St. *Paul* had alſo called the Children of believing Parents *Holy*, which ſeemed to relate to ſuch a conſecration of them as was made in Baptiſm. And *Baptiſm* being the Seal of *Chriſtians*, in the room of *Circumciſion* among the *Jews*, it was thought the one was as applicable to Children as the other. And one thing was obſerved, that the whole World in that Age having been baptized in their Infancy, if that Baptiſm was nothing, then there were none truly baptized in being; but all were in the ſtate of meer Nature: Now it did not ſeem reaſonable that Men who were not baptized themſelves ſhould go and baptize others: and therefore the firſt Heads of that *Sect*, not being rightly baptized themſelves, ſeemed not to act with any Authority when they went to baptize others. The Practice of the Church, ſo early begun, and continued without diſpute for ſo many Ages, was at leaſt, a certain confirmation of a thing which had (to ſpeak moderately) ſo good foundations in Scripture for the lawfulneſs, though not any peremptory, but only probable Proof for the practice of it. 1549.

The Doctrine of Predeſtination much abuſed.

Theſe are all the Errors in Opinion that I find were taken notice of at this time. There was another ſort of People, of whom all the good Men in that Age made great complaints. Some there were called *Goſpellers*, or Readers of the Goſpel, who were a ſcandal to the doctrine they profeſſed. In many *Sermons* I have oft met with ſevere Expoſtulations with theſe, and heavy Denunciations of Judgments againſt them. But I do not find any thing objected to them, as to their belief; ſave only that the Doctrine of *Predeſtination* having been generally taught by the Reformers, many of this Sect began to make ſtrange Inferences from it; reckoning, that ſince every thing was decreed, and the Decrees of God could not be fruſtrated, therefore Men were to leave themſelves to be carried by theſe Decrees. This drew ſome into great impiety of Life, and others into deſperation. The *Germans* ſoon ſaw the ill effects of this Doctrine. *Luther* changed his mind about it, and *Melanchthon* openly writ againſt it: and ſince that time the whole ſtream of the *Lutheran* Churches has run the other way. But both *Calvin* and *Bucer* were ſtill for maintaining the Doctrine of theſe Decrees; only they warned the People not to think much of them, ſince they were Secrets which Men could not penetrate into; but they did not ſo clearly ſhew how theſe conſequences did not flow from ſuch Opinions. *Hooper*, and many other good Writers, did often dehort People from entring into theſe curioſities; and a Caveat to that ſame purpoſe was put afterwards into the Article of the Church about *Predeſtination*.

Tumults in *England*.

One ill effect of the diſſoluteneſs of Peoples manners broke out violently this Summer, occaſioned by the Incloſing of Lands. While the Monaſteries ſtood, there were great numbers of People maintained about theſe Houſes; their Lands were eaſily let out, and many were relieved by them. But now, the Numbers of the People encreaſed much, Marriage being univerſally allowed; they alſo had more time than formerly, by the abrogation of many Holy-days, and the putting down of Proceſſions and Pilgrimages; ſo that as the Numbers encreaſed, they

1549. had more time than they knew how to beſtow. Thoſe who bought in the Church-Lands, as they every where raiſed their Rents, of which old *Latimer* made great Complaints in one of his Court Sermons, ſo they reſolved to encloſe their Grounds, and turn them to Paſture: for Trade was then riſing faſt, and Corn brought not in ſo much Money as Wooll did. Their Flocks alſo being kept by few Perſons in Grounds ſo encloſed, the Landlords themſelves enjoyed the Profit which formerly the Tenants made out of their Eſtates: and ſo they intended to force them to ſerve about them at any ſuch Rates as they would allow. By this means the Commons of *England* ſaw they were like to be reduced to great miſery. This was much complained of, and ſeveral little Books were written about it. Some propoſed a ſort of *Agrarian Law*, that none might have Farms above a ſet value, or Flocks above a ſet number of 2000 Sheep; which Propoſal I find the young King was much taken with, as will appear in one of the Diſcourſes he wrote with his own Hand. It was alſo repreſented that there was no care taken of the educating of Youth, except of thoſe who were bred for Learning; and many things were propoſed to correct this: but in the mean time the Commons ſaw the Gentry were like to reduce them to a very low condition.

The *Protector* ſeemed much concerned for the Commons, and often ſpoke againſt the oppreſſion of Landlords. He was naturally juſt and compaſſionate, and ſo did heartily eſpouſe the Cauſe of the poor People, which made the Nobility and Gentry hate him much. The former year, the Commons about *Hampton-Court*, petitioned the *Protector* and Council, complaining, that whereas the late King in his Sickneſs had encloſed a Park there, to divert himſelf with private eaſie Game, the Deer of that Park did overlay the Country, and it was a great burden to them; and therefore they deſired that it might be diſparked. The *Council* conſidering that it was ſo near *Windſor*, and was not uſeful to the King, but a charge rather, ordered it to be diſparked, and the Deer to be carried to *Windſor*; but with this *Proviſo*, that if the King when he came of Age deſired to have a Park there, what they did ſhould be no prejudice to him. There was alſo a *Commiſſion* iſſued out to enquire about Incloſures and Farms, and whether thoſe who had purchaſed the Abbey-Lands kept Hoſpitality, to which they were bound by the Grants they had of them, and whether they encouraged Husbandry. But I find no effect of this. And indeed there ſeemed to have been a general deſign among the Nobility and Gentry to bring the inferior ſort to that low and ſervile ſtate to which the Peaſants in many other Kingdoms are reduced. In the *Parliament* an *Act* was carried in the Houſe of *Lords* for imparking Grounds, but was caſt out by the *Commons*: yet Gentlemen went on every where taking their Lands into their own Hands, and encloſing them.

Many are eaſily quieted.

In *May* the Commons did riſe firſt in *Wilt-ſhire*; where Sir *William Herbert* gathered ſome reſolute Men about him, and diſperſed them, and ſlew ſome of them. Soon after that, they roſe in *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Kent*, *Glocester-ſhire*, *Suffolk*, *Warwick-ſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Hartford-ſhire*, *Leiceſter-ſhire*, *Worceſter-ſhire*, and *Rutland-ſhire*; but by fair perſwaſions the fury of the People was a little ſtopt, till the matter ſhould be repreſented to the *Council*. The *Protector* ſaid, he did not wonder the Commons were in ſuch diſtempers, they being ſo oppreſſed, that it was eaſier

easier to die once than to perish for want: and therefore he set out a Proclamation, contrary to the mind of the whole Council, against all new Inclosures; with another, indempnifying the People for what was past, so they carried themselves obediently for the future. Commissions were also sent every where, with an unlimitted Power to the Commissioners, to hear and determine all Causes about Inclosures, High-ways, and Cottages. The vast Power these Commissioners assumed was much complained of; the *Landlords* said it was an Invasion of their Property, to subject them thus to the pleasure of those who were sent to examine the Matters, without proceeding in the ordinary Courts according to Law. The *Commons* being encouraged by the favour they heard the *Protector* bore them, and not able to govern their heat, or stay for a more peaceable issue, did rise again, but were anew quieted. Yet the *Protector* being opposed much by the *Council*, he was not able to redress this Grievance so fully as the People hoped. So in *Oxford-shire* and *Devon-shire* they rose again, and also in *Norfolk* and *York-shire*. Those in *Oxford-shire* were dissipated by a Force of 1500 Men, led against them by the Lord *Gray*. Some of them were taken and hanged by *Martial* Law, as being in a state of War; the greatest part ran home to their Dwellings. 1549.

In *Devon-shire* the Insurrection grew to be better formed; for that County was not only far from the Court, but it was generally inclined to the former superstition, and many of the old Priests run in among them. They came together on the 10*th.* of *June*, being *Whit-Sunday*; and in a short time they grew to be 10000 strong. At Court it was hoped this might be as easily dispersed as the other risings were: but the *Protector* was against running into extremities, and so did not move so speedily as the thing required. He, after some days, at last sent the Lord *Russel* with a small Force to stop their Proceedings. And that *Lord*, remembring well how the Duke of *Norfolk* had with a very small Army broken a formidable Rebellion in the former Reign, hoped that time would likewise weaken and dis-unite these; and therefore he kept at some distance, and offered to receive their complaints, and to send them to the *Council*. But these delays gave advantage and strength to the Rebels; who were now led on by some Gentlemen: *Arundel* of *Cornwal* being in chief Command among them; and in answer to the Lord *Russel*, they agreed on fifteen Articles, the Substance of which was as follows. But those of *Devon shire* grew formidable.

1. "That all the General Councils, and the Decrees of their Fore- "fathers, should be observed. Their Demands.

2. "That the Act of the *Six Articles* should be again in force.

3. "That the Mass should be in *Latin*, and that the Priests alone "should receive.

4. That the Sacrament should be hanged up, and worshipped; and "those who refused to do it should suffer as Hereticks.

5. That the Sacrament should only be given to the People at *Easter* "in one kind.

6. "That Baptism should be done at all times.

7. "That Holy Bread, Holy Water, and Palms be again used; "and that Images be set up, with all the other ancient Ceremo- "nies.

1549. 8. "That the new Service should be laid aside, since it was like a "*Christmas* Game: and the old Service again should be used with the "Procession in *Latin*.

9. "That all Preachers in their Sermons, and Priests in the Mass, "should pray for the Souls in Purgatory.

10. "That the Bible should be called in, since otherwise the Clergy "could not easily confound the Hereticks.

11. "That Dr. *Moreman*, and *Crispin*, should be sent to them, and "put in their Livings.

12. "That Cardinal *Pool* should be restored, and made of the Kings "Council.

13. "That every Gentleman might have only one Servant for every "hundred Marks of yearly Rent that belonged to him.

14. "That the half of the Abbey and Church-Lands should be taken "back, and restored to two of the chief Abbeys in every County: and "all the Church Boxes for seven years should be given to such Houses, "that so devout Persons might live in them, who should pray for the "King and the Common-wealth.

15. "And that for their particular grievances, they should be redres-"sed, as *Humphrey Arundel* and the *Major* of *Bodmyn* should inform the "King, for whom they desired a safe conduct.

These Articles being sent to the Council, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* was ordered to draw an Answer to them, which I have seen corrected with his own Hand. The Substance of it was, That their Demands were insolent, such as were dictated to them by some seditious Priests: they did not know what General Councils had decreed; nor was there any thing in the Church of *England* contrary to them, though many things had been formerly received which were so: and for the Decrees, they were framed by the Popes to enslave the World, of which he gave several Instances.

Cranmer drew an Answer to them. *Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.*

For the *Six Articles*, he says, They had not been carried in Parliament if the late King had not gone thither in Person, and procured that Act; and yet of his own accord he slackened the execution of it.

To the third, it was strange that they did not desire to know in what terms they worshipped God: and for the Mass, the ancient Canons required the People to communicate in it, and the Prayers in the Office of the Mass did still imply that they were to do it.

For the hanging up and adoring the Host, it was but lately set up by Pope *Innocent*, and *Honorius*, and in some Places it had never been received.

For the fifth, the Ancient Church received that Sacrament frequently and in both kinds.

To the sixth, Baptism in Cases of necessity was to be administred at any time: but out of these Cases it was fit to do it solemnly; and in the Ancient Church it was chiefly done on the Eves of *Easter* and *Whit-Sunday*, of which usages some Footsteps remained still in the old Offices.

To the seventh, these were late superstitious devices: Images were contrary to the Scriptures, first set up for remembrance, but soon after made Objects of Worship.

To

To the eight, The old Service had many ludicrous things in it; the new was ſimple and grave: if it appeared ridiculous to them, it was as the *Goſpel* was long ago, fooliſhneſs to the *Grecks*. 1549.

To the ninth, The Scriptures ſay nothing of it: it was a ſuperſtitious Invention derogatory to Chriſts death.

To the tenth, The Scriptures are the Word of God, and the readieſt way to confound that which is Hereſie indeed.

To the eleventh, Theſe were ignorant, ſuperſtitious and deceitful Perſons.

To the twelfth, *Pool* had been attainted in Parliament for his ſpiteful Writings and Doings againſt the late King.

To the thirteenth, It was fooliſh and unreaſonable: one Servant could not do a Man's buſineſs; and by this, many Servants would want employment.

To the fourteenth, This was to rob the King, and thoſe who had theſe Lands of him; and would be a means to make ſo foul a Rebellion be remembred in their Prayers.

To the fifteenth, Theſe were notorious Traitors, to whom the Kings Council was not to ſubmit themſelves.

After this, they grew more moderate, and ſent eight Articles: 1. Concerning Baptiſm. 2. About Confirmation. 3. Of the Maſs. 4. For reſerving the Hoſt. 5. For Holy Bread and Water. 6. For the old Service. 7. For the ſingle Lives of Prieſts. 8. For the *Six Articles*: and concluded, *God ſave the King*, for they were *His*, *both body and Goods*. To this there was an Anſwer ſent in the Kings Name, on the *8th.* of *July*, (ſo long did the Treaty with them hold) in which, after Expreſſions of the Kings affection to his People, he taxes their riſing in Arms againſt him their King as contrary to the Laws of God: He tells them, That they are abuſed by their Prieſts, as in the Inſtance of Baptiſm, which according to the Book might, neceſſity requiring it, be done at all times: that the Changes that had been ſet out, were made after long and great conſultation; and the Worſhip of this Church, by the advice of many Biſhops and Learned Men, was reformed, as near to what Chriſt and his Apoſtles had taught and done, as could be: and all things had been ſetled in Parliament. But the moſt ſpecious thing that miſled them being that of the Kings Age, it was ſhewed them that his Blood, and not his Years, gave him the Crown: and the ſtate of Government requires, that at all times there ſhould be the ſame Authority in Princes, and the ſame Obedience in the People. It was all penned in a high threatning Style, and concluded with an earneſt Invitation of them to ſubmit to the Kings Mercy, as others that had riſen had alſo done, to whom he had not only ſhewed Mercy, but granted Redreſs of their juſt grievances: otherwiſe they might expect the utmoſt ſeverity that Traitors deſerved. They make new Demands. Which were alſo rejected.

But nothing prevailed on this enraged Multitude, whom the Prieſts inflamed with all the Artifices they could imagine: and among whom the Hoſt was carried about by a Prieſt on a Cart, that all might ſee it. But when this Commotion was thus grown to a Head, the Men of *Norfolk* roſe the *6th.* of *July*, being led by one *Ket* a Tanner. Theſe pretended nothing of Religion, but only to ſuppreſs aud deſtroy the Gentry, and to raiſe the Commons, and to put new Councellors about the King. The Rebellion in *Norfolk* headed by *Ket* a Tanner.

They

1549. They encreaſed mightily, and became 20000 ſtrong, but had no Order nor Diſcipline, and committed many horrid outrages. The *Sheriff* of the County came boldly to them, and required them in the King's Name to diſperſe, and go home; but had he not been well mounted, they had put him cruelly to death. They came to *Mouſhold* Hill above *Norwich*, and were much favoured by many in that City. *Parker*, afterwards Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, came among them, and preached very freely to them, of their ill Lives, their Rebellion againſt the King, and the Robberies they daily committed: by which he was in great danger of his Life. *Ket* aſſumed to himſelf the Power of Judicature, and under an old Oak, called from thence *the Oak of Reformation*, did ſuch Juſtice as might be expected from ſuch a Judge, and in ſuch a Camp. The *Marqueſs* of *Northampton* was ſent againſt them, but with Orders to keep at a diſtance from them, and to cut off their Proviſions; for ſo it was hoped that without the ſhedding much Blood they might come to themſelves again. When the news of this Riſing came into *York-ſhire*, the Commons there roſe alſo; being further encouraged by a *Prophecy*; That there ſhould be no King nor Nobility in *England*, that the Kingdom ſhould be ruled by four Governours choſen by the Commons, who ſhould hold a Parliament, in commotion, to begin at the *South* and *North* Seas. This they applied to the *Devon-ſhire* Men on the *South* Sea, and themſelves on the *North* Seas. They at their firſt riſing fired Beacons, and ſo gathered the Country, as if it had been for the defence of the Coaſt; and meeting two Gentlemen, with two others with them, they without any provocation murthered them, and left their naked Bodies unburied. At the ſame time that *England* was in this Commotion, the News came that the *French* King had ſent a great Army into the Territory of *Bulloigne*, ſo that the Government was put to moſt extraordinary ſtraits.

A Riſing in *York-ſhire.*

The *French* fall into the *Bullognese.*

A Faſt at Court, where *Cranmer* preached. *Ex MS. Col. C. C. Cantab.*

There was a *Faſt* proclaimed in and about *London*. *Cranmer* preached on the Faſt-day at Court. I have ſeen the greateſt part of his *Sermon* under his own Hand: and it is the only *Sermon* of his I ever ſaw. It is a very plain unartificial Diſcourſe, no ſhews of Learning, or conceits of Wit in it, but he ſeverely expoſtulated in the Name of God with his Hearers, for their ill Lives, their Blaſphemies, Adulteries, mutual Hatred, Oppreſſion, and Contempt of the Goſpel: and complained of the ſlackneſs in puniſhing theſe ſins, by which the Government became in ſome ſort guilty of them. He ſet many Paſſages of the *Jewiſh* Story before them of the Judgments ſuch ſins drew on, and of Gods Mercy in the unexpected deliverances they met with upon their true Repentance. But he chiefly lamented the ſcandal given by many who pretended a zeal for Religion, but uſed that for a Cloak to diſguiſe their other Vices: He ſet before them the freſh Example of *Germany*, where People generally loved to hear the Goſpel, but had not amended their Lives upon it; for which God had now, after many years forbearance, brought them under a ſevere ſcourge, and intimated his apprehenſions of ſome ſignal ſtroke from Heaven upon the Nation, if they did not repent.

Exeter beſieged.

The Rebels in *Devon-ſhire* went and beſieged *Exeter*, where the Citizens reſiſted them with great courage: they ſet fire to the Gates of the City, which thoſe within fed with much Fuel, for hindring their entry till they had raiſed a Rampart within the Gates, and when the Rebels can-

came to enter, the Fire being ſpent, they killed many of them. The Rebels alſo wrought a Mine, but the Citizens Countermined, and pour'd in ſo much Water as ſpoiled their Powder. So finding they could do nothing by force, they reſolved to lie about the Town, reckoning that the want of Proviſion would make it ſoon yield. The Lord *Ruſſel*, having but a ſmall Force with him ſtayed a while for ſome Supplies, which Sir *William Herbert* was to bring him from *Briſtol*. But being afraid that the Rebels ſhould incloſe him, he marched back from *Honnington* where he lay; and finding they had taken a Bridge behind him he beat them from it, killing 600 of them without any loſs on his ſide. By this he underſtood their ſtrength, and ſaw they could not ſtand a brisk Charge, nor rally when once in diſorder. So the Lord *Gray*, and *Spinola* that commanded ſome *Germans*, joyning him, he returned to raiſe the Siege of *Exeter*, which was much ſtraitned for want of Victuals. The Rebels had now ſhut up the City twelve dayes, they within had eat their Horſes, and endured extream Famine, but reſolved to periſh rather than fall into the Hands of thoſe Savages; for the Rebels were indeed no better. They had block'd up the Ways, and left 2000 Men to keep a Bridge which the Kings Forces were to paſs. But the Lord *Ruſſel* broke thorough them, and killed about 1000 of them; upon that the Rebels raiſed the Siege, and retired to *Lanceſton*. The Lord *Ruſſel* gave the Citizens of *Exeter* great thanks in the Kings Name for their Fidelity and Courage: and purſued the Rebels, who were now going off in Parites, and were killed in great numbers. Some of their Heads, as *Arundel*, and the *Major* of *Bodmyne*, *Temſon*, and *Barret*, two Prieſts, with ſix or ſeven more, were taken and hanged. And ſo this Rebellion was happily ſubdued in the *Weſt*, about the beginning of *Auguſt*, to the great Honour of the Lord *Ruſſel*; who with a very ſmall Force had ſaved *Exeter*, and diſperſed the Rebels Army, with little or no loſs at all. 1549.

But is relieved, and the Rebels defeated by the Lord *Ruſſel*.

But the *Marqueſs* of *Northampton* was not ſo ſucceſsful in *Norfolk*. He carried about 1100 Men with him, but did not obſerve the Orders given him, and ſo marched on to *Norwich*. The Rebels were glad of an occaſion to engage with him, and fell in upon him the next day with great fury, and the Town not being ſtrong, he was forced to quit it, but loſt 100 of his Men in that Action, among whom was the Lord *Sheffield*, who was much lamented. The Rebels took about 30 Priſoners, with which they were much lifted up. This being underſtood at *Court*, the Earl of *Warwick* was ſent againſt them, with 6000 Foot and 1500 Horſe that were prepared for an Expedition to *Scotland*: He came to *Norwich*, but was ſcarce able to defend it; for the Rebels fell often in upon him, neither was he well aſſured of the Town. But he cut off their Proviſions, ſo that the Rebels, having waſted all the Country about them, were forced to remove. And then he followed them with his Horſe. They turned upon him, but he quickly routed them, and killed 2000 of them, and took *Ket* their Captain, with his Brother, and a great many more. *Ket* was hanged in Chains at *Norwich* next *January*.

Warwick diſperſes the Rebels at *Norfolk*.

The Rebels in *York-ſhire* had not become very numerous, not being above 3000 in all: but hearing of the defeating of thoſe in other Parts, they accepted of the offer of Pardon that was ſent them: only ſome few

1549. few of the chief Ring-leaders continued to make new ſtirs, and were taken, and hanged, in *York*, the *September* following.

When theſe Commotions were thus over, the *Protector* preſſed that there might be a general and free Pardon ſpeedily proclaimed, for quieting the Country, and giving their affairs a reputation abroad. This was much oppoſed by many of the Council, who thought it better to accompliſh their ſeveral ends, by keeping the People under the laſh, than by ſo profuſe a Mercy: But the *Protector* was reſolved on it, judging the ſtate of affairs required it. So he gave out a general pardon of all that had been done before the 21*ſt.* of *Auguſt*, excepting only thoſe few whom they had in their hands, and reſolved to make publick Examples. Thus was *England* delivered from one of the moſt threatning Storms that at any time had broke out in it: in which deliverance the great prudence and temper of the *Protector* ſeems to have had no ſmall ſhare. Of this whole Matter Advertiſement was given to the Forreign Miniſters, in a Letter which will be found in the *Collection*.

A general Pardon.

Collection Number 36.

There was this Year a Viſitation of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. *Ridley* was appointed to be one of the Viſitors, and to preach at the opening of it: he thereupon writ to *May* Dean of St. *Pauls*, to let him know what was to be done at it, that ſo his Sermon might be adjuſted to their buſineſs. He received Anſwer, That it was only to remove ſome ſuperſtitious Practiſes and Rites, and to make ſuch Statutes as ſhould be found needful. But when he went to *Cambridge*, he ſaw the Inſtruction went further. They were required to procure a reſignation of ſome Colledges, and to unite them with others; and to convert ſome Fellowſhips appointed for encouraging the Study of Divinity, to the ſtudy of the Civil Law. In particular *Clare-Hall* was to be ſuppreſſed. But the Maſter and Fellows would not reſign, and after two days labouring to perſwade them to it, they abſolutely refuſed to do it. Upon this *Ridley* ſaid he could not with a good Conſcience go on any further in that matter: the Church was already ſo robbed and ſtript, that it ſeemed there was a deſign laid down by ſome, to drive out all Civility, Learning, and Religion out of the Nation: therefore he declared he would not concurre in ſuch things, and deſired leave to be gone. The other Viſitors complained of him to the *Protector*, that he had ſo troubled them with his *barking*, (ſo indecently did they expreſs that ſtrictneſs of Conſcience in him) that they could not go on in the Kings Service: and becauſe *Clare-hall* was then full of Northern People, they imputed his unwillingneſs to ſuppreſs that Houſe, to his partial affection to his Countrymen, for he was born in the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme*. Upon this the Protector writ a chiding Letter to him. To it he writ an Anſwer ſo ſumble to what became a Biſhop, who would put all things to hazard rather than do any thing againſt his Conſcience, that I thought it might do no ſmall right to his Memory to put it with the Anſwer which the Protector writ to him in the *Collection*. Theſe with many more I found among his Majeſties Papers of State, in that Repoſitory of them commonly called the *Paper-Office*. To which I had a free acceſs by a Warrant which was procured to me from the King, by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sunderland*, one of the Principal Secretaries of State, who very cheerfully and generouſly expreſſed his readineſs to aſſiſt me in any thing that might compleat the Hiſtory of our Reformation. That Office was firſt ſet up

A Viſitation at *Cambridge*.

Collection Numb. 59, 60.

the care of the Earl of *Salisbury*, when he was Secretary of State in King *James*'s time: which though it is a copious and certain Repertory for thoſe that are to write our Hiſtory ever ſince the Papers of State were laid up there, yet for the former times it contains only ſuch Papers as that great Miniſter could then gather together, ſo that it is not ſo compleat in the Tranſactions that fall within the time of which I writ. 1549.

There was alſo a ſettlement made of the Controverſie concerning the *Greek* Tongue. There had been in King *Henry*'s time a great Conteſt raiſed concerning the Pronunciation of the *Greek* Vowels. That Tongue was but lately come to any perfection in *England*, and ſo no wonder the *Greek* was pronounced like *Engliſh*, with the ſame ſound and apertures of the Mouth: To this Mr. *Cheek*, then Reader of that Tongue in *Cambridge*, oppoſed himſelf, and taught other Rules of Pronunciation. *Gardiner* was it ſeems ſo afraid of every Innovation, though ever ſo much in the right, that he contended ſtifly to have the old Pronunciation retained: and *Cheek* perſiſting in his Opinion, was either put from the Chair, or willingly left it to avoid the indignation of ſo great and ſo ſpiteful a Man as *Gardiner* was, who was then Chancellor of the Univerſity: *Cheek* wrote a Book in vindication of his way of pronouncing *Greek*; of which this muſt be ſaid, That it is very ſtrange to ſee how he could write with ſo much Learning and Judgment on ſo bare a Subject. *Redmayn*, *Poinet*, and other learned Men were of his ſide, yet more covertly: but Sir *Tho. Smith*, now Secretary of State, writ three Books on the ſame Argument, and did ſo evidently confirm *Cheeks* Opinion, that the Diſpute was now laid aſide, and the true way of pronouncing the *Greek* took place; the rather becauſe *Gardiner* was in diſgrace, and *Cheek* and *Smith* were in ſuch Power and Authority: So great an Influence had the Intereſts of Men in ſupporting the moſt ſpeculative and indifferent things. A conteſt about pronouncing the *Greek*.

Soon after this, *Bonner* fell into new troubles, he continued to oppoſe every thing, as long as it was ſafe for him to do it, while it was under debate, and ſo kept his Intereſt with the *Papiſts*: but he complied ſo obediently with all the Laws and Orders of *Council*, that it was not eaſie to find any matter againſt him. He executed every Order that was ſent him, ſo readily, that there was not ſo much as ground for any Complaint; yet it was known he was in his Heart againſt every thing they did, and that he cheriſhed all that were of a contrary mind. The Council being informed, that upon the Commotions that were in *England*, many in *London* withdrew from the Service and Communion, and frequented Maſſes, which was laid to his charge, as being negligent in the execution of the Kings Laws and Injunctions; they writ to him on the 23*d.* of *July*, to ſee to the correcting of theſe things, and that he ſhould give good example himſelf. Upon which, on the 26*th.* following, he ſent about a Charge to execute the Order in this Letter, which he ſaid he was moſt willing and deſirous to do. Yet it was ſtill obſerved, that whatſoever obedience he gave, it was againſt his Heart. And therefore he was called before the Council the 11*th.* of *Auguſt*. There a Writing was deliver'd to him, complaining of his remiſſneſs; and particularly that whereas he was wont formerly on all high *Feſtivals* to officiate himſelf, yet he had ſeldom or never done it, ſince the *New Service* was ſet out: as alſo that Adultery was openly practiſed in his Dioceſs, which he took *Bonner* falls into trouble. Injunctions are given him.

1549. no care according to his Pastoral Office to restrain or punish: therefore he was strictly charged to see these things reformed. He was also ordered to preach on *Sunday* come three weeks at St. *Pauls Cross*: and that he should preach there once a quarter for the future, and be present at every *Sermon* made there, except he were sick: that he should officiate at St. *Pauls* at every high *Festival*, such as were formerly called *Majus duplex*, and give the Communion: that he should proceed against all who did not frequent the Common-Prayer, nor receive the Sacrament once a year; or did go to Mass: that he should search out and punish Adulterers: that he should take care of the reparation of Churches, and paying Tythes in his Dioceſs, and should keep his residence in his House in *London*. As to his Sermon, he was required to preach against Rebellion, setting out the hainousness of it; he was also to shew what was true Religion, and that external Ceremonies were nothing in themselves; but that in the use of them Men ought to obey the Magistrate, and joyn true devotion to them, and that the King was no less King, and the People no less bound to obey, when he was in Minority, than when he was of full Age.

In his Sermon he did not set forth the Kings Power under Age as he had been required to do.

On the first of *September*, being the day appointed for him to preach, there was a great Assembly gathered to hear him. He touched upon the Points that were enjoyned him, excepting that about the Kings Age, of which he said not one word. But since the manner of Christs Presence in the Sacrament was a thing which he might yet safely speak of, he spent most of his *Sermon* on the asserting the Corporal Presence: which he did with many sharp reflections on those who were of another mind. There were present among others *William Latimer*, and *John Hooper*, soon after Bishop of *Gloceſter*, who came and informed against him; that as he had wholly omitted that about the Kings Age, so he had touched the other Points but slightly, and did say many other things which tended to stir up disorder and dissention. Upon this there was a *Commission* issued out to *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*, with the two *Secretaries* of State, and Dr. *May* Dean of St. *Pauls*, to examine that matter. They or any two of them had full power by this Commission to suspend, imprison or deprive him, as they should see cause. They were to proceed in the Summary way, called in their Courts *De plano*.

Rot. Pat. 11. *Par.* 3. *Reg.*

He is proceeded against.

On the 10*th*. of *September Bonner* was summoned to appear before them at *Lambeth*. As he came into the place where they sate, he carried himself as if he had not seen them, till one pulled him by the sleeve to put off his Cap to the Kings Commissioners; upon which he protested he had not seen them; which none of them could believe. He spake slightingly to them of the whole matter, and turned the discourse off to the *Mass*, which he wished were had in more reverence. When the Witnesses were brought against him, he jeered them very undecently, and said the one talked *like a Goose*, and the other *like a Woodcock*, and denied all they said. The *Arch-bishop* asked him, whether he would refer the matter in proof to the People that heard him? and so asked whether any there present had heard him speak of the Kings Authority when under Age? Many answered, *No, No. Bonner* looked about, and laughed, saying, *Will you believe this fond People?* Some he called *Dunces*, and others *Fools*, and behaved himself more like a Mad-man than a *Bishop*. The next day he was again brought before them. Then the *Commission* was read. The *Arch-bishop* opened the Matter,

Regist. Bonner.

His insolent behaviour.

Matter, and desired *Bonner* to answer for himself: He read a *Protestation* which he had prepared, setting forth, that since he had not seen the *Commission*, he reserved to himself power to except, either to his Judges, or to any other Branch of the *Commission*, as he should afterwards see cause. In this he called it a pretended Commission, and them pretended Judges, which was taxed as irreverent: but he excused it, alledging that these were terms of Law which he must use, and so not be precluded from any Objections he might afterwards make use of. The *Bill* of Complaint was next read, and the two Informers appeared with their Witnesses to make it good. But *Bonner* objected against them, that they were notorious Hereticks, and that the ill Will they bore him, was because he had asserted the true Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar: that *Hooper* in particular had in his *Sermon*, that very day on which he had preached, denied it; and had refuted and mis-recited his Sayings, *like an Asse*, as he was *an Asse indeed*; so ill did he govern his Tongue: Upon this *Cranmer* asked him, whether he thought Christ was in the Sacrament with Face, Mouth, Eyes, Nose, and the other Lineaments of his Body? and there passed some words between them on that Head: but *Cranmer* told him that was not a time and place to dispute, they were come to execute the Kings *Commission*. So *Bonner* desired to see both it, and the denunciation; which were given him, and the Court adjourned till the 13*th*. 1549.

Secretary *Smith* sate with them at their next Meeting, which he had not done the former day, though his Name was in the *Commission*; Upon this *Bonner* protested, that according to the *Canon* Law none could act in a Commission, but those who were present the first day in which it was read. But to this it was alleadged, that the constant practice of the Kingdom had been to the contrary: that all whose Names were in any Commission, might sit and judge, though they had not been present at the first opening of it. This Protestation being rejected, he read his Answer in writing to the Accusation. He first objected to his Accusers, that they were Hereticks in the matter of the Sacrament: and so were, according to the Laws of the Catholick Church, under Excommunication, and therefore ought not to be admitted into any Christian Company. Then he denied that the Injunctions given to him had been signed, either with the Kings Hand or Signet, or by any of his Council. But upon the whole matter he said he had in his Sermon condemned the late Rebellion in *Cornwall*, *Devon-shire*, and *Norfolk*, and had set forth the Sin of Rebellion according to several Texts of Scripture: He had also preached for obedience to the Kings Commands; and that no Ceremonies that were contrary to them ought to be used; in particular he had exhorted the People to come to Prayers, and to the Communion, as it was appointed by the King, and wondered to see them so slack in coming to it: which he believed flowed from a false opinion they had of it. And therefore he taught, according to that which he conceived to be the duty of a faithful Pastor, the true Presence of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacrament: which was the true Motive of his Accusers in their prosecuting him thus. But though he had forgot to speak of the Kings Power under Age, yet he had said that which necessarily inferred it; for he had condemned the late Rebels, for rising against their lawful King, and had applied many Texts of Scripture to them, which clearly implied, His Defence.

1549. that the Kings Power was then entire, otherwise they could not be Rebels.

These are rejected. But to all this it was answered, That it was of no great consequence who were the Informers, if the Witnesses were such that he could not except against them: besides, they were impow'red by their Commission to proceed *ex Officio*; so that it was not necessary for them to have any to accuse. He was told that the Injunctions were read to him in *Council* by one of the *Secretaries*, and then were given to him by the *Protector* himself; that afterwards they were called for, and that Article concerning the Kings Power before he came to be of Age being added, they were given him again by Secretary *Smith*; and he promised to execute them. He was also told, that it was no just excuse for him to say he had forgot that about the Kings Power; since it was the chief thing pretended by the late Rebels, and was mainly intended by the *Council* in their Injunctions; so that it was a poor shift for him to pretend he had forgot it, or had spoken of it by a consequence.

The Court adjourned to the *16th.* day. And then *Latimer* and *Hooper* offered to purge themselves of the Charge of Heresie, since they had never spoken nor written of the Sacrament, but according to the Scripture: and whereas *Bonner* had charged them, that on the first of *September* they had entred into consultation and confederacy against him, they protested, they had not seen each other that day, nor been known to one another till some days after. *Bonner* upon this read some Passages of the Sacrament out of a Book of *Hoopers*, whom he called the *Varlet*. But *Cranmer* cut off the discourse, and said, it was not their business to determine that Point, and said to the People, that the Bishop of *London* was not accused for any thing he had said about the Sacrament. Then *Bonner*, turning to speak to the People, was interrupted by one of the *Delegates*, who told him, he was to speak to them, and not to the People: at which some laughing, he turned about in great fury, and said, *Ah Woodcocks! Woodcocks!* But to the chief Point, he said he had prepared Notes of what he intended to say about the Kings Power in his Minority; from the Instances in Scripture, of *Achaz*, and *Osias*, who were Kings at Ten, of *Solomon*, and *Manasses*, who Reigned at Twelve, and of *Josias*, *Joachim*, and *Joas*, who began to Reign when they were but Eight years old. He had also gathered out of the *English* History that *Henry* the third, *Edward* the third, *Richard* the second, *Henry* the sixth, and *Edward* the fifth, were all under Age: and even their last King was but eighteen when he came to the Crown: and yet all their acts were obeyed as much before, as after they were of full Age. But these things had escaped his memory, he not having been much used to preach. There had been also a long Bill sent him from the Council to be read, of the defeat of the Rebels, which he said, had disordered him: and the Book in which he had laid his Notes, fell out of his hands, when he was in the Pulpit: for this he appealed to his two Chaplains, *Bourn* and *Harpsfield*, whom he had desired to gather for him the Names of those Kings who Reigned before they were of Age. For the other Injunctions, he had taken care to execute them, and had sent Orders to his Arch-deacons to see to them: and as far as he understood, there were no Masses nor Service in *Latin* within his Dioceſs, except at the Lady *Maries*, or in the Chappels of Ambassadors. But the *Delegates* required him positively

tively to anſwer, whether he had obeyed that Injunction about the Kings Authority or not; otherwiſe they would hold him as guilty: and if he denied it, they would proceed to the examination of the Witneſſes. He refuſing to anſwer otherwiſe than he had done, they called the Witneſſes, who were Sir *John Cheek* and four more, who had their Oaths given them: and *Bonner* deſiring a time to prepare his Interrogatories, it was granted. So he drew a long Paper of twenty Interrogatories, every one of them containing many Branches in it; full of all the niceties of the *Canon Law:* a teſt of which may be had from the third in number, which is indeed the moſt material of all. The Interrogatory was, "Whether they, or any of them, were preſent at his *Sermon*, where "they ſtood, and near whom, when they came to it, and at what part of "his *Sermon*, how long they tarried, at what part they were offended, "what were the formal Words, or Subſtance of it, who with them did "hear it, where the other Witneſſes ſtood, and how long they tarried, or "when they departed? 1549.

The Court adjourned to the 18*th.* of *September:* And then there was read a Declaration from the King, explaining their former Commiſſion, chiefly in the Point of the Denunciation, that they might proceed either that way, or *ex Officio*, as they ſaw cauſe: giving them alſo Power finally to determine the matter, cutting off all ſuperfluous delays. *Bonner* gave in alſo ſome other Reaſons, why he ſhould not be obliged to make a more direct Anſwer to the Articles objected againſt him: The chief of which was, That the Article about the Kings Age was not in the Paper given him by the Protector, but afterwards added by Secretary *Smith* of his own Head. *Cranmer* admoniſhed him of his irreverence, ſince he called them always his *pretended* Judges. *Smith* added, That though Proctors did ſo in common matters, for their Clients, yet it was not to be endured in ſuch a Caſe, when he ſaw they acted by a ſpecial Commiſſion from the King. New Articles were given him more explicite and plain than the former, but to the ſame purpoſe. And five Witneſſes were ſworn upon theſe, who were all the Clerks of the Council, to prove that the Article about the Kings Age was ordered by the whole Council, and only put in writing by Secretary *Smith*, at their Command. He was appointed to come next day, and make his Anſwer. But on the 19*th.* two of his Servants came, and told the Delegates, that he was ſick, and could not attend. It was therefore ordered, That the Knight-Marſhal ſhould go to him; and if he were ſick, let him alone; but if it were not ſo, ſhould bring him before them next day. On the 20*th. Bonner* appearing, anſwered as he had done formerly; only he proteſted, that it was his opinion, that the King was as much a King, and the People as much bound to obey him, before he was of Age, as after it: And after that, Secretary *Smith* having taken him up more ſharply than the other *Delegates*, he proteſted againſt him as no competent Judge, ſince he had expreſſed much paſſion againſt him, and had not heard him patiently, but had compared him to Thieves and Traitors, and had threatned to ſend him to the Tower to ſit with *Ket* and *Arundel*; and that he had added ſome things to the Injunctions given him by the *Protector*, for which he was now accuſed, and did alſo proceed to judge him, notwithſtanding his Proteſtation, grounded on his not being preſent when the *Commiſſion* was firſt opened and received by the Court. But this Proteſtation alſo

He proteſts againſt Secretary *Smith*.

was

1549. was rejected by the *Delegates*; and *Smith* told him, That whereas he took exception at his saying that he acted as Thieves and Traitors do, it was plainly visible in his doings: upon which, *Bonner*, being much inflamed, said to him, That as he was *Secretary* of *State*, and a *Privy Councellor*, he honoured him; but as he was Sir *Tho. Smith*, he told him, he lied, and that he defied him. At this the Arch-bishop chid him, and said, he deserved to be sent to Prison for such irreverent carriage. He answered, he did not care whither they sent him, so they sent him not to the Devil, for thither he would not go: he had a few Goods, a poor Carkass, and a Soul: the two former were in their power, but the last was in his own. After this, being made to withdraw, he, when called in again, put in an Appeal from them to the King, and read an Instrument of it, which he had prepared at his own House that Morning: and so would make no other answer, unless the *Secretary* should remove. For this contempt he was sent to the Prison of the *Marshalsea*; and as he was led away, he broke out in great passion, both against *Smith*, and also at *Cranmer*, for suffering Hereticks to infect the People, which he required him to abstain from, as he would answer for it to God, and the King.

On the 23*d.* he was again brought before them, where, by a second Instrument, he adhered to his former Appeal. But the *Delegates* said, they would go on, and judge him, unless there came a *Supersedeas* from the King, and so required him to answer those Articles which he had not yet answered, otherwise they would proceed against him as *Contumax*, and hold him as *Confessing*. But he adhered to his Appeal, and so would answer no more. New matter was also brought, of his going out of St. *Pauls* in the midst of the *Sermon* on the 15*th.* of the Month, and so giving a publick disturbance and scandal: and of his writing next day to the Lord *Major*, not to suffer such Preachers to sow their ill Doctrine. This was occasioned by the Preachers speaking against the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament: But he would give the Court no account of that matter; so they adjourned to the 27*th*, and from that to the first of *October*. In that time great endeavours were used to perswade him to submit, and to behave himself better for the future; and upon that condition he was assured he should be gently used. But he would yield to nothing. So on the first of *October*, when he was brought before them, the *Arch-bishop* told him, they had delayed so long, being unwilling to proceed to extremities with him, and therefore wished him to submit. But he read another Writing, by which he protested, that he was brought before them by force, and that otherwise he would not have come, since, that having appeal'd from them, he looked on them as his Judges no more. He said, that he had also written a Petition to the Lord *Chancellor*, complaining of the *Delegates*, and desiring that his Appeal might be admitted; and said, by that Appeal it was plain, that he esteemed the King to be cloathed with his full Royal Power, now that he was under Age, since he thus appealed to him. Upon which the *Arch-bishop*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, Secretary *Smith*, and the Dean of St. *Pauls*, gave Sentence against him; that since he had not declared the Kings Power, while under Age, in his *Sermon*, as he was commanded by the *Protector* and *Council*, therefore the *Arch-bishop*, with the Consent and Assent of his *Colleagues*, did deprive him of the Bishoprick of *London*.

He is deprived from his Bishoprick.

don. Sentence being thus given, he appealed again by word of mouth. The Court did alſo order him to be carried to Priſon, till the King ſhould conſider further of it. This account of his Trial is drawn from the Regiſter of *London*, where all theſe Particulars are inſerted. From thence it was that *Fox* printed them. For *Bonner*, though he was afterward Commiſſioned by the Queen to deface any Records that made againſt the Catholick Cauſe, yet did not care to alter any thing in this Regiſter after his re-admiſſion in Queen *Maries* time. It ſeems he was not diſpleaſed with what he found recorded of himſelf in this matter. 1549.

Thus was *Bonner* deprived of his Biſhoprick of *London*. This Judgment, as all ſuch things are, was much cenſured: It was ſaid, it was not Canonical, ſince it was by a Commiſſion from the King, and ſince Secular Men were mixed with Clergy-men in the cenſure of a Biſhop. To this it was anſwered, That the Sentence being only of deprivation from the See of *London*, it was not ſo entirely an Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, but was of a mixed nature, ſo that Lay-men might joyn in it: and ſince he had taken a Commiſſion from the King for his Biſhoprick, by which he held it only during the Kings pleaſure, he could not complain of this deprivation, which was done by the Kings Authority. Others who looked further back, remembred that *Conſtantine* the Emperor had appointed Secular Men to enquire into ſome things objected to Biſhops, who were called *Cognitores*, or *Triers*: and ſuch had examined the buſineſs of *Cecilian* Biſhop of *Carthage*, even upon an Appeal, after it had been tried in ſeveral Synods; and given *Judgment* againſt *Donatus* and his Party. The ſame *Conſtantine* had alſo by his Authority put *Euſtathius* out of *Antioch*, *Athanaſius* out of *Alexandria*, and *Paul* out of *Conſtantinople*: and though the Orthodox Biſhops complained of theſe Particulars, as done unjuſtly at the falſe ſuggeſtion of the *Arrians*; yet they did not deny the Emperors Authority in ſuch Caſes. Afterwards the Emperors uſed to have ſome Biſhops attending on them in their *Comitatus* or Court, to whoſe Judgment they left moſt Cauſes, who acted only by Commiſſion from the Emperor. So *Epiphanius* was brought to condemn *Chryſoſtome* at *Conſtantinople*, who had no Authority to judge him by the Canons. Others objected, that it was too ſevere to deprive *Bonner* for a defect in his memory; and that therefore they ſhould have given him a new Tryal in that Point, and not have proceeded to cenſure him on ſuch an omiſſion; ſince he proteſted it was not on deſign, but a pure forgetfulneſs; and all people perceived clearly it had been before hand reſolved to lay him aſide, and that therefore they now took him on this diſadvantage, and ſo deprived him. But it was alſo well known, that all the Papiſts infuſed this Notion into the People, of the Kings having no Power till he came to be of Age; and he being certainly one of them, there was reaſon to conclude, that what he ſaid for his defence, was only a Pretence; and that it was of deſign that he had omitted the mentioning the Kings Power when under Age. The adding of Impriſonment to his Deprivation was thought by ſome to be an extream accumulation of Puniſhments. But that was no more than what he drew upon himſelf by his rude and contemptuous behaviour. However it ſeems that ſome of theſe Objections wrought on Secretary *Petre*, for he never ſate with the Delegates after the firſt day, and he was now turning about to another Party. Cenſures paſs'd upon it.

On

1549. On the other hand, *Bonner* was little pitied by most that knew him. He was a cruel and fierce Man: he understood little of Divinity, his Learning being chiefly in the Canon Law. Besides, he was looked on generally as a Man of no Principles. All the obedience he gave either to the Laws, or the Kings Injunctions, was thought a compliance against his Conscience, extorted by fear. And his undecent carriage during his process had much exposed him to the People: so that it was not thought to be hard dealing, though the Proceedings against him were summary and severe. Nor did his carriage afterward during his imprisonment discover much of a Bishop or a Christian. For he was more concerned to have *Puddings* and *Pears* sent him, than for any thing else. This I gather from some original Letters of his to *Richard Leechmore* Esq; in *Worcester-shire*, (which were communicated to me by his Heir Lineally descended from him, the Worshipful Mr. *Leechmore*, now the Senior Bencher of the *Middle-Temple*;) of which I transcribed the latter part of one, that will be found in the *Collection*. In it he desires a large quantity of Pears and Puddings to be sent him: otherwise he gives those to whom he writes an odd sort of Benediction, very unlike what became a Man of his Character, he gives them *to the Devil, to the Devil*, and *to all the Devils*, if they did not furnish him well with Pears and Puddings. It may perhaps be thought indecent to print such Letters, being the privacies of friendship, which ought not to be made publick; but I confess, *Bonner* was so brutish, and so bloody a Man, that I was not ill pleased to meet with any thing that might set him forth in his natural Colours to the World.

Collection Number 37.

Forreign Affairs. Thus did the Affairs of *England* go on this Summer within the Kingdom; but it will be now necessary to consider the state of our Affairs in Forreign Parts. The King of *France* finding it was very chargeable to carry on the War wholly in *Scotland*, resolved this year to lessen that Expence, and to make War directly with *England*, both at Sea and Land. So he came in person with a great Army, and fell into the Country of *Bulloigne*, where he took many little Castles about the Town; as *Sellaque*, *Blackness*, *Hambletue*, *Newhaven*, and some lesser ones. The *English* Writers say, those were ill provided, which made them be so easily lost: but *Thuanus* says, they were all very well stored. In the night they assaulted *Bullingberg*, but were beat off: then they designed to burn the Ships that were in the Harbour, and had prepared Wild-fire with other combustible Matter, but were driven away by the *English*. At the same time the *French* Fleet met the *English* Fleet at *Jersey*, but, as King *Edward* writes in his Diary, they were beat off with the loss of 1000 Men; though *Thuanus* puts the loss wholly on the *English* side. The *French* King sate down before *Bulloign*, in *September*, hoping that the disorders then in *England*, would make that place be ill supplied, and easily yielded: the *English* finding *Bullingberg* was not tenable, razed it, and retired into the Town: but the Plague broke into the *French* Camp, so the King left it under the command of *Chastilion*. He endeavoured chiefly to take the *Pierre*, and so to cut off the Town from the Sea, and from all communication with *England*: and after a long Battery he gave the Assault upon it, but was beat off. There followed many Skirmishes between him and the Garrison, and he made many attempts to close up the Channel, and thought to have sunk a Galley full of Stones and Gravel in it; but in all

The *French* take many Places about *Bulloigne*.

all these he was still unsuccessful. And therefore Winter coming on, the Siege was raised; only the Forts about the Town, which the *French* had taken, were strongly garrisoned: so that *Bulloigne* was in danger of being lost the next year. 1549.

In *Scotland* also, the *English* Affairs declined much this year. *Thermes*, before the Winter was ended, had taken *Broughty* Castle, and destroyed almost the whole Garrison. In the Southern Parts there was a change made of the Lords Wardens of the *English* marches. Sir *Robert Bowes* was complained of, as negligent in relieving *Hadingtoun* the former year; so the Lord *Dacres* was put in his room. And the Lord *Gray*, who lost the great advantage he had when the *French* raised the Siege of *Hadingtoun*, was removed, and the Earl of *Rutland* was sent to command. The Earl made an Inroad into *Scotland*, and supplied *Hadingtoun* plentifully with all sorts of Provisions, necessary for a Siege. He had some *Germans*, and *Spaniards* with him: but a Party of *Scotch* Horse surprised the *Germans* Baggage; and *Romero* with the *Spanish* Troop was also fallen on, and taken, and almost all his Men were cut off. The Earl of *Warwick* was to have marched with a more considerable Army this Summer into *Scotland*, had not the disorders in *England* diverted him, as it has been already shewn. *Thermes* did not much more this Year. He intended once to have renewed the Siege of *Hadingtoun*; but when he understood how well they were furnished, he gave it over. But the *English* Council, finding how great a charge the keeping of it was, and the Country all about it being destroyed, so that no Provisions could be had, but what were brought from *England*, from which it was 28 Miles distant, resolved to withdraw their Garrison, and quit it, which was done on the first of *October*: so that the *English* having now no Garrison within *Scotland*, but *Lauder*, *Thermes* sate down before that, and pressed it, so that had not the Peace been made up with *France*, it had fallen into his Hands. The *English* unsuccessful in *Scotland*.

Things being in this disorder both at home and abroad, the Protector had nothing to depend on, but the Emperors Aid; and he was so ill satisfied with the Changes that had been made in Religion, that much was not to be expected from him. The confusions this year occasioned that Change to be made in the Office of the daily Prayers; where the Answer to the Petition, *Give Peace in our time O Lord*, which was formerly, and is still continued, was now made, *Because there is none other that fighteth for us but only thou O God.* For now the Emperor having reduced all the Princes, and most of the Cities, of *Germany* to his obedience, none but *Magdeburg* and *Breame* standing out, did by a mistake, incident to great Conquerors, neglect those advantages which were then in his hands, and did not prosecute his Victories; but leaving *Germany*, came this Summer into the *Netherlands*, whither he had ordered his Son Prince *Philip* to come from *Spain* to him, through *Italy* and *Germany*, that he might put him into possession of these Provinces, and make them swear Homage to him. Whether at this time the Emperor was beginning to form the design of retiring, or whether he did this only to prevent the Mutinies and Revolts that might fall out upon his death, if his Son were not in actual possession of them, is not so certain. One thing is memorable, in that Transaction that was called the *Lætus Introitus*, or the terms upon which he was received Prince of *Brabant*, to which the other Provinces The state of *Germany*.

1549. had been formerly united into one Principality; after many Rules and Limitations of Government, in the matter of Taxes, and publick Assemblies, the not keeping up of Forces, and governing them not by Strangers, but by Natives, it was added, "That if he broke these Condi-"tions, it should be free for them not to obey him or acknowledge him "any longer, till he returned to govern according to their Laws. This was afterwards the chief ground on which they justified their shaking off the *Spanish* Yoke, all these Conditions being publickly violated.

Ott. Library *Galba B.* 12.

Jealousies arise in the Emperors Family.

At this time there were great jealousies in the Emperors Family. For as he intended to have had his Brother resign his Election to be King of the *Romans*, that it might be transferred on his own Son; so there were designs in *Flanders*, which the *French* cherished much, to have *Maximilian*, *Ferdinands* Son, the most accomplish'd and vertuous Prince that had been for many Ages, to be made their Prince. The *Flemings* were much disgusted with the Queen Regents Government, who, when there was need of Money, sent to *Bruges*, and *Antwerp*, ordering Deputies to be sent her from *Flanders*, and *Brabant*: and when they were come, she told them what Money must be raised: and if they made any objections, she used to bid them give over merchandizing with the Emperor, for he must and would have the Money he asked: so that nothing remained to them, but to see how to raise what was thus demanded of them, rather than desired from them. This, as the *English* Ambassador writ from *Bruges*, seemed to be the reason that moved the Emperor to make his Son swear to such Rules of Government; which, the Sequel of his Life shewed, he meant to observe in the same manner that his Father had done before him. At the same time, in *May* this year, I find a secret Advertisement was sent over from *France* to the *English* Court, that there was a private Treaty set on foot between that King and the Princes of Germany, for restoring the liberty of the Empire: but that the King of *France* was resolved to have *Bulloigne* in his Hands before he entred on new Projects. Therefore it was proposed to the Protector, to consider whether it were not best to deliver it up by a Treaty, and so to leave the King of *France* free to the defence of their Friends in the Empire: for I find the consideration of the Protestant Religion was the chief measure of our Councils all this Reign.

A great Faction against the Protector.

Upon this there was great distraction in the Councils at home. The Protector was inclined to deliver up *Bulloigne* for a Sum of Money, and to make Peace both with the *French* and *Scots*. The Kings Treasure was exhausted, Affairs at home were in great confusion, the defence of *Bulloigne* was a great charge, and a War with *France* was a thing of that consequence, that in that state of Affairs it was not to be adventured on. But on the other hand, those who hated the Protector, and measured Councils more by the bravery than the solidity of them, said, it would be a reproach to the Nation to deliver up a Place of that consequence which their late King, in the declining of his days, had gained with so much loss of Men and Treasure: and to sell this for a little Money was accounted so sordid, that the Protector durst not adventure on it. Upon this occasion I find Sir *William Paget* (being made Comptroller of the Kings Houshold, which was then thought an advancement from the Office of a Secretary of State) made a long Discourse, and put it in Writing. The substance of it was, to ballance the dangers in which *England* was

Pagets Advice about Forreign Affairs.

Cotton Libr. *Titus B.* 2.

at that time. The Buſineſs of *Scotland* and *Bulloigne* drew *France* into a Quarrel againſt it. On the account of Religion, it had no reaſon to expect much from the Emperor. The Intereſt of *England* was then to preſerve the Proteſtants of *Germany*; and therefore to unite with *France*, which would be eaſily engaged in that Quarrel againſt the Emperor. He propoſed a firm Alliance with the *Venetians*, who were then jealous of the Emperors Progreſs in *Italy*, and would be ready to joyn againſt him, if he were throughly engaged in *Germany*; and by their means, *England* was to make up an agreement with *France*. On the other hand, *William Thomas*, then a Clerk of the Council, writ a long Diſcourſe of other Expedients: He agreed with *Paget*, as to the ill ſtate of *England*, having many Enemies, and no Friends. The *North* of *England* was waſted by the incurſion of the *Scots*. *Ireland* was alſo in an ill condition; for the Natives there did generally joyn with the *Scots*, being addicted to the old Superſtition. The Emperor was ſo ſet on reducing all to one Religion, that they could expect no great Aid from him, unleſs they gave him ſome hope of returning to the *Roman* Religion. But the continuance of the War would undo the Nation: for if the War went on, the People would take advantage from it to break out into new diſorders: it would be alſo very diſhonourable to deliver up, or rather to ſell, the late Conqueſts in *France*. Therefore he propoſed, that to gain time, they ſhould treat with the Emperor, and even give him hopes of re-examining what had been done in Religion: though there was danger even in that, of diſheart'ning thoſe of *Magdeburg*, and the few remaining Proteſtants in *Germany*; as alſo they might expect the Emperor would be highly enraged when he ſhould come to find that he had been deluded: but the gaining of time was then ſo neceſſary, that the preſervation of the Nation depended on it. For *Scotland* he propoſed, that the Governour of that Kingdom ſhould be preſſed to pretend to the Crown; ſince their Queen was gone into a ſtrange Country: by this means *Scotland* would be for that whole Age ſeparated from the Intereſts of *France*, and obliged to depend on *England*: and the *French* were now ſo hated in *Scotland*, that any who would ſet up againſt them would have an eaſie Work, eſpecially being aſſiſted by the nearneſs of *England*. And for *Ireland*, he propoſed, that the chief Heads of Families ſhould be drawn over, and kept at Court. And that *England* thus being reſpited from Forreign War, the Nation ſhould be armed, and exerciſed, the Coin reformed, Treaſure laid up, and things in the Government at home that were uneaſie ſhould be corrected.

1549.

Thomas's Advice differs from his. *Cott.* Libr. *Veſpaſian* D. 13.

Thus I have opened the Councils at that time, as I found them laid before me in theſe Authentick Papers, from which I drew them. The reſult of their Conſultation was to ſend over Sir *William Paget* to joyn with Sir *Philip Hobbey*, then Reſident at the Emperors Court. His Inſtructions will be found in the *Collection*. The Subſtance of them was, That the Treaty between the Emperor and the late King ſhould be renewed with this King, and confirmed by the Prince and the States of *Flanders*: that ſome ambiguous Paſſages in it ſhould be cleared: that the Emperor would comprehend *Bulloigne* within the League defenſive, and ſo protect it, *England* being ready to offer any thing reciprocal in the room of it. He was alſo to ſhew their readineſs to agree to the

Paget ſent over to treat with the Emperor. Collection Number 38.

1549. Emperor concerning the Lady *Maries* Marriage, to adjust some differences occasioned by the complaints made of the Admiralty, and about Trade: to shew the reason of the Messages that passed between them and *France*; and to engage, that if the Emperor would heartily assist them, they would never agree with *France*. *Paget* was also to propose, as of himself, that *Bulloigne* should be put into the Emperors Hands upon a reasonable recompence. Thus was *Paget* instructed, and sent over in *June* this Year. But the Emperor put him off with many delays, and said, The carrying of his Son about the Towns in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, with the many Ceremonies add Entertainments that followed it, made it not easie for him to consider of Matters that required such deep consultation. He put him off from *Brussels* to *Gaunt*, and from *Gaunt* to *Bruges*. But *Paget* growing impatient of such delays since the *French* were marched into the *Bulloignese*; the Bishop of *Arras* (Son to *Granvell* that had been long the Emperors chief Minister) who was now like to succeed in his Fathers room that was old and infirm, and the two Presidents of the Emperors Councils, St. *Maurice* and *Viglius*, came to Sir *William Paget*, and had a long communication with him and *Hobbey*, an account whereof will be found in the *Collection* in a Dispatch from them to the Protector.

Collection Number 39.

He meets with the Emperors Ministers.

They first treated of an explanation of some ambiguous words in the Treaty, to which the Emperors Ministers promised to bring them an Answer. Then they talked long of the Matters of the Admiralty, the Emperors Ministers said, no justice was done in *England* upon the Merchants complaints: *Paget* said, every Mariner came to the Protector and if he would not sollicite their business, they run away with a Complaint that there was no Justice; whereas he thought, that as they meddled with no private matters, so the Protector ought to turn all these over upon the Courts that were the competent Judges. But the Bishop of *Arras* said, There was no Justice to be had in the Admiralty Courts who were indeed Parties in all these Matters: *Paget* said, There was as much Justice in the *English* Admiralty Courts as was in theirs and the Bishop confessed, there were great corruptions in all these Courts So *Paget* proposed, that the Emperor should appoint two of his Council to hear and determine all such Complaints, in a Summary way, and the King should do the like in *England*. For the Confirmation of the Treaty, the Bishop said, the Emperor was willing his Son should confirm it; but that he would never sue to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties: and he said, when it was objected that the Treaty with *France* was confirmed by the three Estates, that the Prerogative of the *French* Crown was so restrained that the King could alienate nothing of his Patrimony without the Parliament of *Paris* and his three Estates. He believed the King of *England* had a greater Prerogative: he was sure the Emperor was not so bound up: he had fifteen or sixteen several Parliaments, and what work must he be at if all these must descant on his Transactions? When this general discourse was over, the two Presidents went away: but the Bishop of *Arras* staid with him in private. *Paget* proposed the Business of *Bulloigne*: but the Bishop having given him many good words in the general, excepted much to it, as dishonourable to the Emperor; since *Bulloigne* was not taken when the League was concluded between the Emperor and *England*: so that if he should now include it

in the League, it would be a breach of Faith and Treaties with *France*: and he ſtood much on the Honour and Conſcience of obſerving theſe Treaties inviolably. So this Converſation ended; in which the moſt remarkable Paſſage is, that concerning the Limitations on the *French* Crown, and the Freedoms of the *Engliſh*; for at that time the Kings Prerogative in *England* was judged of that extent, that I find in a Letter written from *Scotland*, one of the main Objections made to the marrying their Queen to the King of *England* was, That an Union with *England* would much alter the conſtitution of their Government, the Prerogatives of the Kings of *England* being of a far larger extent than thoſe in *Scotland*. 1549.

Two or three days after the former Converſation, the Emperors Miniſters returned to *Pagets* Lodging, with anſwer to the Propoſitions which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors had made: of which a full account will be found in the *Collection* in the Letter which the Ambaſſadors writ upon it into *England*. The Emperor gave a good anſwer to ſome of the Particulars, which were ambiguous in former Treaties. For the Confirmation of the Treaty, he offered, that the Prince ſhould joyn in it; but ſince the King of *England* was under Age, he thought it more neceſſary that the Parliament of *England* ſhould confirm it. To which *Paget* anſwered, That their Kings, as to the Regal Power, were the ſame in all the Conditions of Life: and therefore when the Great Seal was put to any agreement, the King was abſolutely bound by it. If his Miniſters engaged him in ill Treaties, they were to anſwer for it at their Perils; but howſoever the King was tied by it. They diſcourſed long about the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, but ended in nothing. And as for the main buſineſs about *Bulloigne*, the Emperor ſtood on his Treaties with the *French*, which he could not break: upon which *Paget* ſaid to the Biſhop, that his Father had told him, they had ſo many Grounds to quarrel with *France*, that he had his Sleeve full of them, to produce when there ſhould be occaſion to make uſe of them. But finding the Biſhops Anſwers were cold, and that he only gave good words, he told him that *England* would then ſee to their own ſecurity: and ſo he took that for the Emperors final Anſwer, and thereupon reſolved to take his leave, which he did ſoon after, and came back into *England*. But at home the Councils were much divided, of which the ſad Effects broke out ſoon afterward. Collection Number 40.

It was propoſed in Council, that the War with *Scotland* ſhould be ended. For it having been begun, and carried on, only on deſign to obtain the Marriage, ſince the hopes of that were now ſo far gone, that it was not in the power of the *Scots* themſelves to retrieve them, it was a vain and needleſs expence both of Blood and Money to keep it up; and ſince *Bulloigne* was by the Treaty, after a few more years, to be delivered up to the *French*, it ſeemed a very unreaſonable thing, in the low ſtate to which the Kings Affairs were driven, to enter on a War; in which they had little reaſon to doubt but they ſhould loſe *Bulloigne*, after the new expence of a Siege and another years War. The Protector had now many Enemies, who laid hold on this conjuncture to throw him out of the Government. The Earl of *Southampton* was brought into the Council, but had not laid down his ſecret hatred of the Protector; and did all he could to make a Party againſt him. The Earl of *Warwick* was the Debates in Council concerning Peace.

1549. the fitteſt Man to work on: him therefore he gained over to his ſide, and having formed a confidence in him, he ſhewed him, that he had really got all theſe Victories for which the Protector triumphed: he had won the Field of *Pinkey* near *Muſſelburgh*, and had ſubdued the Rebels of *Norfolk*: and as he had before defeated the *French*, ſo if he were ſent over thither, new Triumphs would follow him: but it was below him to be ſecond to any. So he engaged him to quarrel in every thing with the Protector, all whoſe wary motions were aſcribed to fear or dulneſs. To others he ſaid, What friendſhip could any expect from a Man who had no pity on his own Brother? But that which provoked the Nobility moſt, was the partiality the Protector had for the Commons in the Inſurrections that had been this Summer. He had alſo given great Grounds of jealouſie, by entertaining Forreign Troops in the Kings Wars; which, though it was not objected to him, becauſe the Council had conſented to it, yet it was whiſpered about, that he had extorted that Conſent. But the noble Palace he was raiſing in the *Strand*, (which yet carries his Name) out of the ruines of ſome Biſhops Houſes, and Churches, drew as publick an envy on him as any thing he had done. It was ſaid, that when the King was engaged in ſuch Wars, and when *London* was much diſordered by the Plague, that had been in it for ſome Months, he was then bringing Architects from *Italy*, and deſigning ſuch a Palace as had not been ſeen in *England*. It was alſo ſaid, That many Biſhops and Cathedrals had reſigned many Mannours to him, for obtaining his favour. Though this was not done without leave obtained from the King; for in a Grant of ſome Lands made to him by the King on the 11*th* of *July*, in the ſecond year of his Reign, it is ſaid, That theſe Lands were given him as a Reward of his Services in *Scotland*, for which he was offered greater Rewards; but that he refuſing to accept of ſuch Grants as might too much impoveriſh the Crown, had taken a Licence to the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, for his alienating ſome of the Lands of that Biſhoprick to him: he is in that Patent called by the *Grace of God* Duke of *Somerſet*, which had not of late years been aſcribed to any but Sovereign Princes. It was alſo ſaid, That many of the Chantry Lands had been ſold to his Friends at eaſie rates; for which they concluded he had great Preſents: and a courſe of unuſual greatneſs had raiſed him up too high; ſo that he did not carry himſelf towards the Nobility with that equality that they expected from him.

Complaints againſt the Protector.

Rot. Pat. 4. Par. 2. Reg.

All theſe things concurred to beget him many Enemies, and he had very few Friends, for none ſtuck firmly to him, but *Paget*, and Secretary *Smith*, and eſpecially *Cranmer*, who never forſook his Friend. All that favoured the old Superſtition were his Enemies: and ſeeing the Earl of *Southampton* heading the Party againſt him, they all run in to it. And of the Biſhops, that were for the Reformation, *Goodrich* of *Ely* likewiſe joyned to them: He had attended on the Admiral in his Preparations for death, from whom, it ſeems, he drank in ill impreſſions of the Protector. All his Enemies ſaw, and he likewiſe ſaw it himſelf, that the continuance of the War muſt needs deſtroy him; and that a Peace would confirm him in his Power, and give him time and leiſure to break thorough the Faction, that was now ſo ſtrong againſt him, that it was not probable he could maſter it without the help of ſome time. So in the Council his Adverſaries delivered their Opinions againſt all motions

motions for Peace: and though upon *Pagets* return from *Flanders*, it appeared to be very unreasonable to carry on the War; yet they said, *Paget* had secret Instructions to procure such an Answer, that it might give a colour to so base a Project. The Officers that came over from these Places that the *French* had taken, pretended, as is common for all Men in such Circumstances, that they wanted things necessary for a Siege; and though in truth it was quite contrary, (as we read in *Thuanus*) yet their Complaints were cherished and spread about among the People. The Protector had also, against the mind of the Council, ordered the Garrison to be drawn out of *Hadingtoun*; and was going, notwithstanding all their opposition, to make Peace with *France*; and did in many things act by his own Authority, without asking their advice, and often against it. This was the assuming a Regal Power, and seemed not to be endured by those who thought they were in all Points his equals. It was also said, That when, contrary to the late Kings Will, he was chosen *Protector*, it was with that special condition, that he should do nothing without their consent: and though by the Patent he had for his Office, his Power was more enlarged; (which was of greater force in Law, than a private Agreement at the Council Table) yet even that was objected to him, as an high presumption in him to pretend to such a vast Power. Thus all the Month of *September* there were great Heats among them: several Persons interposed to mediate, but to no effect: for the Faction against him was now so strong, that they resolved to strip him of his exorbitant Power, and reduce him to an equality with themselves. The King was then at *Hampton-Court*, where also the Protector was, with some of his own Retainers and Servants about him; which encreased the Jealousies; for it was given out, that he intended to carry away the King. So on the *6th.* of *October* some of the Council met at *Ely* House: the Lord *St. John* President, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Arundel*, and *Southampton*, Sir *Edw. North*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Edmund Pecham*, Sir *Edw. Wotton*, and Dr. *Wotton*; and Secretary *Petre* being sent to them in the Kings Name, to ask what they met for, joyned himself likewise to them. They sate as the Kings Council, and entred their Proceedings in the Council-Book, from whence I draw the account of this Transaction.

1549.

Most of the Council separate from him.

These being met together, and considering the disorders that had been lately in *England*, the losses in *Scotland* and *France*, laid the blame of all on the Protector, who they said, was given up to other Councils, so obstinately, that he would not hearken to the advices they had given him, both at the Board, and in private; and they declared, that having intended that day to have gone to *Hampton-Court*, for a friendly communication with him, he had raised many of the Commons to have destroyed them, and had made the King set his Hand to the Letters he had sent for raising Men; and had also dispersed seditious Bills against them; therefore they intended to see to the safety of the King and the Kingdom. So they sent for the Lord Major and Aldermen of *London*, and required them to obey no Letters sent them by the Protector, but only such as came from themselves. They also writ many Letters to the Nobility and Gentry over *England*, giving them an account of their Designs and Motives, and requiring their assistance. They also sent for the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and he submitted to their Orders. Next day, the

1549. the Lord Chancellor, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, Sir *Tho. Cheyney*, Sir *John Gage*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, and the Lord *Chief-Juſtice Montague*, joyned with them. Then they wrote to the King a Letter, (which is in the *Collection*) full of expreſſions of their duty and care of his Perſon, complaining of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s not liſtening to their Councils, and of his gathering a Force about him for maintaining his wilful doings: they owned that they had cauſed Secretary *Petre* to ſtay with them, and in it they endeavoured to perſwade the King that they were careful of nothing ſo much as of his preſervation. They alſo wrote to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and to Sir *William Paget*, to ſee to the Kings Perſon, and that his own Servants ſhould attend on him, and not thoſe that belonged to the Duke of *Somerſet*. But the Protector, hearing of this diſorder, had removed the King to *Windſor* in all haſte; and had taken down all the Armour that was either there, or at *Hampton Court*, and had armed ſuch as he could gather about him for his preſervation.

Collection Number 41.

The Council at *London* complained much of this, that the King ſhould be carried to a Place where there were no Proviſions fit for him. So they ordered all things that he might need to be ſent to him from *London*. And on the *8th.* of *October* they went to *Guild-hall*, where they gave an account of their Proceedings to the Common-Council of the City: and aſſured them, they had no thoughts of altering the Religion, as was given out by their Enemies, but intended only the ſafety of the King, and the Peace of the Kingdom; and for theſe ends deſired their aſſiſtance. The whole Common-Council with one Voice, declared, they thanked God for the good intentions they had expreſſed, and aſſured them they would ſtand by them with their Lives and Goods. At *Windſor*, when the Protector underſtood, that not only the City but the Lieutenant of the Tower, of whom he had held himſelf aſſured, had forſaken him, he reſolved to ſtruggle no longer: and though it is not improbable, that he, who was chiefly accuſed for his protecting the Commons, might have eaſily gathered a great Body of Men for his own preſervation; yet he reſolved rather to give way to the Tide that was now againſt him. So he proteſted before the King and the few Counſellors then about him, that he had no deſign againſt any of the Lords; and that the Force he had gathered was only to preſerve himſelf from any violent attempt that might be made on his Perſon: he declared, that he was willing to ſubmit himſelf; and therefore propoſed, that two of thoſe Lords ſhould be ſent from *London*, and they, with two of thoſe that were yet about the King, ſhould conſider what might be done, in whoſe determination he would acquieſce: and deſired, that whatſoever was agreed on, ſhould be confirmed in Parliament. Hereupon there was ſent to *London* a Warrant under the Kings Hand, for any two of the Lords of the Council that were there to come to *Windſor* with twenty Servants a-piece, who had the Kings Faith for their ſafety in coming and going: and *Cranmer*, *Paget*, and *Smith*, wrote to them to diſpoſe them to end the matter peaceably, and not follow cruel Councils, nor to be miſled by them who meant otherwiſe than they profeſſed, of which they knew more than they would then mention. This ſeemed to point at the Earl of *Southampton*.

The City of *London* joyns with them.

The Protector offers to treat and ſubmit. Collection Number 42.

On

On the 9*th.* of *October* the Council at *London* encreaſed by the acceſſion of the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Wentworth*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Ant. Wingfield*, and Sir *John Baker*, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. For now thoſe who had ſtood off a while; ſeeing the Protector was reſolved to yield, came and united themſelves with the prevailing Party: ſo that they were in all two and twenty. They were informed, that the Protector had ſaid, that if they intended to put him to death, the King ſhould die firſt; and if they would famiſh him, they ſhould famiſh the King firſt: and that he had armed his own Men, and ſet them next to the Kings Perſon, and was deſigning to carry him out of *Windſor*, and as ſome reported, out of the Kingdom: upon which they concluded, that he was no more fit to be Protector. But of thoſe words no proofs being mentioned in the Council-Books, they look like the forgeries of his Enemies to make him odious to the People. The Council ordered a Proclamation of their Proceedings to be printed, and writ to the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, acquainting them with what they had done. They alſo wrote to the King (as will be found in the *Collection*) acknowledging the many bonds that lay on them in gratitude both for his Fathers goodneſs to them, and his own, to take care of him. They deſired he would conſider, they were his whole Council, except one or two; and were thoſe whom his Father had truſted with the Government: that the Protector was not raiſed to that Power by his Fathers Will, but by their choice, with that condition, that he ſhould do all things by their advice; which he had not obſerved, ſo that they now judged him moſt unworthy of theſe Honours: therefore they earneſtly deſired they might be admitted to the Kings Preſence, to do their duties about him, and that the Forces gathered about his Perſon might be ſent away, and the Duke of *Somerſet* might ſubmit himſelf to the Order of Council. They alſo wrote to the Arch-biſhop and Sir *William Paget*, (which is in the *Collection*) charging them as they would anſwer it, that the Kings Perſon might be well looked to, that he ſhould not be removed from *Windſor*, and that he ſhould be no longer guarded by the Duke of *Somerſets* Men, (as they ſaid he had been, of which they complained ſeverely) but by his own ſworn Servants; and they required them to concur in advancing the deſire they had ſignified by their Letter to the King, proteſting that they would do with the Duke of *Somerſet*, as they would deſire to be done by, and with as much moderation and favour as in honour they could: ſo that there was no reaſon to apprehend from them ſuch cruelty as they had mentioned in their Letters. Theſe were ſent by Sir *Philip Hobbey*, who was returned from *Flanders*, and had been ſent by the King to *London* on the day before. Upon this, *Cranmer*, and *Paget*, (as is entred in the Council-Book) perſwaded both the King and the Protector to grant their deſire. The Protectors Servants were diſmiſſed, and the Kings were ſet about his Perſon. And *Cranmer*, *Paget*, and *Smith*, wrote to the Council at *London*, that all they had propoſed ſhould be granted: They deſired to know whether the King ſhould be brought to *London*, or ſtay at *Windſor*: and that three of the Lords might be ſent thither, who ſhould ſee all things done according to their minds: and for other things they referred them to *Hobbey* that carried the Letter, (which is in the *Collection*) upon this the Council ſent Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, Sir *Anthony St. Liege*, and Sir *J. Williams*, to *Windſor*, with a charge to ſee that the

1549.

Collection Number 43.

Collection Number 44.

Collection Number 45.

1549. Duke of *Somerset* should not withdraw before they arrived, and that Sir *Tho. Smith* the Secretary, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *John Thynn*, Edw. *Wolfe*, and *William Cecil*, should be restrained to their Chambers, till they examined them. On the 12*th.* of *October* the whole Council went to *Windsor*, and coming to the King, they protested that all they had done was out of the zeal and affection they had to his Person and Service. The King received them kindly, and thanked them for their care of him, and assured them that he took all they had done in good part. On the 13*th.* day they sate in Council, and sent for those who were ordered to be kept in their Chambers; only *Cecil* was let go. They charged them, that they had been the chief Instruments about the Duke of *Somerset* in all his wilful Proceedings; therefore they turned *Smith* out of his Place of Secretary, and sent him with the rest to the Tower of *London*. On the day following, the Protector was called before them, and Articles of Misdemeanours and high Treason were laid to his charge, (which will be found in the *Collection.*) The Substance of them was, That being made Protector, on condition that he should do nothing without the consent of the other Executors, he had not observed that Condition, but had treated with Ambassadors, made Bishops and Lord-Lieutenants, by his own Authority: and that he had held a Court of Requests in his own House; and had done many things contrary to Law, had embased the Coin, had in the Matter of Inclosures set out Proclamations, and given Commissions against the mind of the whole Council: that he had not taken care to suppress the late Insurrections, but had justified and encouraged them: that he had neglected the Places the King had in *France*, by which means they were lost: that he had perswaded the King that the Lords who met at *London* intended to destroy him, and had desired him never to forget it, but to revenge it, and had required some young Lords to keep it in his remembrance; and had caused those Lords to be proclaimed Traitors: that he had said, If he should die, the King should die too: that he had carried the King so suddenly to *Windsor*, that he was not only put in great fear, but cast into a dangerous disease: that he had gathered the People, and armed them for War; and had armed his Friends and Servants; and left the King's Servants unarmed: and that he intended to fly to *Jersey*, or *Garnsey*. So he was sent to the Tower, being conducted thither by the Earls of *Sussex*, and *Huntington*. That day the King was carried back again to *Hampton-Court*; and an Order was made, that six Lords should be the Governours of his Person: who were the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick*, and *Arundel*, the Lords *St. John*, *Russel*, and *Wentworth*. Two of those were in their course to attend constantly on the King.

He is accused and sent to the Tower. Collection Number 46.

Censures passed upon him. And thus fell the Duke of *Somerset* from his high Offices and great Trust. The Articles objected to him seem to say as much for his justification, as the Answers could do, if they were in my Power. He is not accused of rapine, cruelty, or bribery; but only of such things as are incident to all Men that are of a sudden exalted to a high and disproportioned greatness. What he did about the Coin, was not for his own advantage, but was done by a common mistake of many Governours, who, in the necessity of their Affairs, fly to this as their last shift, to draw out their business as long as is possible; but it ever rebounds on the

the Government to its great prejudice and loſs. He bore his Fall more equally than he had done his Proſperity: and ſet himſelf in his impriſonment to ſtudy, and reading: and falling on a Book that treated of Patience, both from the Principles of Moral Philoſophy, and of Chriſtianity; he was ſo much taken with it, that he ordered it to be tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and writ a Preface to it himſelf, mentioning the great comfort he had found in reading it, which had induced him to take care that others might reap the like benefit from it. *Peter Martyr* writ him alſo a long conſolatory Letter, which was printed, both in *Latin*, and in an *Engliſh* Tranſlation: and all the Reformed, both in *England*, and abroad, looked on his fall as a publick loſs to that whole Intereſt, which he had ſo ſteadily ſet forward. 1549.

The Papiſts much lifted up.

But on the other hand, the Popiſh Party were much lifted up at his Fall; and the rather, becauſe they knew the Earl of *Southampton*, who they hoped ſhould have directed all Affairs, was entirely theirs. It was alſo believed, that the Earl of *Warwick* had given them ſecret Aſſurances: So it was underſtood at the Court of *France*, as *Thuanus* writes. They had alſo, among the firſt things they did, gone about to diſcharge the Duke of *Norfolk* of his long impriſonment, in conſideration of his great Age, his former Services, and the extremity of the Proceedings againſt him, which were ſaid to have flowed chiefly from the ill Offices the Duke of *Somerſet* had done him. But this was ſoon laid aſide. So now the Papiſts made their Addreſſes to the Earl of *Warwick*. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* wrote to him a hearty Congratulation, rejoycing that the late Tyranny (ſo he called the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Adminiſtration) was now at an end: he wiſhed him all proſperity, and deſired, that when he had leiſure from the great Affairs, that were in ſo unſetled a condition, ſome regard might be had of him. The Biſhop of *London*, being alſo in good hopes, ſince the Protector, and *Smith*, whom he eſtemed his chief Enemies, were now in diſgrace, and *Cranmer* was in cold, if not in ill terms, with the Earl of *Warwick*, ſent a Petition that his Appeal might be received, and his Proceſs reviewed. Many alſo began to fall off from going to the *Engliſh* Service, or the Communion; hoping that all would be quickly undone that had been ſetled by the Duke of *Somerſet*. But the Earl of *Warwick*, finding the King ſo zealouſly addicted to the carrying on of the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any one ſo much to him, as the promoting it further would do, ſoon forſook the Popiſh Party, and was ſeemingly the moſt earneſt on a further Reformation that was poſſible. I do not find that he did write any Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. He continued ſtill a Priſoner. And for *Bonners* Matter, there was a new Court of Delegates appointed to review his Appeal, conſiſting of four Civilians, and four Common Lawyers; who having examined it, reported, that the Proceſs had been legally carried on, and the Sentence juſtly given, and that there was no good reaſon why the Appeal ſhould be received, and therefore they rejected it. This being reported to the Council, they ſent for *Bonner* in the beginning of *February*, and declared to him, that his Appeal was rejected, and that the Sentence againſt him was in full force ſtill.

But their hopes ſoon vaniſh.

But the Buſineſs of *Bulloigne* was that which preſſed them moſt. They miſdoubting, as was formerly ſhewn, that *Paget* had not managed that matter

Ambaſſadors ſent to the Emperor.

1549. matter dexterously and earnestly with the Emperor, sent on the 18*th.* of *October* Sir *Tho. Cheyny*, and Sir *Phil. Hobbey* to him, to entreat him to take *Bulloign* into his Protection; they also sent over the Earl of *Huntington* to command it, with the addition of a thousand Men for the Garrison. When the Ambassadors came to the Emperor, they desired leave to raise 2000 Horse and 3000 Foot in his Dominions for the preservation of *Bulloigne*. The Emperor gave them very good words, but insisted much on his League with *France*: and referred them to the Bishop of *Arras*, who told them plainly the thing could not be done. So Sir *Tho. Cheyney* took his leave of the Emperor, who at parting desired him to represent to the Kings Council, how necessary it was to consider matters of Religion again, that so they might be all of one mind; for, to deal plainly with them, till that were done, he could not assist them so effectually as otherwise he desired to do. And now the Council saw clearly, they had not been deceived by *Paget* in that Particular, and therefore resolved to apply themselves to *France* for a Peace. But now the Earl of *Warwick* falling off wholly from the Popish Party, the Earl of *Southampton* left the Court in great discontent. He was neither restored to his Office of Chancellor, nor made Lord Treasurer, (that Place, which was vacant by the Duke of *Somersets* Fall, being now given to the Lord *St. John*, who soon after, was made Earl of *Wilt shire*;) nor was he made one of those who had charge of the Kings Person. So he began to lay a Train against the Earl of *Warwick*; but he was too quick for him, and discovered it: upon which he left the Court in the night, and it was said, he poisoned himself, or pined away with discontent, for he died in *July* after.

Cotton Libr. Galba B. 12.

The Earl of *Southampton* leaves the Court.

A new Office for Ordinations.

So now the Reformation was ordered to be carried on: and there being one part of the Divine Offices not yet reformed, that is, concerning the giving Orders, some Bishops and Divines, brought now together by a Session of Parliament, were appointed to prepare a Book of Ordination.

A Session of Parliament.

But now I turn to the Parliament, which sate down on the 4*th.* of *November*. In it a severe Law was made against unlawful Assemblies: that if any, to the number of twelve should meet together unlawfully, for any matter of State, and being required by any lawful Magistrate, should not disperse themselves, it should be Treason: and if any broke Hedges, or violently pulled up Pales, about Inclosures, without lawful Authority, it should be Felony. It was also made Felony to gather the People together without Warrant, by ringing of Bells, or sound of Drums and Trumpets, or the firing of Beacons. There was also a Law made against Propheſies concerning the King or his Council, since by these the People were disposed to sedition: for the first offence it was to be punished by Imprisonment for a year, and 10 *l.* Fine: For the second, it was Imprisonment during Life, with the forfeiture of Goods and Chattels. All this was on the account of the Tumults the former year, and not with any regard to the Duke of *Somersets* security, as some have without any reason fancied: for he had now no interest in the Parliament, nor was he in a condition any more to apprehend Tumults against himself, being stript of his so much envied greatness. Another Law was made against Vagabonds, relating, That the former Statute made in this Reign being too severe, was by that means not executed: so it was repealed, and the

An Act against Tumultuary Assemblies.

And against Vagabonds.

the Law made in King *Henry* the 8*th*'s. Reign put in force: Proviſions were laid down for relieving the Sick and Impotent, and ſetting the Poor, that were able, to work: That once a month there ſhould be every where a Viſitation of the Poor, by thoſe in Office, who ſhould ſend away ſuch as did not belong to that Place, and thoſe were to be carried from Conſtable to Conſtable, till they were brought to ſuch Places as were bound to ſee to them. There was a Bill brought in for the repealing of a Branch of the Act of Uniformity, but it went no further than one reading. 1549.

The Biſhops move for a reviving of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures.

On the 14*th*. of *November* the Biſhops made a heavy complaint to the Lords, of the abounding of vice and diſorder, and that their Power was ſo abridged, that they could puniſh no ſin, nor oblige any to appear before them, or to obſerve the Orders of the Church. This was heard by all the Lords with great regret, and they ordered a Bill to be drawn about it. On the 18*th*. of *November* a Bill was brought in, but rejected at firſt reading, becauſe it ſeemed to give the Biſhops too much Power. So a ſecond Bill was appointed to be drawn by a Committee of the Houſe. It was agreed to, and ſent down to the Commons, who laid it aſide after the ſecond reading. They thought it better to renew the deſign that was in the former Reign, of two and thirty Perſons being authorized to compile the Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and when that was prepared, it ſeemed more proper, by confirming it, to eſtabliſh Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, than to give the Biſhops any Power, while the Rules of their Courts were ſo little determined or regulated: So an Act paſſed, empow'ring the King to name ſixteen Perſons of the Spiritualty, of whom four ſhould be Biſhops, and ſixteen of the Temporalty, of whom four ſhould be common Lawyers, who within three years ſhould compile a Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and thoſe, being nothing contrary to the Common and Statute Laws of the Land, ſhould be publiſhed by the Kings Warrant, under the Great Seal, and have the force of Laws in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Thus they took care that this ſhould not be turn'd over to an uncertain Period, as it had been done in the former Reign, but deſigned that it ſhould be quickly finiſhed. The Biſhops of that time were generally ſo backward in every ſtep to a Reformation, that a ſmall number of them was made neceſſary to be of this Commiſſion. The effect that it had ſhall be afterwards opened.

There was a Bill brought into the Houſe of Commons, That the Preaching and holding of ſome Opinions ſhould be declared *Felony*: it paſſed with them, but was laid aſide by the Lords. A Bill for the Form of Ordaining Miniſters was brought into the Houſe of Lords, and was agreed to, the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, *Carliſle*, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Weſtminſter*, proteſting againſt it. The Subſtance of it was, That ſuch Forms of Ordaining Miniſters as ſhould be ſet forth by the advice of ſix Prelates and ſix Divines, to be named by the King, and Authorized by a Warrant under the Great Seal, ſhould be uſed after *April* next, and no other. On the ſecond of *January* a Bill was put in againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*, of the Articles formerly mentioned, with a Confeſſion of them Signed by his Hand. This he was prevailed with to do, upon aſſurances given that he ſhould be gently dealt with, if he would freely confeſs, and ſubmit himſelf to the Kings mercy. But it was ſaid by ſome of the Lords, that they did not know whether that Confeſſion was not drawn from him 1550.

An Act about the Forms of giving Orders.

An Act about the Duke of *Somerſet*.

1550. him by force: and that it might be an ill Preſident to paſs Acts upon ſuch Papers, without examining the Party, whether he had ſubſcribed them freely and uncompelled: ſo they ſent four Temporal Lords, and four Biſhops, to examine him concerning it. And the day following, the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* made the Report, that he thanked them for that kind Meſſage, but that he had freely ſubſcribed the Confeſſion that lay before them. He had made it on his Knees before the King and Council, and had Signed it on the 13*th.* of *December*. He proteſted his offences had flowed from raſhneſs and indiſcretion, rather than malice, and that he had no treaſonable deſign againſt the King or his Realms. So he was fined by Act of Parliament in 2000 *l.* a year of Land, and he loſt all his Goods and Offices. Upon this he wrote to the Council, acknowledging their favour, in bringing off his Matter by a Fine: he confeſſed that he had fall'n into the frailties that often attend on great Places, but what he had done amiſs was rather for want of true Judgment, than from any malicious meaning: he humbly deſired they would interpoſe with the King for a moderation of his Fine, and that he might be pardoned and reſtored to favour; aſſuring them, that for the future he ſhould carry himſelf ſo humbly and obediently, that he ſhould thereby make amends for his former follies: This was much cenſured by many, as a ſign of an abject Spirit: others thought it was wiſely done in him once to get out of Priſon on any terms, ſince the greatneſs of his former condition gave ſuch jealouſie to his Enemies, that unleſs he had his pardon, he would be in continual danger, as long as he was in their hands. So on the 6*th.* of *February* he was ſet at liberty, giving Bond of 10000 *l.* for his good behaviour; and being limited that he ſhould ſtay at the Kings Houſe of *Sheen*, or his own of *Zion*, and ſhould not go ſo far Miles from them, nor come to the King or the Council, unleſs he were called: He had his Pardon on the 16*th.* of *February*, and carried himſelf after that ſo humbly, that his behaviour, with the Kings great kindneſs to him, did ſo far prevail, that on the 10*th.* of *April* after, he was reſtored into favour, and ſworn of the Privy-Council. And ſo this ſtorm went over him much more gently than was expected; but his carriage in it was thought to have ſo little of the *Hero*, that he was not much conſidered after this.

The Reformation is ſet on vigorouſly.

But to go on with the buſineſs of the Parliament; reports had been ſpread, that the old Service would be again ſet up: and theſe were much cheriſhed by thoſe who ſtill loved the former ſuperſtition: who gave out that a change was to be expected, ſince the New Service had been only the Act of the Duke of *Somerſet*. Upon this the Council wrote on *Chriſtmas* day a Letter to all the Biſhops of *England*, to this effect. "That whereas the *Engliſh* Service had been deviſed by Learned Men "according to the Scripture, and the uſe of the Primitive Church; there- "fore, for putting away thoſe vain expectations, all Clergy-men were "required, to deliver to ſuch as ſhould be appointed by the King to re- "ceive them, all Antiphonales, Miſſals, Grayles, Proceſſionals, Ma- "nuals, Legends, Pies, Portuaſles, Journals, and Ordinals, after the uſe "of *Sarum*, *Lincoln*, *York*, or any other private uſe: requiring them "alſo to ſee to the obſerving one uniform Order in the Service ſet forth "by the common conſent of the Realm: and particularly to take care that "there ſhould be every where proviſion made of Bread and Wine for

« Communion on *Sunday*. This will be found in the *Collection*. But to give a more publick declaration of their zeal, an Act was brought into Parliament about it, and was agreed to by all the Lords; except the Earl of *Darby*, the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Carliſle*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Chicheſter*, and the Lords *Morley*, *Stourton*, *Windſor*, and *Wharton*. By it, not only all the Books formerly mentioned were to be deſtroyed, but all that had any Image that had belonged to any Church or Chappel, were required to deface it before the laſt of *June*, and in all the Primers ſet out by the late King, the Prayers to the Saints were to be daſhed out. There was alſo an Act for a Subſidy to be payed in one year, for which there was a Releaſe granted of a Branch of the Subſidy formerly given. Laſt of all came the Kings general Pardon, out of which thoſe in the Tower, or other Priſons, on the account of the State, as alſo all Anabaptiſts were excepted. 1550. Collection Number 46.

Thus were all Matters ended, and on the firſt of *February* the Parliament was prorogued. Only in the Houſe of Commons there was a Debate that deſerves to be remembred. It ſeems that before this time the Eldeſt Sons of Peers were not Members of the Houſe of Commons: and Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, becoming, by the death of his elder Brother, Heir apparent to the Lord *Ruſſel*; it was on the 21*ſt*. of *Jan.* carried upon a Debate, *That he ſhould abide in the Houſe as he was before*. So it is entred in the Original Journal of the Houſe of Commons, which was communicated to me by Mr. *Surle*, and Mr. *Clark*, in whoſe Hands it is now, and is the firſt Journal that ever was taken in that Houſe.

But it may be expected that I ſhould next give an account of the Forms of Ordination now agreed on. Twelve were appointed by the Council to prepare the Book; among whom, *Heath* Biſhop of *Worceſter* was one, but he would not conſent to the Reformations that were propoſed in it: So on the 8*th*. of *February* he was called before the Council, and required to agree to that which all the reſt had conſented to. But he could not be prevailed with to do it. Wherefore on the fourth of *March* he was committed to the *Fleet*, becauſe (as it is entred in the Council Books) that he obſtinately denied to ſubſcribe the Book for the making of Biſhops and Prieſts. He had hitherto oppoſed every thing done towards Reformation in Parliament, though he had given an entire obedience to it when it was enacted. He was a Man of a gentle temper and great prudence, that underſtood Affairs of State better than Matters of Religion. But now it was reſolved to rid the Church of thoſe Compliers, who ſubmitted out of fear, or intereſt, to ſave their Benefices, but were ſtill ready upon any favourable conjuncture, to return back to the old ſuperſtition. *Heath* Biſhop of *Worceſter* put in Priſon for not agreeing with the others appointed to draw the Book for Ordinations.

As for the Forms of Ordination, they found, that the Scripture mentioned only the Impoſition of Hands and Prayer. In the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, In the fourth Council of *Carthage*, and in the pretended Works of *Denis* the *Areopagite*, there was no more uſed. Therefore all thoſe additions, of Anointing, and giving them Conſecrated Veſtments, were later Inventions. But moſt of all the conceit, which from the time of the Council of *Florence* was generally received, that the Rites by which a Prieſt was ordained, were the delivering him the Veſſels for conſecrating the Euchariſt, with a Power to offer Sacrifice to God for the

1550. the dead and the living. This was a vain Novelty, only ſet up to ſupport the belief of Tranſubſtantiation: and had no ground, in the Scriptures, nor the Primitive Practice. So they agreed on a Form of ordaining Deacons, Prieſts, and Biſhops, which is the ſame we yet uſe, except in ſome few words, that have been added ſince in the Ordination of a Prieſt, or Biſhop. For there was then no expreſs mention made in the words of Ordaining them, that it was for the one, or the other Office: In both it was ſaid, *Receive thou the Holy Ghoſt, in the Name of the Father*, &c. But that having been ſince made uſe of to prove both Functions the ſame, it was of late years altered, as it is now. Nor were theſe words, being the ſame in giving both Orders, any ground to infer that the Church eſteemed them one Order; the reſt of the Office ſhewing the contrary very plainly. Another difference between the Ordination Book ſet out at that time, and that we now uſe, was, that the Biſhop was to lay his one Hand on the Prieſts Head, and with his other to give him a Bible, with a Chalice and Bread in it, ſaying the words now ſaid at the delivery of the Bible. In the Conſecration of a Biſhop there was nothing more than what is yet in uſe, ſave that a Staff was put into his Hand, with this Bleſſing, *Be to the Flock of Chriſt a Shepherd.* By the Rule of this Ordinal, a Deacon was not to be ordained before he was 21, a Prieſt before he was 24, nor a Biſhop before he was 30 years of Age.

The Additions brought into the Church of *Rome* in giving Orders.

In this Ritual all thoſe ſuperadded Rites were cut off, which the later Ages had brought in, to dreſs up theſe Performances with the more pomp: whereof we have ſince a more perfect account, than it was poſſible for them then to have. For in our Age *Morinus*, a learned Prieſt of the Oratorian Order, has publiſhed the moſt ancient Rituals he could find; by which it appears how theſe Offices ſwelled in every Age by ſome new addition. About the middle of the ſixth *Century*, they anointed and bleſſed the Prieſts Hands in ſome parts of *France*: though the *Greek* Church never uſed anointing; nor was it in the *Roman* Church two Ages after that: for Pope *Nicolaus* the firſt plainly ſays, it was never uſed in the Church of *Rome*. In the *8th. Century*, the Prieſts Garments were given with a ſpecial Benediction, for the Prieſts *offering expiatory Sacrifices*: It was no ancienter that that Phraſe was uſed in ordinations: and in that ſame Age there was a ſpecial Benediction of the Prieſts Hands, uſed before they were anointed: and then his Head was anointed. This was taken partly from the Levitical Law, and partly becauſe the People believed that their King derived the Sacredneſs of their Perſons, from their being anointed: So the Prieſts having a mind to have their Perſons ſecured and exempted from all Secular Power, were willing enough to uſe this Rite in their Ordinations: and in the 10th *Century*, when the belief of Tranſubſtantiation was received, the delivering of the Veſſels for the Euchariſt, with the Power of offering Sacrifices, was brought in, beſides a great many other Rites. So that the Church did never tie it ſelf to one certain Form of Ordinations: nor did it always make them with the ſame Prayers; for what was accounted anciently the Form of Ordination, was in the later Ages but a preparatory Prayer to it.

Interrogations and Sponſions in the new Book.

The moſt conſiderable addition that was made in the Book of Ordinations, was the putting Queſtions to the Perſons to be ordained: which

by anſwering theſe, make ſolemn Declarations of Sponſions and Vows to God. The firſt Queſtion when one is preſented to Orders, is, *Do you truſt that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghoſt, to take upon you this Office and Miniſtration, to ſerve God, for the promoting his Glory, and for the edifying of his People?* To which he is to anſwer, *He truſts he is.* It has been oft lamented, that many come to receive Orders before ever they have ſeriouſly read over theſe Queſtions, and examined themſelves whether they could with a good Conſcience make the Anſwers there preſcribed: ſince it is ſcarce credible that Men of common honeſty would lie in the Preſence of God, on ſo great an occaſion: and yet it is too viſible, that many have not any ſuch inward vocation, nor have ever conſidered ſeriouſly what it is. If it were well apprehended, that heat that many have to get into Orders would ſoon abate; who perhaps have nothing in their Eye, but ſome place of Profit, or Benefice, to which way muſt be made by that preceding Ceremony: and ſo enter into Orders, as others are aſſociated into Fraternities and Corporations, with little previous ſenſe of that Holy Character, they are to receive, when they thus dedicate their Lives and Labours to the Service of God, in the Goſpel. In the Primitive Church the apprehenſion of this made even good and holy Men afraid to enter under ſuch Bonds: and therefore they were oft to be dragg'd almoſt by force, or catched at unawares, and be ſo initiated: as appears in the lives of theſe two *Greek* Fathers *Nazianzen* and *Chryſoſtom.* If Men make their firſt ſtep to the Holy Altar, by ſuch a lye, as is their pretending to a motion of the Holy Ghoſt, concerning which they know little, but that they have nothing at all of it; they have no reaſon to expect that Bleſſing which otherwiſe attends on ſuch Dedications. And it had been happy for the Church if all thoſe that are authorized to confer Orders, had ſtood on this more critically; and not been contented with a bare putting theſe Queſtions to thoſe who come to be ordained; but had uſed a due ſtrictneſs before hand, ſutable to that grave admonition of St. *Pauls* to *Timothy*, *Lay Hands ſuddenly on no Man, and be not partaker of other Mens ſins.* 1550.

In the Sponſions made by the Prieſts, they bind themſelves to *teach the People committed to their charge, to baniſh away all erroneous Doctrines, and to uſe both publick and private Monitions, and Exhortations, as well to the Sick, as the Whole, within their Cures, as need ſhall require, and as occaſion ſhall be given.* Such as remember that they have plighted their Faith for this to God, will feel the Paſtoral care to be a Load indeed, and ſo be far enough from relinquiſhing it, or hiring it out perhaps to a looſe or ignorant Mercenary. Theſe are the blemiſhes and ſcandals that lie on our Church, brought on it partly by the corruption of ſome Simoniacal Patrons, but chiefly by the negligence of ſome, and the faultineſs of other Clergy-men: Which could never have loſt ſo much ground in the Nation, upon ſuch trifling accounts, as are the Conteſts ſince raiſed about Ceremonies; if it were not that the People, by ſuch palpable faults in the Perſons and behaviour of ſome Church-men, have been poſſeſſed with prejudices, firſt againſt them, and then upon their account againſt the whole Church: ſo that theſe corrupt Church-men are not only to anſwer to God for all thoſe Souls within their charge, that have periſhed through their neglect, but in a great degree for all the miſchief of the Schiſm among us; to the nouriſhing whereof they have given ſo great

1550. and palpable occaſion. The importance of thoſe things made me judge they deſerved this digreſſion, from which I now turn to other Affairs.

The Buſineſs of *Bulloigne* lay heavy on the Council. The *French* had ſtopt all communication between *Calais* and it; ſo that it was not eaſie to ſupply it from thence. The Council, to rid the Nation of the Forreigners, ſent them all to *Calais* with 3000 *Engliſh*, and reſolved to force a way through, if it came to extremities: but at this time both the *French* and *Engliſh* were well diſpoſed to a Peace. The King of *France* knew the Emperor intended to go into *Germany* next Summer; ſo he longed to be at liberty to wait on his Motions. The *Engliſh* Council, that oppoſed the delivery of *Bulloigne*, chiefly to throw off the Duke of *Somerſet*, that being done, were all convinced that it was not worth the coſt and danger of a War: only they ſtood on the indecency of yielding it; eſpecially they having raiſed ſuch clamours againſt the Protector, when he went about the delivering it up. So they made great ſhews of preparations to defend it: but at the ſame time were not unwilling to liſten to Propoſitions of Peace. One *Guidotti*, a Florentine that lived in *England*, was employed by the Conſtable of *France*, *Mountmorancy*, to ſet on a Treaty; yet he was to do it without owning he had any orders from that King. He went often to and again between *Paris* and *London*, and at laſt it was reſolved on both ſides that there ſhould be a Treaty. But at this time there was a great change of Affairs in *Italy*. Pope *Paul* the third having held that See fifteen years, died the 10*th*. of *November*, in the 82*d*. Year of his Age: much broken in mind at the calamity of his Family, the killing of his Son, the loſs of *Placentia*, and the ingratitude of his Grand-child. Upon his death all the Cardinals, being gathered from *Bologna*, *Trent*, and other neighbouring Places entred the Conclave: where one that is to have ſuch a ſhare in the following part of this Work, was ſo much concerned, that it will be no impertinent digreſſion to give an account of it. There were great animoſities between the Imperialiſts and the *French*: Cardinal *Farneſe* had alſo many Votes that followed him: ſo that theſe three Factions were either of them ſtrong enough to exclude any that was unacceptable to them. Cardinal *Pool* was ſet up by *Farneſe*, as a moderate Imperialiſt, who had carried it ſo well at *Trent*, that they ſaw he would not blindly follow the Emperor. He had lived many years at *Viterbo*, where he was made Legate, after he had given over his Practices againſt *England*. There he gave himſelf wholly to the Study of Divinity, not without ſome imputations of favouring Hereſie. For one *Antonino Flaminio*, that was alſo ſuſpect of *Lutheraniſme*, lived with him. *Tremellius* that learned *Jew*, who had been Baptized in his Houſe, was alſo known to incline that way: and many, who left their Monaſteries and went to *Germany*, uſed to ſtay ſome time with him on their way, and were well received by him: nor would he proceed againſt any ſuſpected of Hereſie. There was cauſes enough to raiſe ſuſpicion in a leſs jealous People than *Italians*. Yet the vaſt zeal that he had ſhewn for the exaltation of the Papacy, made all thoſe things be over-looked. He was ſent one of the Popes Legates to *Trent*, where he aſſerted the *German* Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith: But upon the Emperors ſetting out the *Interim* he wrote freely againſt it. He was indeed a Man of an eaſie and gene-

It is reſolved to deliver *Bulloigne* to the *French*.

Pope *Paul* the third dies.

Cardinal *Pool* was elected Pope.

generous temper, but much in the Power of thoſe whom he loved and truſted. *Farneſe* therefore looking on him as one that would be governed by him, and that was acceptable to the Imperialiſts, and not much hated by the *French*, the Cardinal of *Guiſe* being his Friend, reſolved to promote him: and by the ſcrutiny they made, it was found that they were within two of the number that was requiſite. But he ſeemed ſo little concerned at it himſelf, that he deſired them not to make too much haſte in a thing of that nature: for that dignity was rather to be undertaken with fear, than to be ambitiouſly deſired. The Cardinals, who had heard of ſuch things among the Ancient *Romans*, but had ſeen few ſuch modern Inſtances, and who valued Men by nothing more than their imbitious aſpiring, imputed this either to duſneſs, or hypocriſie: He himſelf ſeemed nothing affected with it, and did not change his behaviour, and carried it with an equality of mind, that became one who had divided his time between Philoſophy and Divinity. *Caraffa* that hated him, did all he could to alienate the Conclave from him: he objected to him, not only Hereſie, but alſo the ſuſpition of incontinence, ſince he bred up a Nun who was believed to be his Daughter. Of theſe things he coldly purged himſelf; he ſhew'd that he had ſuffered ſo much on the account of Religion in his own Country, that he was beyond the ſuſpition of Hereſie: and he proved that the Girl whom he maintained among the Nuns, was an *Engliſh-man*'s Daughter, to whom he had aſſigned an allowance. *Caraffa* prevailed little, and the next night the number was compleat: ſo that the Cardinals came to adore him; and make him Pope; but he receiving that, with his uſual coldneſs ſaid, it was night, and God loved light better than darkneſs, therefore he deſired to delay it till day came. The *Italians* who, what ever Judges they may be about the qualifications of ſuch a Pope as is neceſſary for their Affairs, underſtood not this temper of mind, which in better times would have recommended one with the higheſt advantages, ſhrunk all from him: and after ſome intrigues uſual on ſuch occaſions, choſe the Cardinal *de Monte*, afterwards Pope *Julius* the third, who gave a ſtrange Omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own Hat, according to the cuſtom of the Popes who beſtow their Hats before they go out of the Conclave, on a mean Servant of his, who had the charge of a Monkey that he kept: and being asked what he obſerved in him to make him a Cardinal, he anſwered, as much as the Cardinals had ſeen in him to make him Pope. But it was commonly ſaid, that the ſecret of this Promotion was an unnatural affection to him. Upon this occaſion I ſhall refer the Reader to a Letter which I have put in the *Collection*, written by Cardinal *Woolſey* upon the death of Pope *Adrian* the ſixth, to get himſelf choſen Pope; it ſets out ſo naturally the Intrigues of that Court on ſuch occaſions, that though it belongs to the former Volume, yet having fallen upon it ſince I publiſhed it, I thought it would be no unacceptable thing to inſert in this Volume, though it does not belong to it. It will demonſtrate how likely it is, that a Biſhop choſen by ſuch Arts, ſhould be the infallible Judge of Controverſies, and the Head of the Church. 1550. Collection Number 48.

And now to return to *England*; it was reſolved to ſend Ambaſſadors to *France*: who were, the Lord *Ruſſel*, *Paget* now made a Lord, Secretary *Petre*, and Sir *John Maſon*. Their Inſtructions will be found A Treaty between the *Engliſh* and *French*.

1550. in the *Collection*. The Subſtance of them was, they were not to ſtick about the Place of Treaty, but to have it at *Calais*, or *Bulloigne*, if it might be: they were to agree to the delivery up of *Bulloigne*, but to demand that the *Scotch* Queen ſhould be ſent back, for perfecting the Marriage formerly agreed on: That the Fortifications of *Newhaven*, and *Blackneſs* ſhould be ruinated: That the perpetual Penſion agreed to King *Henry* ſhould ſtill be payed, together with all Arrears that were due before the Wars: they were only to inſiſt on the laſt, if they ſaw the former could not be obtained: They were to agree the time and manner of the delivery of *Bulloigne* to be as honourable as might be. For *Scotland*, they being alſo in War with the Emperor, the King of *England* could not make Peace with them, unleſs the Emperor, his Ally, who had made War on them upon his account, were alſo ſatisfied: All Places there, were to be offered up, except *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*. If the *French* ſpoke any thing of the Kings marrying their Kings Daughter *Elizabeth*, they were to put it off; ſince the King was yet ſo young. They were alſo at firſt to agree to no more but a Ceſſation. So they went over on the 21*ſt*. of *January*; the *French* Commiſſioners appointed to treat with them were *Rochpot*, *Chaſtilion*, *Mortier*, and *de Sanſy*, who deſired the Meeting might be near *Bulloigne*, though the *Engliſh* endeavoured to have brought it to *Guiſnes*. Upon the *Engliſh* laying out their Demands, the *French* anſwered them roundly, that for delivering up the Queen of *Scots*, they would not treat about it; nor about a perpetual Penſion; ſince, as the King was reſolved to marry the *Scotch* Queen to the *Dolphin*, ſo he would give no perpetual Penſion, which was in effect to become a tributary Prince: but for a Sum of Money they were ready to treat about it. As to *Scotland*, they demanded, that all the Places that had been taken ſhould be reſtored, as well as *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, as *Lauder*, and *Dunglaſſe*. The latter two were ſoon yielded to, but the Commiſſioners were limited as to the former. There was alſo ſome diſcourſe of razing the Fortifications of *Alderney*, and *Sark*, two ſmall Iſlands in the Channel, that belonged to *England*: the latter was in the Hands of the *French*, who were willing to yield it up, ſo the Fortifications both in it and *Alderney* were razed. Upon this there were ſecond Inſtructions ſent over from the Council, (which are in the *Collection*) that they ſhould ſo far inſiſt on the keeping of *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, as to break up their Conference upon it; but if that did not work on the *French*, they ſhould yield it rather than give over the Treaty. They were alſo inſtructed to require Hoſtages from the *French* till the Money were all payed, and to offer Hoſtages on the part of *England* till *Bulloigne* was delivered; and to ſtruggle in the matter of the Iſles all they could, but not to break about it. Between the giving the firſt and ſecond Inſtructions, the Lord *St. John* was created Earl of *Wilt-ſhire*, as appears by his Subſcriptions. The Commiſſioners finiſhed their Treaty about the end of *February*, on theſe Articles. On condition that all Claims of either ſide ſhould be reſerved as they were at the beginning of the War. This was a temper between the *Engliſh* demand, of all the Arrears of King *Henry*'s Penſion; and the *French* denial of it: for thus the King reſerved all the right he had before the War. *Bulloigne* was to be delivered within ſix Months, with all the Places about it, and the Ordnance, except what the *Engliſh* had caſt

Collection Number 48. Inſtructions given to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors.

Collection Number 49.

Articles of the Treaty.

Printed for Rich.d Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in S.t Pauls Church yard

caſt ſince they had it: for which ſurrender the *French* were to pay 400000 Crowns, (then of equal value with the *Engliſh* Noble) the one half three days after the Town was in their Hands, and the other in the *Auguſt* after. There was to be a Peace with *Scotland*; and *Roxburgh*, and *Aymouth*, *Lauder*, and *Dunglaſſe*, were to be razed: and there was to be a free Trade between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*. Six Hoſtages were to be given on either ſide: all the *Engliſh* were to be ſent back upon the delivery of the Town: and three of the *French* on the firſt, and the reſt on the ſecond Payment. The *French* Hoſtages were the Duke of *Enghien*, the Marqueſs *de Mean*, Son to the Duke of *Guiſe*, *Monmorancy* Son to the Conſtable, the Duke of *Tremoville*, the Vicedam of *Chartres*, and *Henandy* Son to *Annebault*, the Admiral. On the *Engliſh* ſide were, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Hartford*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Arundels* Son, the Lord *Strange*, and the Lord *Matravers*. So was the Peace concluded: all the Articles in it were duly performed, and the Hoſtages delivered back. It was proclaimed in *London* on the 29*th*. of *March*, being confirmed by both the Kings. Only it was much obſerved, that when it was to be confirmed in *England*, the Earl of *Warwick*, on pretence of ſickneſs, was abſent: thoſe who began to conceive great jealouſies of him, thought this was to make a ſhew to the People that he abhorred ſo diſhonourable a thing, as himſelf had oft called it during the Duke of *Somerſets* Adminiſtration, and that therefore he would not by his Preſence ſeem to conſent to it, though he had Signed all the Orders for it. 1550.

And now was the King entring in the fourth Year of his Reign, free from all Wars, which had hitherto much diſtracted his Government. So the Council was more at leiſure to ſettle the Affairs at home. But the Earl of *Warwick*, beginning to form great deſigns, reſolved firſt to make himſelf popular, by calling all that had medled in the Kings Affairs to a ſtrict account: and either to make them compound for great Sums, by which the Kings Debts ſhould be payed; or to keep them under the laſh till he made them ſubſervient to his ends. He began with the Earl of *Arundel*, to whoſe charge many things being laid, he ſubmitted himſelf to a Fine of 12000 *l.* to be paid in twelve years. This was the more taken notice of, becauſe *Southampton*, *Arundel*, and he, with Sir *Richard Southwell* Maſter of the Rolls, had been the chief contrivers of the Duke of *Somerſets* Fall: *Southampton* was driven away, *Arundel* fined, and *Southwel* was ſoon after put in the *Fleet*, for diſperſing ſome ſeditious Bills. This wrought much on the Vulgar, who imputed it to a ſecret Curſe on thoſe who had conſpired againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*: and the delivery of *Bulloigne* made it yet more plain, that the Charge againſt him was chiefly grounded on malice. After *Arundels* diſgrace, all the Duke of *Somerſets* Friends made their Compoſitions, and were diſcharged. Sir *Tho. Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Tho. Fiſher*, and *William Gray*, each of them acknowledged they owed the King 3000 *l.* and Sir *Jo. Thynn* ſubmitted to 6000 *l.* The Earl of *Warwick* governs the Councils.

But I ſhall next proſecute the Narration of what concerned the Church. It was now reſolved to fill the See of *London*: *Ridley* being eſteemed both the moſt learned, and moſt throughly zealous for the Reformation, was pitched on to be the Man. So on the 21*ſt*. of *February* he was writ for, and on the 24*th*. he was declared Biſhop of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and *Ridley* made Biſhop of *London*.

1550. and was to have 1000 *l.* a year of the Rents of the Biſhoprick; and for his further Supply, was diſpenſed with to hold a Prebendary of *Canterbury* and *Weſtminſter*. It was thought needleſs to have two Biſhopricks ſo near one another; and ſome, gaping after the Lands of both, procured this Union. But I do not ſee any reaſon to think, that at any time in this Reign, the ſuppreſſion of the Deanries and Prebends in Cathedrals was deſigned. For neither in the ſuppreſſion of the Biſhopricks of *Weſtminſter*, *Gloceſter*, or *Dureſme*, was there any attempt made to put down the Deanries or Prebendaries in theſe Places: ſo that I look on this as a groundleſs conceit, among many others that paſs concerning this Reign. For *Thirlcby* of *Weſtminſter*, there was no cauſe given to throw him out; for he obeyed all the Laws and Injunctions when they came out, though he generally oppoſed them when they were making. So to make way for him, *William Reps*, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, was prevailed with to reſign, and he was promoted to that See, vacant (as his Patent has it) by the free reſignation of *William* the former Biſhop. And the ſame day, being the firſt of *April*, *Ridley* was made Biſhop of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. Both were, according to the common Form, to be Biſhops *durante vita naturali* during Life.

Proceedings againſt *Gardiner*.

The See of *Wincheſter* had been two years as good as vacant, by the long impriſonment of *Gardiner*, who had been now above two years in the *Tower*. When the Book of Common-Prayer was ſet out, the Lord *St. John*, and Secretary *Petre*, were ſent with it to him, to know of him whether he would conform himſelf to it, or not: and they gave him great hopes, that if he would ſubmit, the Protector would ſue to the King for mercy to him. He anſwered, That he did not know himſelf guilty of any thing that needed mercy: ſo he deſired to be tried, for what had been objected to him, according to Law. For the Book, he did not think that while he was a Priſoner he was bound to give his Opinion about ſuch things, it might be thought he did it, againſt his Conſcience to obtain his liberty; but if he were out of Priſon, he ſhould either obey it, or be liable to puniſhment according to Law. Upon the Duke of *Somerſets* Fall, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *William Herbert*, and Secretary *Petre*, were ſent to him: (*Fox* ſays this was on the *9th.* of *July*; but there muſt be an error in that, for *Gardiner* in his Anſwer ſays, That upon the Duke of *Somerſets* coming to the *Tower*, he looked to have been let out within two days, and had made his farewel Feaſt, but when theſe were with him a Month or thereabout had paſſed: ſo it muſt have been in *November* the former year.) They brought him a Paper, to which they deſired he would ſet his Hand. It contained firſt a Preface, which was an acknowledgment of former faults, for which he had been juſtly puniſhed: There were alſo divers Articles con-

Some Articles are ſent to him.

tained in it, which were, touching the Kings Supremacy; his Power of appointing or diſpencing with Holy-days and Faſts; that the Book of Common-Prayer ſet out by the King and Parliament was a moſt Chriſtian and Godly Book, to be allowed of by all Biſhops and Paſtors in *England*, and that he ſhould both in Sermons and Diſcourſes commend it to be obſerved; that the Kings Power was compleat now when under Age, and that all owed Obedience to him, now, as much as if he were thirty or forty years old; that the ſix Articles were juſtly abrogated; and that the King had full Authority to correct and reform what was amiſs in

the Church both in *England* and *Ireland*. He only excepted to the Preface; and offered to Sign all the Articles, but would have had the Preface left out. They bid him rather write on the Margent his Exceptions to it; ſo he writ, that he could not with a good Conſcience agree to the Preface, and with that Exception he ſet his Hand to the whole Paper. The Lords uſed him with great kindneſs, and gave him hope that his troubles ſhould be quickly ended. *Herbert*, and *Petre*, came to him ſome time after that, but how ſoon is not ſo clear, and preſſed him to make the acknowledgment without exception; he refuſed it, and ſaid, he would never defame himſelf, for when he had done it, he was not ſure but it might be made uſe of againſt him as a Confeſſion. Two or three days after that, *Ridley* was ſent to him, together with the other two, and they brought him new Articles. In this Paper the acknowledgment was more general than in the former: It was ſaid here in the Preface, that he had been ſuſpected of not approving the Kings Proceedings, and being appointed to preach, had not done it as he ought to have done, and ſo deſerved the Kings diſpleaſure, for which he was ſorry: The Articles related to the Popes Supremacy, the ſuppreſſion of Abbies and Chantries, Pilgrimages, Maſſes, Images, the adoring the Sacrament, the Communion in both kinds, the aboliſhing the old Books, and bringing in the new Book of Service, and that for ordaining of Prieſts and Biſhops, the compleatneſs of the Scripture, and the uſe of it in the Vulgar Tongue, the lawfulneſs of Clergy-mens Marriage, and to *Eraſmus*'s Paraphraſe that it had been on good conſiderations ordered to be ſet up in Churches. He read all theſe, and ſaid, he deſired firſt to be diſcharged of his impriſonment, and then he would freely anſwer them all, ſo as to ſtand by it, and ſuffer if he did amiſs: but he would trouble himſelf with no more Articles, while he remained in Priſon; ſince he deſired not to be delivered out of his troubles in the way of Mercy, but of Juſtice. After that, he was brought before the Council, and the Lords told him they ſate by a ſpecial Commiſſion to judge him, and ſo required him to ſubſcribe the Articles that had been ſent to him. He prayed them earneſtly to put him to a Trial for the grounds of his Impriſonment, and when that was over he would clearly anſwer them in all other things: but he did not think he could ſubſcribe all the Articles after one ſort; ſome of them being about Laws already made, which he could not qualifie, others of them being matters of Learning, in which he might uſe more freedom: In concluſion, he deſired leave to take them with him, and he would conſider how to anſwer them. But they required him to ſubſcribe them all, without any qualification; which he refuſed to do. Upon his the Fruits of this Biſhoprick were ſequeſtred; and he was required to conform himſelf to their Orders within three Months, upon pain of deprivation; and the liberty he had, of walking in ſome open Galleries, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was not in them, was taken from him: and he was again ſhut up in his Chamber.

1550.

Which he Signed with ſome Exceptions.

New Articles ſent to him.

But he refuſing to ſign them.

Was hardly uſed.

All this was much cenſured, as being contrary to the liberties of *Engliſh-men*, and the Forms of all legal Proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a Man in Priſon upon a complaint againſt him; and without any further enquiry into it, after two years durance to put Articles to him. And they which ſpoke freely, ſaid it ſavoured too much

of

1550. of the Inquisition. But the Canon Law not being rectified, and the King being in the Popes room, there were some things gathered from the Canon Law, and the way of proceeding *ex officio*, which rather excused than justified this hard measure he met with. The sequel of this business shall be related in its proper place.

Latimers advice to the King concerning his Marriage.

This *Lent* old *Latimer* preached before the King. The discourse of the Kings marrying a Daughter of *France* had alarum'd all the Reformers, who rather inclined to a Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. (To a Marriage with her it is no wonder they all wished well; for both *Ferdinand* and his Son *Maximilian* were looked upon as Princes that in their Hearts loved the Reformation, and the Son was not only the best Prince, but accounted one of the best Men of the Age.) But *Latimer* in his Sermon advised the King to marry in the Lord; and to take care that Marriages might not be made only as Bargains, which was a thing too frequently done, and occasioned so much Whoredom and Divorcing in the Nation. He run out in a sad lamentation of the vices of the time, the vanity of Women, the luxury and irregularity of Men, he complain'd, that many were Gospellers for love of the Abbey and Chantry Lands: he pressed that the discipline of the Church, and the excommunicating of scandalous Persons, might be again set up: he advised the King to beware of seeking his pleasure too much, and to keep none about him who would serve him in it: he said he was so old, that he believed he would never appear there more, and therefore he discharged his Conscience freely: he complained the Kings Debts were not paid, and yet his Officers lived high, made great Purchases, and built Palaces: he prayed them all to be good to the King, and not to defraud the poor Tradesmen that wrought for his Stores, who were ill payed. This I set down not so much to give an account of that Sermon, as of the state of the Court and Nation, which he so freely discoursed of.

Hooper is made Bishop of *Glocester*.

Wakeman, that had been Abbot of *Tewksbury*, and was after made Bishop of *Glocester*, died in *December* last year: and on the third of *July* this year, *Hooper* was by Letters Patents appointed to be his Successor. Upon which there followed a Contest that has since had such fatal consequences, that of it we may say with St. *James*, *How great a matter hath a little fire kindled?* It has been already shewn, that the Vestments used in Divine Service, were appointed to be retained in this Church: but *Hooper* refused to be consecrated in the Episcopal Vestments. The grounds he went on were, That they were humane Inventions, brought in by Tradition or Custom, not sutable to the simplicity of the Christian Religion: and all such Ceremonies were condemned by St. *Paul* as beggarly Elements: that these Vestments had been invented chiefly for celebrating the Mass, with much pomp, and had been consecrated for that effect: therefore he desired to be excused from the use of them. *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*, on the other hand, alledged, that Traditions in matters of Faith were justly rejected, but in matters of Rites and Ceremonies Custom was oft a good Argument for the continuance of that which had been long used. Those Places of St. *Paul* did only relate to the observance of the *Jewish* Ceremonies, which some in the Apostles times pleaded were still to be retained, upon the Authority of their first Institution by *Moses*: so this implying, that the Messias was not yet come, in whom all

But refuses to wear the Episcopal Vestments.

Upon this a great Dispute rises.

all these had their accomplishment, the Apostles did condemn the use of them on any such account; though when the bare observing them, without the opinion of any such necessity in them, was likely to gain the *Jews*, they both used Circumcision, and purified themselves in the Temple: If then they who had such absolute Authority in those matters, did condescend so far to the weakness of the *Jews*; it was much more becoming Subjects to give obedience to Laws in things indifferent. And the abuse that had been formerly, was no better reason to take away the use of these Vestments, than it was to throw down Churches, and take away the Bells, because the one had been consecrated, and the other baptized, with many superstitious Ceremonies. Therefore they required *Hooper* to conform himself to the Law. *Cranmer*, who, to his other excellent qualities, had joyned a singular modesty and distrust of himself, writ about this difference to *Bucer*, reducing it to these two plain Questions. *Whether it was lawful and free from any sin against God, for the Ministers of the Church of* England *to use those Garments in which they did then officiate; since they were required to do it by the Magistrates command? And whether he that affirmed that it was unlawful, or on that account refused, to use those Vestments, did not sin against God; calling that unclean, which God had sanctified, and the Magistrate required; since he thereby disturbed the publick order of the Kingdom?* To this *Bucer* writ a large Answer on the 8*th.* of *December* this Year. He thought that those who used these Garments ought to declare they did not retain them as parts of *Moses* Law, but as things commanded by the Law of the Land: he thought every Creature of God was good, and no former abuse could make it so ill, that it might not be retained; and since these Garments had been used by the Ancient Fathers before Popery, and might still be of good use to the weak when well understood, and help to maintain the Ministerial Dignity, and to shew that the Church did not of any lightness change old customs, he thought the retaining them was expedient: that so the People might, by seeing these Vestments, consider of the candor and purity that became them: and in this sense he thought, to the Pure all things were pure; and so the Apostles complied in many things with the *Jews*. Upon the whole matter, he thought they sinned who refused to obey the Laws in that particular. But he added, That since these Garments were abused by some to superstition, and by others to be matter of contention, he wished they were taken away, and a more compleat Reformation established: he also prayed that a stop might be put to the spoiling of Churches, and that Ecclesiastical Discipline against offenders might be set up: for, *said he*, unless these manifest and horrid Sacriledges be put down, and the compleat Kingdom of Christ be received, so that we all submit to his Yoke; how intolerably shall the wrath of God break out on this Kingdom? The Scriptures sets many such Examples before our Eyes, and *Germany* offers a most dreadful prospect of what *England* might look for.

1550.

Bucers Opinion concerning them.

He writ also to *Hooper* upon the same Argument. He wished the Garments were removed by Law; but argued fully for the use of them till then: he lamented the great corruptions that were among the Clergy, and wished that all good Men would unite their strength against these; and then lesser abuses would be more easily redressed. He also answered

1550 *Hoopers* Objections on the Principles formerly laid down. *Peter Martyr* was also writ to; and, as he writ to *Bucer*, he was fully of his mind, and approved of all he had writ about it. And he added these words, which I shall set down in his own terms, copied from the Original Letter:

And P. *Martyrs.*

Quæ de Hopero *ad me scribis, non potuerunt non videri mira; Certè illis auditis obstupui. Sed bene habet, quod Episcopi Literas meas viderunt; unde invidia ego quidem sum liberatus. Ecce illius causa sic jacet, ut melioribus & piis nequaquam probetur. Dolet, dolet, idq; mihi gravissimè, talia inter Evangelii professores contingere. Ille toto hoc tempore, cum illi sit interdicta concio, non videtur posse quiescere: suæ fidei confessionem edidit, qua rursus multorum animos exacerbavit: deinde queritur de Consiliariis, & fortasse, quod mihi non refert, de nobis: Deus felicem Catastrophen non lætis actibus imponat.* In *English*: What you wrote to me about *Hooper* could not but seem wonderful to me: when I heard it I was struck with it. It was well that the Bishops saw my Letters, by which I am freed from their displeasure. His business is now at that pass, that the best and most pious disprove of it. I am grieved, and sadly grieved, that such things should fall out among the Professors of the Gospel. All this while in which he is suspended from preaching, he cannot be at rest: he has set out a profession of his Faith, by which he has provoked many: he complains of the Privy-Councellors, and perhaps of us too, of which he says nothing to me. God give an happy issue to these uncomfortable beginnings. This I set down more fully, that it may appear how far either of these Divines were from cherishing such stiffness in *Hooper*. He had been Chaplain to the Duke of *Somerset*, as appear'd by his defence of himself in *Bonners* Process; yet he obtained so much favour of the Earl of *Warwick*, that he writ earnestly in his behalf to the Arch-bishop to dispence with the use of the Garments, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience at his Consecration. *Cranmer* wrote back, That he could not do it without incurring a *Præmunire*: So the King was moved to write to him, warranting him to do it, without any danger which the Law could bring on him for such an omission. But though this was done on the 4*th.* of *August*, yet he was not consecrated till *March* next year; and in the mean while it appears by *Peter Martyrs* Letters, that he was suspended from Preaching.

A Congregation of *Germans* in *London.*

This Summer *John a Lasco*, with a Congregation of *Germans* that fled from their Country upon the persecution raised there, for not receiving the *Interim*, was allowed to hold his Assembly at St. *Austins* in *London*. The Congregation was erected into a Corporation. *John a Lasco* was to be Superintendent, and there were four other Ministers associated with him. For the curiosity of the thing, I have put the Patents in the Collection Number 51. *Collection*. There were also 380 of the Congregation made Denizens of *England*, as appears by the Records of their Patents. But *a Lasco* did not carry himself with that decency that became a Stranger who was so kindly received: for he wrote against the Orders of this Church, both in the matter of the Habits, and about the posture in the Sacrament, being for sitting rather than kneeling.

Polidore Virgil leaves *England.*

Rot. Pat. 4. Ed. 6. 2. Part.

This Year *Polidore Virgil*, who had been now almost forty years in *England*, growing old, desired leave to go nearer the Sun. It was granted him on the second of *June*: and in consideration of the publick Service he was thought to have done the Nation by his History, he was permit-

permitted to hold his Archdeaconry of *Wells*, and his Prebend of *Nonnington*, notwithſtanding his abſence out of the Kingdom. On the 26*th* of *June Poinet* was declared Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Coverdale* was made Coadjutor to *Veyſy* Biſhop of *Exeter*. 1550.

About the end of this Year, or the beginning of the next, there was a review made of the Common-Prayer-Book. Several things had been continued in it, either to draw in ſome of the Biſhops, who by ſuch yielding might be prevailed on to concurre in it; or in compliance with the People, who were fond of their old Superſtitions. So now a review of it was ſet about. *Martin Bucer* was conſulted in it; and *Aleſſe*, the *Scotch* Divine mentioned in the former part, tranſlated it into *Latin* for his uſe. Upon which *Bucer* writ his Opinion, which he finiſhed, the fifth of *January* in the Year following. The Subſtance of it was, That he found all things in the Common-Service and daily Prayers were clearly according to the Scriptures. He adviſed, that in Cathedrals the Quire might not be too far ſeparated from the Congregation, ſince in ſome Places the People could not hear them read Prayers. He wiſhed there were a ſtrict diſcipline to exclude ſcandalous Livers from the Sacrament. He wiſhed the old Habits might be laid aſide, ſince ſome uſed them ſuperſtitiouſly, and others contended much about them, He did not like the half Office of Communion or Second-Service to be ſaid at the Altar, when there was no Sacrament. He was offended with the requiring the People to receive at leaſt once a year, and would have them preſs'd to it much more frequently. He diſliked that the Prieſts generally read Prayers with no devotion, and in ſuch a Voice that the People underſtood not what they ſaid. He would have the Sacrament delivered into the Hands, and not put into the Mouths of the People. He cenſured praying for the dead, of which no mention is made in the Scripture, nor by *Juſtin Martyr* an Age after. He thought that the Prayer, that the Elements might be to us the Body and Blood of Chriſt, favoured Tranſubſtantiation too much: a ſmall variation might bring it nearer to a Scripture Form. He complained that Baptiſm was generally in Houſes, which being the receiving Infants into the Church, ought to be done more publickly. The Hallowing of the Water, the Chriſme, and the White Garment he cenſured, as being too Scenical: He excepted to the exorciſing the Devil, and would have it turned to a Prayer to God: that authoritative way of ſaying *I adjure* not being ſo decent. He thought the God-fathers anſwering in the Childs Name not ſo well as to anſwer in their own, that they ſhould take care in theſe things, all they could. He would not have Confirmation given upon a bare recital of the Catechiſm; but would have it delayed till the Perſons did really deſire to renew the Baptiſmal Vow. He would have catechiſing every Holy-day, and not every ſixth *Sunday*: and that People ſhould be ſtill Catechized, after they were confirmed, to preſerve them from ignorance. He would have all Marriages to be made in the full Congregation. He would have the giving Unction to the Sick, and praying for the Dead, to be quite laid aſide; as alſo the offering the Chriſomes at the Churching of Women. He adviſed, that the Communion ſhould be celebrated four times a year. He ſadly lamented the want of faithful Teachers; and intreated the Arch-biſhop to ſee to the mending of this, and to think on ſome ſtricter ways of examining thoſe who were to be ordained, than

A Review of the Common-Prayer-Book.

Bucers Advice concerning it.

1550. barely the putting of some Questions to them. All this I have gathered out the more largely, that it may appear how carefully things were then considered: and that almost in every particular, the most material things which *Bucer* excepted to, were corrected afterwards.

But at the same time, the King having taken such care of him, that hearing he had suffered in his health last Winter by the want of a Stove, such as is used in *Germany*, he had sent him 20 *l.* to have one made for him; he was told that the King would expect a New-years-gift from him, of a Book made for his own use. So upon that occasion he writ a Book entituled, *Concerning the Kingdom of Christ*. He sets out in it the miseries of *Germany*, which he says were brought on them by their sins; for they would bear no discipline; nor were the Ministers so earnest in it, as was fitting: though in *Hungary* it was otherwise. He writes largely of Ecclesiastical Discipline; which was intended chiefly for separating ill Men from the Sacrament; and to make good Men avoid their company, whereby they might be ashamed. He presses much the Sanctification of the Lords-day, and of the other Holy-days, and that there might be many days of Fasting: but he thought *Lent* had been so abused, that other times for it might be more expedient. He complains much of Pluralities, and Non-residence, as a remainder of Popery, so hurtful to the Church, that in many Places there were but one or two, or few more Sermons in a whole year: but he thought that much was not to be expected from the greatest part of the Clergy, unless the King would set himself vigorously to reform these things. Lastly, he would have a compleat exposition of the Doctrine of the Church digested, and set out: and he proposed divers Laws to the Kings consideration; as,

Bucer writ a Book for the Kings use.

1. For Catechizing Children.
2. For sanctifying Holy-days.
3. For Preserving Churches for Gods Service, not to be made Places for walking, or for Commerce.
4. To have the Pastoral Function entirely restored to what it ought to be, that Bishops throwing off all Secular cares, should give themselves to their Spiritual Employments; he advises that Coadjutors might be given to some, and a Council of Presbyters be appointed for them all. It was plain, that many of them complied with the Laws against their minds, these he would have deprived. He advises Rural Bishops to be set over twenty or thirty Parishes, who should gather their Clergy often together, and inspect them closely: And that a Provincial Synod should meet twice a year, where a Secular Man in the Kings Name should be appointed to observe their Proceedings.
5. For restoring Church-Lands, that all who served the Church might be well provided: If any lived in luxury, upon their high Revenues, it was reasonable to make them use them better; but not to blame or rob the Church for their fault.
6. For the maintenance of the Poor, for whom anciently a fourth part of the Churches Goods was assigned.

The *7th.* was about Marriage. That the prohibited degrees might be well setled; Marriage without consent of Parents annulled; and that a second Marriage might be lawful after a Divorce, which he thought might be made for Adultery, and some other reasons.

8. For

8. For the Education of Youth. 1550.

9. For reſtraining the exceſs of ſome Peoples living.

10. For reforming and explaining the Laws of the Land which his Father had begun.

11. To place good Magiſtrates; that no Office ſhould be ſold, and that Inferior Magiſtrates ſhould often give an account to the Superior, of the Adminiſtration of their Offices.

12. To conſider well who were made Judges.

13. To give order that none ſhould be put in Priſon upon ſlight offences.

The 14*th.* was for moderating of ſome puniſhments; chiefly, the putting of Thieves to death, which was too ſevere, whereas Adultery was too ſlightly paſſed over: though Adultery be a greater wrong to the ſuffering Party, than any Theft, and ſo was puniſhed with death by *Moſes* Law.

This Book was ſent to the young King. And he having received it, ſet himſelf to write a general Diſcourſe about a Reformation of the Nation, which is the ſecond among the Diſcourſes written by him, that follow the Journal of his Reign. In it he takes notice of the Corrections of the Book of the Liturgy which were then under conſideration; as alſo that it was neceſſary there ſhould be a Rule of Church-diſcipline, for the cenſure of ill Livers; but he thought that Power was not to be put into the Hands of all the Biſhops at that time. From thence he goes on to diſcourſe of the ill ſtate of the Nation, and of the remedies that ſeemed proper for it. The firſt he propoſes was the Education of Youth, next the Correction of ſome Laws, and there either broke it off, or the reſt of it is loſt. In which, as there is a great diſcovery of a marvellous probity of mind, ſo there are ſtrange hints, to come from one not yet fourteen years of Age. And yet it is all written with his own Hand, and in ſuch a manner, that any who ſhall look on the Original, will clearly ſee it was his own Work: The Stile is ſimple, and ſutable to a Child: few Men can make ſuch Compoſures, but ſomewhat above a Child will appear in their Stile, which makes me conclude it was all a device of his own

The King thinks of Reforming many abuſes.

Col. K. *Edw* Remains, Number 2.

This Year the King began to write his Journal himſelf. The firſt three years of his Reign are ſet down in a ſhort way of recapitulating matters. But this Year he ſet down what was done every day, that was of any moment, together with the Forreign News that were ſent over. And oftentimes he called to mind Paſſages ſome dayes after they were done; and ſometime after the middle of a Month he tells what was done in the beginning of it. Which ſhews clearly it was his own Work; for if it had been drawn for him by any that were about him, and given him only to copy out for his memory, it would have been more exact; ſo that there remains no doubt with me but that it was his own originally. And therefore ſince all who have writ of that time have drawn their Informations from that Journal; and though they have printed ſome of the Letters he wrote, when a Child, which are indeed the meaneſt things that ever fell from him; yet, except one little fragment, nothing of it has been yet publiſhed; I have copied it out entirely, and ſet it before my Collection. I have added to it ſome other Papers that were alſo writ by him. The firſt of theſe is in *French*: It is a Collection of many paſſages out

He writes a Journal of all Proceedings during his Reign.

Coll. K. *Edw.* Remains, Number 1.

1550. out of the Old Testament against Idolatry, and the worshipping of Images, which he dedicated to his Unkle, being then Protector: the Original under his own hand lies in *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, from whence I copied the Preface and the Conclusion, which are printed in the Collection after his Journal.

Ridley visits his Diocess. There was nothing else done of moment this Year, in relation to the Church, save the Visitation made of the Dioceſs of *London* by *Ridley* their new Bishop. But the exact time of it is not set down in the Register. It was according to King *Edwards* Journal some time before the *26th.* of *June*: for he writes, that on that day Sir *Jo. Yates* the high Sheriff of *Essex* was sent down with Letters to see the Bishop of *London's* Injunctions performed, which touched the plucking down of Superaltaries, Altars, and such like Ceremonies and Abuses: so that the Visitation must have been about the beginning of *June*. The Articles of it are in Bishop *Sparrows* Collection. They are concerning the Doctrine and Lives, and Labours, and Charities, of the Clergy; *viz.* Whether they spake in favour of the Bishop of *Rome*, or against the use of the Scripture, or against the Book of Common-Prayer? Whether they stirred up Sedition, or sold the Communion or Trentals, or used private Masses any where? Whether any Anabaptists or others used private Conventicles, with different Opinions and Forms from these established? Whether there were any that said the wickedness of the Minister took away the effect of the Sacraments, or denied Repentance to such as sinned after Baptism? Other Questions were about Baptisms, and Marriages. Whether the Curates did visit the Sick, and bury the Dead, and expound the Catechism, at least some part of it, once in six weeks? Whether any observed abrogated Holy-days, or the Rites that were now put down.

Collection Number 52. To these he added some Injunctions which are in the *Collection*. Most of them relate to the old Superstitions, which some of the Priests were still inclinable to practise, and for which they had been gently, if at all, reproved by *Bonner*. Such were, washing their Hands at the Altar, holding up the Bread, licking the Chalice, blessing their Eyes with the Patten or Sudary, and many other Relicks of the Mass. The Ministers were also required to charge the People oft to give Alms, and to come oft to the Communion, and to carry themselves reverently at Church. But that which was most new, was, that there having been great Contests about the Form of the Lords Board, whether it should be made as an Altar, or as a Table; therefore, since the Form of a Table was more like to turn the People from the Superstition of the Popish Mass, and to the right use of the Lords Supper, he exhorted the Curates and Churchwardens to have it in the fashion of a Table, decently covered: and to place it in such part of the Quire or Chancel as should be most meet, so that the Ministers and Communicants should be separated from the rest of the People: and that they should put down all By-Altars.

He orders all Altars to be turned to Tables for the Communion.

There are many passages among Ancient Writers, that shew their Communion-Tables were of Wood; and that they were so made as Tables, that those who fled into Churches for Sanctuary, did hide themselves under them. The Name *Altar* came to be given to these generally, because they accounted the Eucharist a Sacrifice of Praise, as also a Commemorative Sacrifice of the Oblation which Christ made of himself

On

on the Croſs. From hence it was, that the Communion-Table was called alſo an Altar. But now it came to be conſidered, whether, as theſe terms had been on good reaſon brought in to the Church, when there was no thought of the corruptions that followed; ſo if it was not fit, ſince they did ſtill ſupport the belief of an expiatory Sacrifice in the Maſs, and the opinion of Tranſubſtantiation, and were always but Figurative Forms of Speech, to change them: and to do that more effectually, to change the Form and Place of them. Some have fondly thought, that *Ridley* gave this Injunction after the Letter which the Council writ to him, in the end of *November* following. But as there was no fit time to begin a Viſitation after that time this year, ſo the Stile of the Injunctions ſhews they were given before the Letter. The Injunction only *exhorts* the Curates to do it, which *Ridley* could not have done in ſuch ſoft words, after the Council had *required and commanded* him to do it: So it appears, that the Injunctions were given only by his Epiſcopal Power. And that afterwards the ſame matter being brought before the Council, who were inform'd, that in many Places there had been Conteſts about it, ſome being for keeping to their old Cuſtom, and others being ſet on a change, the Council thought fit to ſend their Letter concerning it to *Ridley* in the beginning of *November* following. The Letter ſets out, that Altars were taken away in divers Places, upon good and godly conſiderations, but ſtill continued in other Places; by which there roſe much contention among the Kings Subjects; therefore, for avoiding that, they did charge and command him to give ſubſtantial order through all his Dioceſs for removing all Altars, and ſetting up Tables every where for the Communion to be adminiſtred in ſome convenient part of the Chancel: And that theſe Orders might be the better received, there were Reaſons ſent with the Letters, which he was to cauſe diſcreet Preachers to declare, in ſuch Places as he thought fit, and that himſelf ſhould ſet them out in his own Cathedral, if conveniently he could. 1550

The Reaſons were, to remove the People from the ſuperſtitious Opinions of the Popiſh Maſs: and becauſe *a Table* was a more proper Name than *an Altar*, for that on which the Sacrament was laid. And whereas in the Book of Common-Prayer theſe terms are promiſcuouſly uſed, it is done without preſcribing any thing about the Form of them, ſo that the changing the one into the other did not alter any part of the Liturgy. It was obſerved, that Altars were erected for the Sacrifices under the Law, which ceaſing they were alſo to ceaſe: and that Chriſt had inſtituted the Sacrament not at an Altar, but at a Table. And it had been ordered by the Preface to the Book of Common-Prayer, that if any doubt aroſe about any part of it, the determining of it ſhould be referred to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs. Upon theſe Reaſons therefore was this change ordered to be made all over *England*, which was univerſally executed this year.

There began this year a Practice which might ſeem in it ſelf not only innocent, but good, of preaching Sermons and Lectures on the week days, to which there was great running from neighbouring Pariſhes. This as it begat emulation in the Clergy, ſo it was made uſe of as a Pretence for many to leave their labour, and gad idly about. Upon complaint therefore made of it, *Ridley* had a Letter ſent to him from the Coun- Sermons on working days forbidden.

1550. Council against all preaching on working-days, on which there should only be Prayers. How this was submitted to then, is not clear. But it cannot be denied, that there have been since that time excesses on all hands in this matter: while some have, with great sincerity and devotion, kept up these in Market-Towns; but others have carried them on with too much faction, and a design to detract from such as were not so eminent in their way of preaching. Upon these abuses, while some Rulers have studied to put all such performances down, rather than to correct the abuses in them, great contradiction has followed on it; and the People have have been possessed with unjust prejudices against them, as hinderers of the Word of God; and that opposition has kept up the zeal for these Lectures. Which nevertheless, since they have been more freely preach'd, have of late years produced none of the ill effects that did follow them formerly when they were endeavoured to be suppressed.

And thus I end the Transactions about Religion this Year. The rest of the Affairs at home were chiefly for the regulating of many abuses that had grown up and been nourish'd by a long continuance of War. All the Forreign Soldiers were dismissed. And though the Duke of *Lunenburg* had offered the King 10000 Men to his assistance, and desired to enter into a Treaty of Marriage for the Lady *Mary*: they only thanked him for the offer of his Soldiers, of which they, being now at peace with all their Neighbours, had no need; and since the Proposition for marrying the Lady *Mary* to the Infant of *Portugal* was yet in dependance, they could not treat in that kind with any other Prince till that Overture was some way ended. There were endeavours also for encouraging Trade, and reforming the Coin. And at the Court things began to put on a new visage: for there was no more any faction; The Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, being now joyned into a near alliance; the Earls eldest Son, the Lord *Lisle*, marrying the Dukes Daughter; so that there was a good prospect of happy times.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

In *Scotland*, the Peace being proclaimed, the Government was now more entirely in the Hands of the Duke of *Castelherault*, who gave himself up wholly to the Counsels of his base Brother, who was Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews*. And he was so abandoned to his pleasures, that there was nothing so bad that he was ashamed of. He kept another Man's Wife openly for his Concubine. There were also many excesses in the Government. Which things, as they alienated all Peoples minds from the Clergy, so they disposed them to receive the new Doctrines, which many Teachers were bringing from *England*, and prepared them for the changes that followed afterwards. The Queen Mother went over into *France* in *September*, pretending it was to see her Daughter, and the rest of her Kindred there: where she laid down the Method for the wresting of the Government of *Scotland* out of the Governours Hands and taking it into her own.

And of *Germany*.

The Emperor appointed a Diet of the Empire to meet in the end of *July*, and required all to appear personally at it, except such as were hindered by sickness, of which they were to make Faith upon Oath. And at the same time he proscribed the Town of *Magdeburg*. But the Magistrates of that Town set out a large *Manifesto* for their own vindication, as they had done the former Year. They said, they were ready to

"to give him all the obedience, that they were bound to by the Laws of "the Empire: they very very apprehenſive of the miſchiefs of a Civil "War: they were not ſo blind as to think they were able to reſiſt the Em- "perors great Armies, lifted up with ſo many Victories, if they truſted "only to their own ſtrength: they had hitherto done no act of hoſtility "to any, but what they were forced to for their own defence. It was "viſible, the true ground of the War of *Germany* was Religion, to ex- "tinguiſh the Light of the Goſpel, and to ſubdue them again to the Pa- "pal Tyranny. For the Artifices that were formerly uſed to diſguiſe it did "now appear too manifeſtly; ſo that it was not any more denied. But it "would be too late to ſee it, when *Germany* was quite oppreſſed. In Civil "Matters, they ſaid, they would yield to the miſeries of the time. But "St. *Peter* had taught them that it was better to obey God than Man: and "therefore they were reſolved to put all things to hazard, rather than to "make Shipwrack of Faith and a good Conſcience. There were Tu- mults raiſed in *Strasburg*, and divers other Towns, againſt thoſe who ſet up the Maſs among them; and generally all *Germany* was diſpoſed to a Revolt, if they had had but a Head to lead them. 1550

The Emperor had alſo ſet out a very ſevere Edict in *Flanders*, when he left it; againſt all that favoured the new Doctrines, as they were cal- led. But the execution of this was ſtopt at the interceſſion of the Town of *Antwerp*, when they perceived the *Engliſh* were reſolved to remove from thence, and carry their Trade to ſome other Place. When the Diet was opened, the Emperor preſſed them to ſubmit to the Coun- cil which the new Pope had removed back to *Trent*. *Maurice* of *Saxe* anſwered, he could not ſubmit to it, unleſs all that had been done for- merly in it ſhould be reviewed, and the Divines of the *Ausburg* Confeſ- ſion were both hard and admitted to a Suffrage, and the Pope ſhould ſubject himſelf to their Decrees, and diſpence with the Oath which the Bi- ſhops had ſworn to him. On theſe terms he would ſubmit to it, and not o- therwiſe. This was refuſed to be entred into the Regiſters of the Diet by the Elector of *Mentz*; but there was no haſte, for the Council was not to ſit till the next year. The Emperor complained much, that the *Interim* was not generally received: to which it was anſwered by the Princes, that it was neceſſary to give the People time to overcome their former prejudices. All ſeemed to comply with him. And *Maurice* did ſo inſinuate himſelf into him, that the Siege of *Magdeburg* being now formed, and a great many Princes having gathered Forces againſt it, among whom the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and the Duke of *Mekleburg* were the moſt forward; yet he got himſelf declared by the Diet Gene- ral of the Empire, for the reduction of that Place, and he had 100000 Crowns for undertaking it, and 60000 Crowns a Month were appointed for the expence of the War. He ſaw well, that if *Magdeburg* were cloſely preſs'd, it would ſoon be taken, and then all *Germany* would be brought to the Emperors devotion: and ſo the War would end in a ſla- very. But he hoped ſo to manage this ſmall remainder of the War, as to draw great effects from it. This was a fatal ſtep to the Emperor, thus to truſt a Prince who was of a different Religion, and had a deep reſent- ment of the injury he had done him, in detaining his Father-in-law the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe* Priſoner, againſt the Faith he had given him. But the Emperor reckoned, that as long as he had *John* Duke of *Saxe* in

1550. his hands, *Maurice* durſt not depart from his Intereſts; ſince it ſeemed an eaſie thing for him to repoſſeſs the other of his Dominions and Dignity. Thus was the crafty Emperor deluded, and now put that, upon which the compleating of his great deſigns depended, into the Hands of one that proved too hard for him at that in which he was ſuch a Maſter, *Cunning and Diſſimulation.*

1551. In theſe Conſultations did this Year end. In the beginning of the next Year, there was a great complaint brought againſt Dr. *Oglethorp*, afterwards Biſhop of *Carliſle* under Queen *Mary*, and now Preſident of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*. But he, to ſecure himſelf from that part of the Complaint that related to Religion, being accuſed as one that was againſt the new Book of Service, and the Kings other Proceedings, Signed a Paper (which will be found in the *Collection*) in which he declared, "That he had never taught any thing openly againſt thoſe, but that "he thought them good, if well uſed: and that he thought the order of "Religion now ſet forth to be better and much nearer the uſe of the Apo- "ſtolical and Primitive Church than that which was formerly: and that in "particular, he did approve of the Communion in both kinds, the Peo- "ples communicating always with the Prieſt, the Service in *Engliſh*, and "the Homilies that had been ſet forth: and that he did reject the lately re- "ceived Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, as being not agreeable to the "Scriptures, or to Ancient Writers: but he thought there was an incon- "ceivable Preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, and that therefore "it ſhould be received not without great examination before hand. So compliant was he now, though he became of another mind in Queen *Maries* time; yet then he was more moderate, than the greateſt part of thoſe who did now comply moſt ſervily. In particular, Dr. *Smith* had written a Book for the Cælibate of Prieſts, and had oppoſed all the Changes that had been made: He was brought to *London* upon the Complaints that were ſent up againſt him from *Oxford*, but after a whiles imprisonment, he was ſet at liberty, giving Surety for his good behaviour, and carried himſelf ſo obediently after it, that *Cranmer* got his Sureties to be diſcharged, upon which he writ him a Letter as full of acknowledgment as was poſſible: which is in the *Collection*. "He proteſted he ſhould "retain the ſenſe of it as long as he lived: he wiſhed that he had never "written his Book of the Cælibate of Prieſts, which had been printed "againſt his Will: he found he was miſtaken in that which was the "foundation of it all, that the Prieſts of *England* had taken a Vow "againſt Marriage: he deſired to ſee ſome of the Collections *Cranmer* had "made againſt it. (It ſeems *Cranmer* was enquiring after a *MS.* of *Ignatius*'s Epiſtles, for he tells him, "They were in *Magdalen* Colledge Li- "brary:) he acknowledged the Arch-biſhops great gentleneſs toward all "thoſe who had been complained of for Religion in that Univerſity, "and proteſted, that for his own part, if ever he could ſerve his baſeſt "Servant, he would do it; wiſhing that he might periſh if he thought "otherwiſe than he ſaid: and wiſhed him long Life for the propogation "and advancement of the Chriſtian Doctrine. Soon after he writ another Letter to *Cranmer*, in which he cited ſome Paſſages out of *Auſtin* concerning his Retractations; and profeſſes he would not be aſhamed to make the like, and to ſet forth Chriſts true Religion; and called, in St. *Paul's*

The Compliance of the Popiſh Clergy.

Collection Number 53.

Collection Number 54.

Pauls words, *God to be a Witneſs againſt his Soul if he lied.* He had also in the beginning of this Reign made a Recantation Sermon of some Opinions he had held concerning the Maſs, but what theſe were, King *Edwards* Journal (from whence I gather it) does not inform us. *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* did also now so far comply, as to preach a Sermon at Court againſt Tranſubſtantiation, though he had refuſed to ſet his Hand to the Book of Common-Prayer, before it was enacted by Law. For the Principle that generally run among the Popiſh Party, was, that though they would not conſent to the making of ſuch Alterations in Religion, yet being made, they would give obedience to them, which *Gardiner* plainly profeſſed: and it appeared in the practice of all the reſt. This was certainly a groſs ſort of compliance, in thoſe who retained the old Opinions, and yet did now declare againſt them; and in the Worſhip they offerd up to God, acted contrary to them; which was the higheſt degree of prevarication both with God and Man that was poſſible. But *Cranmer* was always gentle and moderate. He left their private Conſciences to God: but thought, that if they gave an external obedience, the People would be brought to receive the Changes more eaſily; whereas the proceeding ſeverely againſt them might have raiſed more oppoſition. He was also naturally a Man of Bowels and Compaſſion, and did not love to drive things to extremities: he conſidered that Men who had grown old in ſome errors could not eaſily lay them down, and ſo were by degrees to be worn out of them. Only in the Proceedings againſt *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, he was carried beyond his ordinary temper. But *Gardiner* he knew to be ſo inveterate a Papiſt, and ſo deep a Diſſembler, that he was for throwing him out, not ſo much for the Particulars objected to him, as upon the ill Character he had of him. *Bonner* had alſo deceived him ſo formerly, and had been ſo cruel a Perſecutor upon the Statute of the Six Articles, and was become ſo brutal and luxurious, that he judged it neceſſary to purge the Church of him. And the Sees of *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, were of ſuch conſequence, that he was induced, for having theſe well ſupplied, to ſtretch a little in theſe Proceedings againſt thoſe diſſembling Biſhops. 1551.

In the end of *February* he loſt his friend *Martin Bucer*, on whoſe aſſiſtance he had depended much, in what remained yet to be done. *Bucer* died of the Stone, and Griping of the Guts, on the 28*th.* of *February*. He lay ill almoſt all that Month, and expreſſed great deſire to die. *Bradford*, who will be mentioned in the next Book with much Honour, waited moſt on him in his ſickneſs. He lamented much the deſolate State of *Germany*, and expreſſed his apprehenſions of ſome ſuch ſtroke coming upon *England*, by reaſon of the great diſſoluteneſs of the Peoples Manners, of the want of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and the general neglect of the Paſtoral Charge. He was very patient in all his pain, which grew violently on him; he lay oft ſilent, only after long intervals cried out ſometimes, *Chaſtiſe me Lord, but throw me not off in my old Age.* He was by order from *Cranmer*, and Sir *John Cheek*, buried with the higheſt Solemnities that could be deviſed, to expreſs the value the Univerſity had for him. The Vice-Chancellor, and all the Graduates, and the Major, with all the Town, accompanied his Funeral to St. *Maries*; where after Prayers, *Haddon* the Univerſity Orator made ſuch a Speech concerning him, and pronounced it with that affe- *Bucers* death.

1551. ctions, that almost the whole Assembly shed Tears. Next Dr. *Parker*, that had been his most intimate Friend, made an *English* Sermon in his praise, and concerning the sorrowing for our departed Friends. And the day following Dr. *Redmayn*, then Master of *Trinity* Colledge, made another Sermon concerning Death: and in it gave a full account of *Bucers* Life and Death. He particularly commended the great sweetness of his temper, to all, but remarkably to those who differed from him. *Redmayn* and he had differed in many things, both concerning Justification, and the Influences of the Divine Grace. But he said, as *Bucer* had satisfied him in some things, so he believed if he had lived he had satisfied him in more; and that he being dead, he knew none alive from whom he could learn so much. This Character given him by so grave and learned a Man, who was in many Points of a different perswasion from him, was a great commendation to them both. And *Redmayn* was indeed an extraordinary Person. All in the University, that were eminent either in *Greek* or *Latin* Poetry, did adorn his Coffin with Epitaphs: in which they expressed a very extraordinary sense of their loss: about which one *Carr* writ a copious and passionate Letter to Sir *John Cheek*. But *Peter Martyr* bore his death with the most sensible sorrow that could be imagined; having in him lost a *Father*, and the only intimate Friend he had in *England*. He was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate Person. Perhaps he was inferior to none of all the Reformers for Learning: but for Zeal, for true Piety, and a most tender care of preserving Unity among the Forreign Churches, *Melancton* and he, without any injury done the rest, may be ranked a part by themselves. He was much opposed by the Popish Party at *Cambridge*; who, though they complied with the Law, and so kept their Places, yet either in the way of Argument, as it had been for disputes sake, or in such Points as were not determined, set themselves much to lessen his esteem. Nor was he furnished naturally with the quickness that is necessary for a Dispute, from which they studied to draw advantages: and therefore *Peter Martyr* writ to him to avoid all publick Disputes with them. For they did not deal candidly on these occasions. They often kept up their Questions till the hour of the Dispute, that so the extemporary faculty of him who was to preside might be the more exposed; and right or wrong they used to make Exclamations, and run away with a Triumph: In one of his Letters to *Bucer*, he particularly mentions Dr. *Smith* for an Instance of this. It was that *Smith* he said who writ against the Marriage of Priests, and yet was believed to live in Adultery with his Mans Wife. This Letter was occasioned by the Disputes that were in *August* the former Year, between *Bucer* and *Sedgwick*, *Young* and *Pern*, about the Authority of the Scripture, and the Church. Which Disputes *Bucer* intending to publish, caused them to be writ out, and sent the Copy to them to be corrected, offering them, that if any thing was omitted that they had said, or if they had any thing else to say which was forgot in the Dispute, they might add it: but they sent back the Papers to him without vouchsafing to read them. At *Ratisbone* he had a Conference with *Gardiner*, who was then King *Henry*'s Ambassador: in which *Gardiner* broke out into such a violent passion, that as he spared no reproachful words, so the Company thought he would have fall'n on *Bucer* and beat him: he was in such disorder, that the little Vein between his Thumb

His Character.

and

and Fore finger did ſwell and palpitate, which *Bucer* ſaid he had never before that obſerved in any Perſon in his life. 1551.

But as *Bucer* was taken away by death, ſo *Gardiner* was ſoon after put out, which was a kind of death; though he had afterwards a Reſurrection fatal to very many. There was a Commiſſion iſſued out, to the Arch-biſhop, the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, and *Lincoln*, Secretary *Petre*, Judge *Hales*, *Griffith*, and *Leyſon*, two Civilians, and *Goodrick*, and *Goſnold*, two Maſters of *Chancery*, to proceed againſt *Gardiner* for his contempt in the matters formerly objected to him. He put in a Compurgation, by which he endeavoured to ſhew there was malice born to him, and Conſpiracies againſt him, as appeared by the Buſineſs of Sir *Hen. Knevet*, mentioned in the former Part, and the leaving him out of the late Kings Will, which he ſaid was procured by his Enemies. He complained of his long Impriſonment without any Trial, and that Articles of one ſort after another were brought to him: ſo that it was plain he was not detained for any Crime, but to try if ſuch uſage could force him to do any thing, that ſhould be impoſed on him. He declared, that what Order ſoever were ſet out by the Kings Council, he ſhould never ſpeak againſt it, but to the Council themſelves: and that though he could not give conſent to the Changes before they were made, he was now well ſatisfied to obey them; but he would never make any acknowledgment of any fault. The things chiefly laid againſt him, were, that being required, he refuſed, to preach concerning the Kings Power when he was under Age; and that he had affronted Preachers ſent by the King into his Dioceſs; and had been negligent in obeying the Kings Injunctions; and continued, after all, ſo obſtinate, that he would not confeſs his fault, nor ask the King mercy. His Crimes were aggravated by this, that his timely aſſerting the Kings Power under Age, might have been a great mean for preventing the Rebellion and Effuſion of Blood; which had afterwards happened, chiefly on that pretence, to which his obſtinacy had given no ſmall occaſion. Upon this, many Witneſſes were examined; chiefly the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earls of *Wilt-ſhire*, and *Bedford*, who depoſed againſt him. But to this he anſwered, That he was not required to do it by any Order of Council, but only in a private Diſcourſe, to which he did not think himſelf bound to give obedience. Other Witneſſes were alſo examined on the other Particulars. But he appealed from the Delegates to the King in Perſon. Yet his Judges, on the 18*th.* of *April*, gave ſentence againſt him; by which, for his diſobedience and contempt, they deprived him of his Biſhoprick. Upon that he renewed his Proteſtation and Appeal: and ſo his Proceſs ended, and he was ſent back to the *Tower*, where he lay till Queen *Mary* diſcharged him. *Gardiner* is deprived.

The ſame Cenſures, with the ſame Juſtifications, belong both to this, and *Bonners* Buſineſs: ſo I ſhall repeat nothing that was formerly ſaid. He had taken a Commiſſion, as well as *Bonner*, to hold his Biſhopſick only during the Kings Pleaſure; ſo they both had the leſs reaſon to complain which way ſoever the Royal Pleaſure was ſignified to them. Eight days after, on the 26*th.* of *April*, *Poinet* was tranſlated from *Rocheſter* to *Wincheſter*; and had 2000 Marks a Year in Lands aſſigned him out of that wealthy Biſhoprick for his Subſiſtence. Dr. *Story* was made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. *Veyſey* Biſhop of *Exeter* did alſo reſign, pretending extream

1551. tream old Age; but he had reserved 485 *l.* a year in Pension for himself during Life, out of the Lands of the Bishoprick; and almost all the rest he had basely alienated, taking care only of himself, and ruining his Successors. *Miles Coverdale* was made Bishop of *Exeter*. So that now the Bishopricks were generally filled with Men well affected to the Reformation. The business of *Hooper* was now also setled. He was to be attired in the Vestments that were prescribed, when he was consecrated, and when he preached before the King, or in his Cathedral, or in any publick Place; but he was dispens'd with upon other occasions. On these Conditions he was consecrated in *March*: for the Writ for doing it bears date the *7th.* of that Month. So now the Bishops being generally addicted to the purity of Religion, most of this Year was spent in preparing Articles, which should contain the Doctrine of the Church of *England.*

Hooper is consecrated upon his Conformity.

Many thought they should have begun first of all with those. But *Cranmer* upon good Reasons was of another mind, though much pressed by *Bucer* about it. Till the Order of Bishops was brought to such a Model, that the far greater part of them would agree to it, it was much fitter to let that design go on slowly, than to set out a Profession of their Belief, to which so great a part of the chief Pastors might be obstinately averse. The corruptions that were most important were those in the Worship, by which Men in their immediate Addresses to God, were necessarily involved in unlawful compliances, and these seemed to require a more speedy Reformation. But for speculative Points there was not so pressing a necessity to have them all explained, since in these, Men might, with less prejudice, be left to a freedom in their Opinions. It seemed also advisable to open and ventilate matters in publick Disputations and Books, written about them for some years, before they should go too hastily to determine them: lest if they went too fast in that Affair, it would not be so decent to make alterations afterwards; nor could the Clergy be of a sudden brought to change their old Opinions. Therefore upon all these Considerations that Work was delayed till this Year; in which they set about it, and finished it, before the Convocation met in the next *February.* In what Method they proceeded for the compiling of these Articles; whether they were given out to several Bishops and Divines to deliver their Opinions concerning them, as was done formerly, or not, it is not certain. I have found it often said, that they were framed by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*; which I think more probable; and that they were by them sent about to others, to correct or add to them as they saw cause. They are in the *Collection* with the differences between these, and those set out in Queen *Elizabeths* time, marked on the Margent.

Collection Number 55.

The Articles of Religion are prepared.

They began with the Assertion of the Blessed Trinity, the Incarnation of the Eternal Word, and Christs descent into Hell; grounding this last on these Words of St. *Peter*, of his *Preaching to the Spirits that were in Prison.* The next Article was about Christs Resurrection: The fifth about the Scriptures containing all things necessary to Salvation: so that nothing was to be held an Article of Faith that could not be proved from thence. The sixth, That the Old Testament was to be kept still.

The

The *7th.* For the receiving the three Creeds, the *Apoſtles*, the *Nicen*, and *Athanaſius* Creed: in which they went according to the received Opinion, that *Athanaſius* was the Author of that Creed, which is now found not to have been compiled till near three Ages after him. 1551.

The *8th.* makes Original Sin to be the corruption of the nature of all Men deſcending from *Adam*; by which they had fallen from Original Righteouſneſs, and were by nature given to evil: but they defined nothing about the derivation of guilt from *Adams* ſin.

The *9th.* for the neceſſity of prevailing Grace, without which we have no free Will to do things acceptable to God.

The *10th.* about Divine Grace, which changeth a Man, and yet puts no force on his Will.

The *11th.* That Men are juſtified by Faith only; as was declared in the Homily.

The *12th.* That Works done before Grace are not without ſin.

The *13th.* Againſt all Works of Supererogation.

The *14th.* That all Men, Chriſt only excepted, are guilty of ſin.

The *15th.* That Men who have received Grace, may ſin afterwards, and riſe again by Repentance.

The *16th.* That the blaſpheming againſt the Holy Ghoſt is, when Men out of malice and obſtinately rail againſt Gods Word, though they are convinced of it, yet perſecuting it: which is unpardonable.

The *17th.* That Predeſtination is Gods free Election of thoſe, whom he afterwards juſtifies: which though it be matter of great comfort to ſuch as conſider it aright, yet it is a dangerous thing for curious and carnal Men to prie into: and it being a Secret, Men are to be governed by Gods revealed Will: they added not a word of Reprobation.

The *18th.* That only the Name of Chriſt, and not the Law or Light of Nature, can ſave Men.

The *19th.* That all Men are bound to keep the Moral Law.

The *20th.* That the Church is a Congregation of Faithful Men, who have the Word of God Preached, and the Sacraments rightly Adminiſtred: and that the Church of *Rome*, as well as other particular Churches, have erred in matters of Faith.

The *21ſt.* That the Church is only the Witneſs and Keeper of the Word of God: but cannot appoint any thing contrary to it, nor declare any Articles of Faith without Warrant from it.

The *22d.* That General Councils may not be gathered without the conſent of Princes: that they may erre and have erred in matters of Faith: and that their Decrees in matters of Salvation have ſtrength only as they are taken out of the Scriptures.

The *23d.* That the Doctrines of Purgatory, Pardons, Worſhiping of Images, and Relicks, and Invocation of Saints, are without any Warrant, and contrary to the Scriptures.

The *24th.* That none may Preach or Miniſter the Sacraments, without he be lawfully called by Men who have lawful Authority.

The *25th.* That all things ſhould be ſpoken in the Church in a Vulgar Tongue.

The *26th.* That there are two Sacraments, which are not bare Tokens of our Profeſſion, but effectual Signs of Gods good Will to us: which

1551. which ſtrengthen our Faith, yet not by vertue only of the Work wrought, but in thoſe who receive them worthily.

The 27*th*. That the vertue of theſe does not depend on the Miniſter of them.

The 28*th*. That by Baptiſm we are the adopted Sons of God; and that Infant Baptiſm is to be commended, and in any ways to be retained.

The 29*th*. That the Lords Supper is not a bare token of love among Chriſtians; but is the Communion of the Body and Blood of Chriſt: that the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation is contrary to Scripture, and hath given occaſion to much Superſtition: that a Body being only in one place, and Chriſts Body being in Heaven, therefore there cannot be a real and bodily Preſence of his Fleſh and Blood in it: and that this Sacrament is not to be kept, carried about, lifted up, nor worſhiped.

The 30*th*. That there is no other Propitiatory Sacrifice, but that which Chriſt offered on the Croſs.

The 31*ſt*. That the Clergy are not by Gods command obliged to abſtain from Marriage.

The 32*d*. That Perſons rightly excommunicated are to be looked on as Heathens, till they are by Penance reconciled, and received by a Judge competent.

The 33*d*. It is not neceſſary that Ceremonies ſhould be the ſame at all times: but ſuch as refuſe to obey lawful Ceremonies, ought to be openly reproved as offending againſt Law and Order, giving ſcandal to the weak.

The 34*th*. That the Homilies are Godly and wholeſom, and ought to be read.

The 35*th*. That the Book of Common-Prayer is not repugnant, but agreeable to the Goſpel; and ought to be received by all.

The 36*th*. That the King is Supream Head under Chriſt: that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath no Juriſdiction in *England*: that the Civil Magiſtrate is to be obeyed for Conſcience ſake: that Men may be put to death for great offences: and that it is lawful for Chriſtians to make War.

The 37*th*. That there is not to be a community of all Mens Goods: but yet every Man ought to give to the Poor according to his ability.

The 38*th*. That though raſh ſwearing is condemned: yet ſuch as are required by the Magiſtrate may take an Oath.

The 39*th*. That the Reſurrection is not already paſt, but at the laſt day Men ſhall riſe with the ſame Bodies they now have.

The 40*th*. That departed Souls do not die, nor ſleep with their Bodies, and continue without ſenſe till the laſt day.

The 41*ſt*. That the Fable of the Millenaries, is contrary to Scripture and a *Jewiſh* dotage.

The laſt condemned thoſe who believed that the damned, after ſome time of ſuffering, ſhall be ſaved.

Thus was the Doctrine of the Church, caſt into a ſhort and plain Form: in which they took care both to eſtabliſh the poſitive Articles of Religion, and to cut off the errors formerly introduced in the time of

Popery,

Popery, or of late broached by the Anabaptiſts and Enthuſiaſts of *Germany*: avoiding the niceties of School-men, or the peremptorineſs of the Writers of Controverſie: leaving in matters that are more juſtly controvertible, a liberty to Divines to follow their private Opinions, without thereby diſturbing the Peace of the Church. 1551.

There was in the Ancient Church a great ſimplicity in their Creeds, and the Expoſition of the Doctrine. But afterwards, upon the breaking out of the *Arrian*, and other Hereſies, concerning the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt; as the Orthodox Fathers were put to find out new Terms to drive the Hereticks out of the equivocal uſe of theſe formerly received; ſo they too ſoon grew to love niceties, and to explain Myſteries, with Similies, and other ſubtilties which they invented: and Councils afterwards were very liberal in their Anathematiſmes againſt any who did not agree in all Points to their Terms, or ways of Explanation. And though the Council of *Epheſus* decreed, That there ſhould be no Additions made to the Creed, they underſtood that not of the whole Belief of Chriſtians, but only of the Creed it ſelf: and did alſo load the Chriſtian Doctrine with many Curioſities. But though they had exceeded much, yet the School-men getting the management of the Doctrine, ſpun their Thread much finer: and did eaſily procure Condemnations, either by Papal Bulls, or the Decrees of ſuch Councils as met in theſe times, of all that differed from them in the leaſt matter. Upon the progreſs of the Reformation, the *German* Writers, particularly *Oſiander*, *Illiricus*, and *Amſtorfius*, grew too peremptory, and not only condemned the *Helvetian* Churches, for differing from them in the manner of Chriſts Preſence in the Sacrament, but were ſevere to one another for leſſer Punctilio's, and were at this time exerciſing the patience of the great and learned *Melanchon*, becauſe he thought that in things of their own Nature indifferent, they ought to have complied with the Emperor. This made thoſe in *England* reſolve on compoſing theſe Articles with great temper, in many ſuch Points. Only one Notion that has been ſince taken up by ſome, ſeems not to have been then thought of; which is, That theſe were rather Articles of Peace than of Belief: ſo that the ſubſcribing was rather a Compromiſe not to teach any Doctrine contrary to them, than a Declaration that they believed according to them. There appears no reaſon for this conceit, no ſuch thing being then declared: ſo that thoſe who ſubſcribed, did either believe them to be true, or elſe they did groſly prevaricate.

The next Buſineſs in which the Reformers were employed this Year, was the correcting the Common-Prayer-Book, and the making ſome Additions, with the changing of ſuch Particulars as had been retained only for a time. The moſt conſiderable Additions were, That in the daily Service they prepared a ſhort, but moſt ſimple and grave, Form of a general Confeſſion of ſins; in the uſe of which they intended that thoſe who made this Confeſſion ſhould not content themſelves with a bare recital of the Words, but ſhould joyn with them in their Hearts, a particular Confeſſion of their private ſins to God. To this was added a General Abſolution, or Pronouncing in the Name of God, the pardon of ſin to all thoſe who did truly repent, and unfeignedly believe the Goſpel. For they judged, that if the People did ſeriouſly practiſe this, it would keep up in their thoughts frequent reflections on their ſins; and

Some Corrections made in the Common-Prayer Book.

1551. it was thought that the pronouncing a Pardon upon theſe Conditions might have a better effect on the People, than that abſolute and unqualified Pardon which their Prieſts were wont to give in Confeſſion. By which Abſolution in times of Popery the People were made to believe that their ſins were thereupon certainly forgiven; than which nothing could be invented that would harden them into a more fatal ſecurity; when they thought a full Pardon could be ſo readily purchaſed. But now they heard the terms, on which they could only expect it, every day promulgated to them. The other Addition was alſo made upon good conſideration, in the Office of the Communion; to which the People were obſerved to come without due ſeriouſneſs or preparation: therefore for awakening their Conſciences more feelingly, it was ordered that the Office of the Communion ſhould begin with a ſolemn pronouncing of the Ten Commandments: all the Congregation being on their Knees: as if they were hearing that Law a-new: and a ſtop to be made at every Commandment, for the Peoples devotion, of imploring mercy for their paſt offences, and Grace to obſerve it for the time to come. This ſeemed as effectual a Mean as they could deviſe, till Church-penitence were again ſet up, to beget in Men deep reflections on their ſins, and to prepare them thereby to receive that Holy Sacrament worthily. The other Changes were, the removing of ſome Rites which had been retained in the former Book; ſuch as the uſe of Oyl in Confirmation and Extream Unction, the Prayers for Souls departed, both in the Communion-Service, and in the Office of Burial, the leaving out ſome Paſſages in the Conſecration of the Euchariſt that ſeemed to favour the Belief of the Corporal Preſence, with the uſe of the Croſs, in it, and in Confirmation, with ſome ſmaller variations. And indeed they brought the whole Liturgy to the ſame Form in which it is now, except ſome few conſiderable variations that have been ſince made for the clearing of ſome Ambiguities.

An Account of kneeling in the Communion.

In the Office of the Communion, they added a Rubrick concerning the poſture of kneeling, which was appointed to be ſtill the geſture of Communicants. It was hereby declared, that that geſture was kept up as a moſt reverent and humble way of expreſſing our great ſenſe of the Mercies of God in the death of Chriſt there communicated to us: but that thereby there was no adoration intended to the Bread and Wine which was groſs Idolatry: nor did they think the very Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt were there preſent; ſince his Body, according to the nature of all other Bodies, could be only in one place at once; and ſo he being now in Heaven, could not be corporally preſent in the Sacrament. This was by Queen *Elizabeth* ordered to be left out of the Common-Prayer Book; ſince it might have given offence to ſome, otherwiſe inclined to the Communion of the Church, who yet retained the belief of the Corporal Preſence. But ſince his preſent Majeſties Reſtoration, many having excepted to the Poſture, as apprehending ſome thing like Idolatry or Superſtition might lie under it, if it were not rightly explained; the Explication which was given in King *Edwards* time, was again inſerted in the Common-Prayer-Book.

For the Poſture, it is moſt likely that the firſt Inſtitution was in the Table-geſture, which was, lying along on one ſide. But it was apparent in our Saviours Practice, that the *Jewiſh* Church had changed the Poſture

of that Inſtitution of the Paſſover, in whoſe room the Euchariſt came. For though *Moſes* had appointed the *Jews* to eat their Paſchal Lamb, ſtanding with their Loins girt, with Staves in their Hands, and Shooes on their Feet; yet the *Jews* did afterwards change this into the Common-Table-Poſture: of which change, though there is no mention in the Old Teſtament, yet we ſee it was ſo in our Saviours time; and ſince he complied with the common Cuſtom, we are ſure that Change was not criminal. It ſeemed reaſonable to allow the Chriſtian Church the like Power in ſuch things with the *Jewiſh*: and as the *Jews* thought their coming into the Promiſed Land, might be a Warrant to lay aſide the Poſture appointed by *Moſes*, which became Travellers beſt; ſo Chriſt being now exalted, it ſeemed fit to receive this Sacrament with higher Marks of outward reſpect, than had been proper in the firſt Inſtitution, when he was in the ſtate of Humiliation, and his Divine Glory not yet ſo fully revealed. Therefore in the Primitive Church they received ſtanding and bending their Body, in a poſture of Adoration. But how ſoon that Geſture of kneeling came in, is not ſo exactly obſerved, nor is it needful to know. But ſurely there is a great want of ingenuity in them that are pleaſed to apply theſe Orders of ſome later Popes for kneeling at the Elevation, to our kneeling; when ours is not at one ſuch part, which might be more liable to exception, but during the whole Office: by which it is one continued Act of Worſhip, and the Communicants kneel all the while. But of this no more needs to be ſaid, than is expreſt in the Rubrick, which occaſioned this Digreſſion. 1551.

Thus were the Reformations both of Doctrine and Worſhip prepared: To which all I can add of this Year, is, that there were ſix eminent Preachers choſen out to be the Kings Chaplains in Ordinary: two of thoſe were always to attend at Court; and four to be ſent over *England* to preach and inſtruct the People. In the firſt year, two of theſe were to go into *Wales*, and the other two into *Lancaſhire*: the next year two into the Marches of *Scotland*, and two into *York-ſhire*; the third year two into *Devon-ſhire*, and two into *Hamp-ſhire*; and the fourth year, two into *Norfolk*, and two into *Kent* and *Suſſex*. Theſe were *Bill*, *Harle*, *Pern*, *Grindal*, *Bradford*, the Name of the ſixth is ſo daſhed in the Kings Journal, that it cannot be read. Theſe, it ſeems, were accounted the moſt zealous and readieſt Preachers of that time; who were thus ſent about, as Itinerants to ſupply the defects of the greateſt part of the Clergy, who were generally very faulty. Some Orders given to the Kings Chaplains.

The Buſineſs of the Lady *Mary* was now taken up with more heat than formerly. The Emperors earneſt ſuit, that ſhe might have Maſs in her Houſe, was long rejected: for it was ſaid, that as the King did not interpoſe in the matters of the Emperors Government, ſo there was no reaſon for the Emperor to meddle in his Affairs. Yet the ſtate of *England* making his friendſhip at that time neceſſary to the King, and he refuſing to continue in his League, unleſs to Kinſwoman obtained that favour, it was promiſed, that for ſome time, in hope ſhe would reform, there ſhould be a forbearance granted. The Emperors Ambaſſadors preſſed to have a Licenſe for it under the Great Seal. It was anſwered, That being againſt Law, it could not be done: Then they deſired to have it certified under the Kings Hand, in a Letter to the Emperor; but even that was refuſed. So that they only gave a Promiſe for ſome time by The Lady *Mary* continued to have Maſs ſaid in her Chappel.

1551. word of mouth, and *Paget*, and *Hobby*, who had been the Ambassadors with the Emperor, declared they had spoke of it to him with the same limitations. But the Emperor, who was accustomed to take for absolute what was promised only under conditions, writ to the Lady *Mary*, that he had an absolute Promise for the free exercise of her Religion: and so she pretended this, when she was at any time questioned about it. The two Grounds she went on, were, that she would follow the ancient and universal way of Worship, and not a new invention that lay within the four Seas: and that she would continue in that Religion, in which her Father had instructed her. To this, the King sent an answer, telling her, That she was a part of this Church and Nation, and so must conform her self to the Laws of it; that the way of Worship now set up, was no other than what was clearly consonant to the pure Word of God; and the King's being young, was not to be pretended by her, lest she might seem to agree with the late Rebels. After this, she was sent for to Court, and pains was taken to instruct her better. But she refused to hear any thing, or to enter into any reasonings, but said, she would still do as she had done. And she claimed the Promise that was said to be made to the Emperor. But it was told her, that it was but temporary and conditional. Whereupon the last Summer she was designing to fly out of *England*; and the King of *France* gave Sir *John Mason*, the *English* Resident notice, that the Regent of *Flanders* had hired one *Scipper* who should Land on the Coast of *Essex*, as if it had been to victual his Ship, and was to have conveyed her away. Upon this Information, order was given to see well to the Coast; so the design being discovered, nothing could be effected. It was certainly a strange advice to carry her away, and no less strange in the Kings Ministers to hinder it, if there was at that time any design formed to put her by her Succession. For if she had been beyond Sea at the Kings death, it is not probable that she could have easily come to the Crown. The Emperors Ambassador solicited for her violently, and said he would presently take leave, and protest, that they had broken their Faith to his Master, who would resent the usage of the Lady *Mary* as highly as if it were done immediately to himself. The Counsellors, having no mind to draw a new War on their Heads, especially from so victorious a Prince, were all inclined to let the matter fall. There was also a years Cloath lately sent over to *Antwerp*; and 1500 Cinqtails of Powder, with a great deal of Armour, bought there for the Kings use, was not come over. So it was thought by no means advisable to provoke the Emperor, while they had such effects in his Ports; nor were they very willing to give higher provocations to the next Heir of the Crown. Therefore they all advised the King not to do more in that matter at present, but to leave the Lady *Mary* to her discretion, who would certainly be made more cautious by what she had met with, and would give as little scandal as was possible by her Mass. But the King could not be induced to give way to it, for he thought the Mass was impious and idolatrous; so he would not consent to the continuance of such a sin. Upon this the Council ordered *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Poinet*, to discourse about it with him. They told him, that it was always a sin in a Prince to permit any sin; but to give a connivance, that is, not to punish, was not always a sin: since sometimes a lesser evil connived at might prevent a greater. He was overcome by this; yet not so easily, but

The King is very earnest against it.

but that he burſt forth in Tears, lamenting his Siſters obſtinacy, and that he muſt ſuffer her to continue in ſo abominable a way of Worſhip, as he eſteemed the Maſs. So he anſwered the Emperors Agents, that he ſhould ſend over an Ambaſſador to clear that matter. And Dr. *Wotton* was diſpatched about it, who carried over Atteſtations from all the Council, concerning the qualifications of the Promiſe that had been made: and was inſtructed to preſs the Emperor, not to trouble the King in his Affairs at home in his own Kingdom. If the Lady *Mary* was his Kinſwoman, ſhe was the Kings Siſter, and Subject: he was alſo to offer, that the King would grant as much liberty for the Maſs in his Dominions as the Emperor would grant for the *Engliſh* Service in his Dominions. But the Emperor pretended, that when her Mother died, ſhe left her to his protection, which he had granted her, and ſo muſt take care of her. And the Emperor was ſo exalted with his ſucceſſes, that he did not eaſily bear any contradiction. But the Council being further offended with her for the project of going beyond Sea, and being now leſs in fear of the Emperor, ſince they had made Peace with *France*, reſolved to look more nearly to her. And finding that Dr. *Mallet*, and *Barkley*, her Chaplains, had ſaid Maſs in one of her Houſes, when ſhe was not in it, they ordered them to be proceeded againſt. Upon which, in *December* the laſt year, ſhe writ earneſtly to the Council to let it fall. By her Letter it appears, that *Mallet* uſed to be ſometimes at his Benefice, where it is certain he could officiate no other way but in that preſcribed by Law: ſo it ſeems his Conſcience was not very ſcrupulous. The Council writ her a long Anſwer, which being in the Stile of a Churchman, ſeems to have been penned either by *Cranmer*, or *Ridley*. In which Letter they fully clear'd the matter of the Promiſe: then they ſhewed how expreſs the Law was, with which they could not diſpenſe: and how ill grounded her Faith, as ſhe called it, was. They asked her what Warrant there was in Scripture, that the Prayers ſhould be in an unknown Tongue, that Images ſhould be in the Church, or that the Sacrament ſhould be offered up for the Dead. They told her, that in all Queſtions about Religion, St. *Auſtin* and the other ancient Doctors appealed to the Scripture; and if ſhe would look into theſe, ſhe would ſoon ſee the errors of the old Superſtition, which were ſupported by falſe Miracles and lying Stories, and not by Scripture or good Authority. They expreſt themſelves in terms full of ſubmiſſion to her, but ſaid they were truſted with the execution of the Kings Laws in which they muſt proceed equally. So they required her, if the Chaplains were in her Houſe, to ſend them to the Sheriff of *Eſſex*. But it ſeems they kept out of the way, and ſo the matter ſlept till the beginning of *May* this year, that *Mallet* was found, and put in the *Tower*, and convicted of his offence. Upon this there paſſed many Letters between the Council and her: ſhe earneſtly deſiring to have him ſet at liberty, and they as poſitively refuſing to do it.

1551

The Council writ to her of it.

In *July* the Council ſent for *Rocheſter*, *Inglefield*, and *Walgrave*, three of her chief Officers; and gave them Inſtructions to ſignifie the Kings expreſs pleaſure to her, to have the new Service in her Family; and to give the like charge to her Chaplains, and all her Servants; and to return with an anſwer. In *Auguſt* they came back, and ſaid, ſhe was much indiſpoſed, and received the Meſſage very grievouſly. She ſaid, ſhe would

1551 would obey the King in all things, except where her Conscience was touched: but she charged them to deliver none of their Message to the rest of her Family; in which they being her Servants could not disobey her, especially when they thought it might prejudice her health. Upon this, they were sent to the *Tower*. The Lord Chancellor, Sir *Ant. Wingfield*, and Sir *William Petre*, were next sent to her, with a Letter from the King, and Instructions from the Council, for the charge they were to give to her and her Servants. They came to her House of *Copthall* in *Essex*. The Lord Chancellor gave her the Kings Letter, which she received on her Knees: and said, she payed that respect to the Kings Hand, and not to the matter of the Letter, which she knew proceeded from the Council: and when she read it, she said, *Ah! Mr. Cecil took much pains here*: (he was then Secretary of State in Dr. *Wottons* room.) So she turned to the Counsellors, and bid them deliver their Message to her. She wished them to be short, for she was not well at ease, and would give them a short answer, having writ her mind plainly to the King with her own Hand. The Lord Chancellor told her, that all the Council were of one mind, that she must be no longer suffered to have private Mass, or a Form of Religion different from what was established by Law. He went to read the Names of those who were of that mind; but she desired him to spare his pains, she knew they were all of a sort. They next told her, they had order to require her Chaplains to use no other Service, and her Servants to be present at no other, than what was according to Lay. She answered, She was the Kings most obedient Subject, and Sister; and would obey him in every thing, but where here Conscience held her, and would willingly suffer death to do him service: but she would lay her Head on a block, rather than use any other Form of Service, than what had been at her Fathers death: only she thought she was not worthy to suffer death on so good an account. When the King came to be of Age, so that he could order these things himself, she would obey his Commands in Religion: for although he, *Good sweet King*, (these were her words) had more knowledge than any of his years, yet he was not a fit judge in these matters; for if Ships were to be set to Sea, or any matter of Policy to be determined, they would not think him fit for it, much less could he be able to resolve Points of Divinity. As for her Chaplains, if they would say no Mass, she could hear none; and for her Servants, she knew they all desired to hear Mass: her Chaplains might do what they would, it was but a whiles imprisonment: but for the new Service, it should never be said in her House: and if any were forced to say it, she would stay no longer in the House. When the Counsellors spake of *Rochester*, *Inglefield*, and *Walgrave*, who had not fully executed their charge; she said, it was not the wisest Counsel, to order her Servants to controul her in her own House: and they were the honestest Men not to do such a thing against their Consciences. She insisted on the Promise made to the Emperor, which she had under his Hand, whom she believed better than them all: they ought to use her better for her Fathers sake, who had raised them all almost out of nothing. But though the Emperor were dead, or would bid her obey them; she would not change her mind, and she would let his Ambassador know how they used her. To this they answered, clearing the mistake about the Promise, to which she gave little heed.

And sent some to her.

But she was Intractable.

heed. They told her, they had brought one down to ſerve as her Comptroller in *Rocheſters* room: She ſaid, ſhe would chooſe her own Servants; and if they went to impoſe any on her, ſhe would leave the Houſe. She was ſick, but would do all ſhe could to live: but if ſhe died, ſhe would proteſt they were the cauſes of it: they gave her good words, but their deeds were evil. Then ſhe took a Ring from her Finger, and on her Knees gave it to the Lord Chancellor, to give to the King as a Token from her, with her humble Commendations; and proteſted much of her Duty to him; but ſhe ſaid, this will never be told him. The Counſellors went from her to her Chaplains, and delivered their Meſſage to them, who promiſed they would obey. Then they charged the reſt of the Servants in like manner, and alſo commanded them to give notice if thoſe Orders were broken. And ſo they went to go away. But as they were in the Court, the Lady *Mary* called to them from her Window, to ſend her Comptroller to her; for ſhe ſaid, that now ſhe her ſelf received the accounts of her Houſe, and knew how many Loaves were made of a Buſhel of Meal, to which ſhe had never been bred, and ſo was weary of that Office; but if they would needs ſend him to Priſon, ſhe ſaid, I beſhrew him if he go not to it merrily, and with a good Will; and concluded, I pray God to ſend you to do well in your Souls and Bodies, for ſome of you have but weak Bodies. This is the ſubſtance of the Report theſe Counſellors gave when they returned back to the Court on the 29*th.* of *Auguſt.* By which they were now out of all hopes of prevailing with her by perſwaſions or Authority: So it was next conſidered, whether it was fit to go to further extremities with her. How the matter was determined, I do not clearly find; it is certain the Lady *Mary* would never admit of the new Service, and ſo I believe ſhe continued to keep her Prieſts, and have Maſs; but ſo ſecretly, that there was no ground for any publick complaint. For I find no further mention of that matter, than what is made by *Ridley*, of a Paſſage that befel him in *September* next year. 1551.

Nor would ſhe hear Biſhop *Ridley* preach.

He went to wait on her, ſhe living then at *Hunſden*; where ſhe received him at firſt civilly, and told him, ſhe remembred of him in her Fathers time, and at Dinner ſent him to dine with her Officers: after Dinner, he told her, he came not only to do his Duty to her, but to offer to Preach before her next *Sunday*: She bluſhed, and once or twice deſired him to make the Anſwer to that himſelf. But when he preſſed her further, ſhe ſaid, the Pariſh-Church would be open to him if he had a mind to preach in it: but neither ſhe, nor any of her Family ſhould hear him. He ſaid, he hoped ſhe would not refuſe to hear Gods Word; ſhe ſaid, ſhe did not know what they called Gods Word; but ſhe was ſure that was not now Gods Word that was called ſo in her Fathers days. He ſaid, Gods Word was the ſame at all times. She anſwered, ſhe was ſure he durſt not for his Ears have avowed theſe things in her Fathers time, which he did now: and for their Books, as, ſhe thanked God, ſhe never had, ſo ſhe never would read them. She alſo uſed many reproachful words to him, and asked him, If he was of the Council; He ſaid not: She replied, He might well enough be, as the Council goes now a-days; and ſo diſmiſſed him, thanking him for coming to ſee her, but not at all for offering to preach before her. Sir *Tho. Wharton*, one of her Officers, carried him to a place where he deſired him to drink; which *Ridley*

1551. *ley* did: but reflecting on it, ſaid, He had done amiſs, to drink in a place where Gods Word was rejected: for if he had remembred his Duty, he ſhould upon that refuſal have ſhaken the duſt off his Feet, for a Teſtimony againſt the Houſe, and have departed immediately. Theſe words he was obſerved to pronounce with an extraordinary concern, and went away much troubled in his mind. And this is all I find of the Lady *Mary* during this Reign. For the Lady *Elizabeth*, ſhe had been always bred up to like the Reformation; and Dr. *Parker*, who had been her Mothers Chaplain, received a ſtrict charge from her Mother a little before her death, to look well to the inſtructing her Daughter in the Principles of true Religion; ſo that there is no doubt to be made of her chearful receiving all the changes that had been eſtabliſhed by Law.

The Deſigns of the Earl of *Warwick*.

And this is all that concerns Religion, that falls within this Year. But now a deſign came to be laid, which though it broke not out for ſome time, yet it was believed to have had a great influence on the Fall of the Duke of *Somerſet*. The Earl of *Warwick* began to form great Projects for himſelf, and thought to bring the Crown into his Family. The King was now much alienated from the Lady *Mary*; the Privy-Council had alſo embroiled themſelves ſo with her, that he imagined it would be no hard matter to exclude her from the Succeſſion. There was but one reaſon that could be pretended for it; which was, that ſhe ſtood illegitimated by Law; and that therefore the next Heirs in Blood could not be barred their right by her; ſince it would be a great blot on the Honour of the *Engliſh* Crown to let it devolve on a Baſtard. This was as ſtrong againſt the Lady *Elizabeth*, ſince ſhe was alſo illegitimated by a Sentence in the Spiritual Court, and that confirmed in Parliament: ſo if their jealouſie of the elder Siſters Religion, and the fear of her revenge, moved them to be willing to cut her off from the Succeſſion, the ſame reaſon that was to be uſed in Law againſt her, was alſo to take place againſt her Siſter. So he reckoned that theſe two were to be paſſed over, as being put both in the Act of Succeſſion, and in the late Kings Will, by one error. The next in the Will, were the Heirs of the *French* Queen by *Charles Brandon*, who were the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, and her Siſter. Though I have ſeen it often ſaid in many Letters, and Writings of that time, that all that Iſſue by *Charles Brandon* was illegitimated: ſince he was certainly married to one *Mortimer*, before he married the Queen of *France*; which *Mortimer* lived long after his Marriage to that Queen: ſo that all her Children were Baſtards: ſome ſay he was divorced from his Marriage to *Mortimer*, but that is not clear to me.

The Sweating Sickneſs.

This Year the Sweating Sickneſs, that had been formerly both in *Henry* the *7th.* and the late Kings Reign, broke out with that violence in *England*, that many were ſwept away by it. Such as were taken with it, died certainly if they ſlept, to which they had a violent deſire: but if it took them not off in twenty four hours, they did ſweat out the venom of the diſtemper: which raged ſo in *London*, that in one week 800 died of it. It did alſo ſpread into the Countrey, and the two Sons of *Charles Brandon* by his laſt Wife, both Dukes of *Suffolk*, died within a day one of another. So that Title was fallen. Their Siſter by the half Blood was married to *Gray* Lord Marqueſs of *Dorſet*. So ſhe being the eldeſt Daughter to the *French* Queen, the Earl of *Warwick* reſolved to link himſelf to that Family; and to procure the Honour of the Duke-

dome

dome of *Suffolk* to be given the Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, who was a weak Man, and eaſily governed. He had three Daughters; the eldeſt was *Jane*, a Lady of as excellent qualities as any of that Age; of great Parts, bred to Learning, and much converſant in Scripture; and of ſo rare a temper of mind, that ſhe charmed all who knew her: in particular the young King, about whom ſhe was bred, and who had always lived with her in the familiarities of a Brother. The Earl of *Warwick* deſigned to marry her to *Guilford* his fourth Son, then living, his three elder being already married; and ſo to get the Crown to deſcend on them if the King ſhould die, of which it is thought he reſolved to take care. But apprehending ſome danger from the Lady *Elizabeths* Title, he intended to ſend her away. So an Ambaſſador was diſpatched to *Denmark*, to treat a Marriage for her with that Kings eldeſt Son. 1551.

To amuſe the King himſelf, a moſt ſplendid Embaſſy was ſent to *France*, to propoſe a Marriage for the King to that Kings Daughter *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to *Philip* of *Spain*. The Marqueſs of *Northampton* was ſent with this Propoſition, and with the Order of the Garter. With him went the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond*; the Lords *Liſle*, *Fitzwater*, *Bray*, *Abergaveny*, and *Evers*; and the Biſhop of *Ely*, who was to be their Mouth: With them went many Gentlemen of Quality, who with their Train made up near 500. King *Henry* received the Garter with great expreſſions of Eſteem for the King. The Biſhop of *Ely* told him, They were come to deſire a more cloſe tie between theſe Crowns by Marriage, and to have the League made firmer between them in other Particulars. To which the Cardinal of *Lorrain* made anſwer, in his way of ſpeaking, which was always vain, and full of oſtentation. A Commiſſion was given to that Cardinal, the Conſtable, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and others, to treat about it. The King treats with the *French* King for a Marriage with his Daughter

The *Engliſh* began firſt, for Forms ſake, to deſire the Queen of *Scots*. But that being rejected, they moved for the Daughter of *France*, which was entertained; but ſo that neither Party ſhould be bound in Honour and Conſcience, till the Lady were twelve years of Age. Yet this never taking effect, it is needleſs to enlarge further about it; of which the Reader will find all the particulars in King *Edwards* Journal. The King of *France* ſent another very noble Embaſſy into *England*, with the Order of St. *Michael* to the King, and a very kind Meſſage, that he had no leſs love to him than a Father could bear to his own Son. He deſired the King would not liſten to the vain Rumors, which ſome malicious Perſons might raiſe, to break their friendſhip; and wiſhed, there might be ſuch a regulation on their Frontiers, that all differences might be amicably removed. To this the young King made anſwer himſelf, "That he thanked his good Brother for his Order, and for the Aſſurances "of his Love, which he would always requite. For Rumors, they were "not always to be credited, nor always to be rejected; it being no leſs "vain to fear all things, than it was dangerous to doubt of nothing: and "for any differences that might ariſe, he ſhould be always ready to deter-"mine them, by reaſon, rather than force; ſo far as his Honour ſhould "not be thereby diminiſhed. Whether this Anſwer was prepared beforehand, or not, I cannot tell; I rather think it was; otherways it was extraordinary for one of fourteen to talk thus on the ſudden.

1551. A Conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Somerſet.*

But while all this was carrying on, there was a deſign laid to deſtroy the Duke of *Somerſet.* He had ſuch acceſs to the King, and ſuch freedoms with him, that the Earl of *Warwick* had a mind to be rid of him, leſt he ſhould ſpoil all his Projects. The Duke of *Somerſet* ſeemed alſo to have deſigned in *April* this Year to have got the King again in his power: and dealt with the Lord *Strange*, that was much in his favour, to perſwade him to marry his Daughter *Jane*, and that he would advertiſe him of all that paſſed about the King. But the Earl of *Warwick*, to raiſe himſelf and all his Friends higher, procured a great Creation of new Honours. *Gray* was made Duke of *Suffolk*, and himſelf Duke of *Northumberland*; for *Henry Piercy*, the laſt Earl of *Northumberland*, dying without Iſſue, his next Heirs were the Sons of *Thomas Piercy*, that had been attainted in the laſt Reign for the *York-ſhire* Rebellion. *Paulet* then Lord Treaſurer, and Earl of *Wilt-ſhire*, was made Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*; and Sir *William Herbert*, that had married the Marqueſs of *Northampton*'s Siſter, was made Earl of *Pembroke*. The Lord *Ruſſel* had been made Earl of *Bedford* laſt year, upon his return from making the Peace with the *French*: Sir *Tho. Darcy* had alſo been made Lord *Darcy*. The new Duke of *Northumberland* could no longer bear ſuch a Rival in his greatneſs, as the Duke of *Somerſet* was, who was the only Perſon that he thought could take the King out of his Hands. So on the 17*th.* of *October* the Duke was apprehended, and ſent to the *Tower*; and with him the Lord *Gray*; Sir *Ralph Vane*, who had eſcaped over the River, but was taken in a Stable in *Lambeth*, hid under the Straw: Sir *Tho. Palmer*, and Sir *Tho. Arundel*, were alſo taken, yet not ſent at firſt to the *Tower*, but kept under Guards in their Chambers. Some of his followers, *Hamond*, *Nudigate*, and two of the *Seimours*, were ſent to Priſon. The day after, the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* was alſo ſent to the *Tower*, with one *Cram*, and his Wife, that had been much about her, and two of her Chamberwomen. After theſe, Sir *Tho. Holdcroft*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, *Wingfield*, *Banniſter*, and *Vaughan*, were all made Priſoners. The Evidence againſt the Duke, was, That he had made a Party for getting himſelf declared Protector in the next Parliament; which the Earl of *Rutland* did poſitively affirm; and the Duke did ſo anſwer it, that it is probable it was true. But though this might well inflame his Enemies, yet it was no crime. But Sir *Tho. Palmer*, though impriſoned with him as a Complice, was the Perſon that ruined him. He had been before that brought ſecretly to the King, and had told him, that on the laſt St. *Georges* day, the Duke apprehending there was miſchief deſigned againſt him, thought to have raiſed the People, had not Sir *William Herbert* aſſured him he ſhould receive no harm: that lately he intended to have the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, invited to Dinner at the Lord *Pagets*; and either to have ſet on them by the way, or to have killed them at Dinner: that Sir *Ralph Vane* had 2000 Men ready, that Sir *Tho. Arundel* had aſſured the Tower, and that all the Gandarmory were to be killed: The Duke of *Somerſet*, hearing *Palmer* had been with the King, challenged him of it, but he denied all. He ſent alſo for Secretary *Cecil*, and told him he ſuſpected there was an ill deſign againſt him: to which the Secretary anſwered, if he were not in fault, he might truſt to his innocency; but if he were, he had nothing to ſay but to lament him.

All this was told the King with such Circumstances, that he was induced to believe it; and the probity of his disposition wrought in him a great aversion to his Unkle; when he looked on him as a Conspirator against the Lives of the other Counsellors: and so he resolved to leave him to the Law. *Palmer* being a second time examined, said, That Sir *Ralph Vane* was to have brought 2000 Men, who, with the Duke of *Somersets* 100 Horse, where on a Muster-day to have set on the Gendarmory; that being done, the Duke resolved to have gone thorough the City, and proclaimed Liberty, Liberty: and if his attempt did not succed, to have fled to the Isle of *Wight*, or to *Pool*. *Crane* confirmed all that *Palmer* had said; to which he added, That the Earl of *Arundel* was privy to the Conspiracy: and that the thing had been executed, but that the greatness of the Enterprise had caused delays, and sometimes diversity of advice: and that the Duke, being once given out to be sick, had gone privately to *London*, to see what Friends he could make. *Hamond* being examined, confessed nothing, but that the Dukes Chamber at *Greenwich* had been guarded in the night, by many Armed Men. Upon this Evidence, both the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget* were sent to the *Tower*. The Earl had been one of the chief of those who had joyned with the Earl of *Warwick* to pull down the Protector; and being, as he thought, ill rewarded by him, was become his Enemy. So this part of the Information seemed very credible. The thing lay in suspence till the first of *December*, that the Duke of *Somerset* was brought to his Trial: where the Marques of *Winchester* was Lord Steward. The Peers that judged him, were twenty seven in number. The Dukes of *Suffolk*, and *Northumberland*, the Marques of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bath*, *Sussex*, *Worcester*, *Pembroke*, and the Viscount of *Hereford*, the Lords *Abergaveny*, *Audley*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Souch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcy*, *Sturton*, *Windsor*, *Cromwell*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*. The Crimes laid against him, were cast into five several Indictments, as the King has it in his Journal; but the Record mentions only three, whether Indictments or Articles is not so clear. That he had designed to have seized on the Kings Person, and so have governed all Affairs, and that he with one hundred others intended to have imprisoned the Earl of *Warwick*, afterwards Duke of *Northumberland*, and that he had designed to have raised an Insurrection in the City of *London*. Now by the Act that passed in the last Parliament, if twelve Persons should have assembled together to have killed any Privy-Counsellor, and upon Proclamation they had not dispersed themselves, it was Treason: or if such Twelve had been by any malicious Artifice brought together, for any Riot, and being warned, did not disperse themselves, it was Felony, without benefit of Clergy or Sanctuary. It seemed very strange that the three Peers, *Northumberland*, *Northampton*, and *Pembroke*, who were his professed Enemies, and against the first of whom it was pretended in the Indictment that he had conspired, should sit his Judges: for though by the Law no Peer can be challenged in a Trial, yet the Law of Nations, that is Superior to all other Laws, makes, that a Man cannot be Judge in his own Cause: and which was very unusual, the Lord Chancellor, though then a Peer, was left out of the number; but it is like the Reconciliation between the Duke of *Somerset* and him was then suspected, which made him not be called to be one of his Judges.

1551

The King is possessed against him.

He is brought to his Trial.

1551. The Duke of *Somerset* being, it seems, little acquainted with Law, did not desire Council to plead, or assist him in Point of Law; but only answered to matters of Fact. He prefaced, that he desired no advantage might be taken against him, for any idle or angry word that might have at any time fallen from him. He protested he never intended to have raised the Northern Parts, but had only upon some reports sent to Sir *William Herbert* to be his Friend: that he had never determined to have killed the Duke of *Northumberland*, or any other Person, but had only talked of it, without any intention of doing it: that for the design of destroying the Gendarmoury, it was ridiculous to think that he with a small Troop could destroy so strong a Body of Men, consisting of 900; in which, though he had succeeded, it could have signified nothing: that he never designed to raise any stirs in *London*, but had always looked on it as a Place where he was most safe: that his having Men about him in *Greenwich* was with no ill design, since when he could have done mischief with them, he had not done it; but upon his Attachment rendred himself a Prisoner, without any resistance. He objected also many things against the Witnesses, and desired they might be brought face to face. He particularly spake much against Sir *Tho. Palmer*, the chief Witness. But the Witnesses were not brought, only their Examinations were read: Upon this, the Kings Council pleaded against him, that to levy War was certainly Treason; that to gather Men with intention to kill Privy-Counsellors was also Treason; that to have Men about him to resist the Attachment was Felony; and to assault the Lords, or contrive their deaths, was Felony. Whether he made any defence in Law, or not, does not appear: For the material defence, is not mentioned in all the accounts I have seen of it; which was, that these Conspiracies, and gatherings of the Kings Subjects were only treasonable and felonious, after they had been required to disperse themselves, and had refused to give obedience. And in all this matter, that is never so much as alledged, no not in the Indictment it self, to have been done. It is plain it was not done: For if any such Proclamation, or Charge, had been sent him, it is probable he would either have obeyed it, or gone into *London*, or to the Country, and tryed what he could have done by force: but to have refused such a command, and so to have come within the guilt of Treason, and yet not to stir from his House, are not things consistent.

When the Peers withdrew, it seems the Proofs about his design of raising the North, or the City, or of the killing the Gendarmes, did not satisfie them. For all these had been without question treasonable. So they only held to that Point of conspiring to imprison the Duke of *Northumberland*. If he, with Twelve Men about him, had conspired to do that, and had continued together after Proclamation, it was certainly Felony. But that not being pretended, it seems there was no Proclamation made. The Duke of *Suffolk* was of opinion, that no contention among private Subjects should be on any account screwed up to be Treason. The Duke of *Northumberland* said, he would never consent that any practice against him, should be reputed Treason. After a great difference of Opinion, they all acquitted him of Treason. But the greater number found him guilty of Felony. When they returned him not guilty of Treason, all the People who were much concerned for his

And is acquitted of Treason, but found guilty of Felony.

preser-

preſervation, ſhouted for joy, ſo loud, and ſo long, that they were heard at *Charing-Croſs*. But the joy laſted not long, when they heard that he was condemned of Felony, and Sentence was thereupon given that he ſhould die as a Felon. 1551.

The Duke had carried himſelf all the while of the Trial with great temper and patience; and though the Kings Council had, in their uſual way of Pleading, been very bitter againſt him; perhaps the rather, that thereby they might recommend themſelves to the Duke of *Northumberland*; yet he never took notice of theſe reflections, nor ſeemed much affected with them. When Sentence was given, he thanked the Lords for their favour, and asked pardon of the Duke of *Northumberland*, *Northampton*, and *Pembroke*, for his ill intentions againſt them; and made ſuit for his Life, and for his Wife, and Children. From thence he was carried back to the *Tower*. Whether this asking the Lords pardon, had in it a full Confeſſion of the Crime charged on him, or was only a complement to them, that they might not obſtruct his Pardon, is but a matter of conjecture. He confeſſed he had ſpoken of killing them, and this made it reaſonable enough for him to ask their Pardon; ſo that it does not imply a Confeſſion of the Crime. All People thought, that being acquitted of Treaſon, and there being no fellonious Action done by him, but only an intention of one, and that only of Impriſoning a Peer, proved; that one ſo nearly joyned to the King in Blood, would never be put to death on ſuch an occaſion. But to poſſeſs the King much againſt him, a Story was brought him, and put by him in his Journal; That at the Dukes coming to the Tower, he had confeſſed, that he had hired one *Bartuile* to kill the Lords; and that *Bartuile* himſelf acknowledged it; and that *Hammond* knew of it. But whether this was deviſed to alienate the King wholly from him, or whether it was true, I can give no aſſurance But though it was true, it was Felony in *Bartuile*, if he were the Kings Servant; but not in the Duke, who was a Peer. Yet no doubt this gave the King a very ill opinion of his Uncle, and ſo made him more eaſily conſent to his execution: ſince all ſuch Conſpiracies are things of that inhumane and barbarous cruelty, that it is ſcarce poſſible to puniſh them too ſeverely: But it is certain, that there was no Evidence at all of any deſign to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, otherwiſe the Indictment had not been laid againſt him, only for deſigning to ſeize on, and impriſon him, as it was; the conſpiring to kill him not being ſo much as mentioned in the Indictment, but it was maliciouſly given out to poſſeſs the World, and chiefly the King againſt him.

See the Indictment. *Cokes Entries, fol.* 482.

The King alſo in his Letter to *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*, who was like to be his favourite, and was then ſent over for his breeding into *France*, writ, that the Duke ſeemed to have acknowledged the Felony, and that after Sentence he had confeſſed it, though he had formerly vehemently ſworn the contrary. From whence it is plain, that the King was perſwaded of his being guilty. Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Tho. Arundel*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Miles Partridge*, were next brought to their Trials. The firſt, and the laſt of theſe, were little pitied. For, as all great Men have People about them, who make uſe of their greatneſs only for their own ends, without regarding their Maſters Honour, or true Intereſt; ſo they were the Perſons upon whom the ill things which had been done by the Duke of *Somerſet* were chiefly caſt. But Sir *Tho. Arundel* was much pitied,

Some of his Friends alſo condemned.

1551. pitied, and had hard measure in his Trial, which began at seven a Clock in the Morning, and continued till Noon. Then the Jury went aside, and they did not agree on their Verdict, till next morning, when those who thought him not guilty, yet, for preserving their own Lives, were willing to yield to the fierceness of those who were resolved to have him found guilty. Sir *Ralph Vane* was the most lamented of them all. He had done great Services in the Wars, and was esteemed one of the bravest Gentlemen of the Nation. He pleaded for himself, that he had done his Country considerable Service during the Wars; though now in time of Peace, the Coward and the Couragious were equally esteemed. He scorned to make any submissions for Life. But this height of mind in him did certainly set forward his condemnation, and to add more infamy to him in the manner of his Death, he and *Partridge* were hanged, whereas the other two were beheaded.

The Seals are taken from the Lord *Rich.*

The Duke of *Somerset* was using means to have the King better informed, and disposed towards him; and engaged the Lord Chancellor to be his Friend: who thereupon sent him an Advertisement of somewhat designed against him by the Council, and being in hast, writ only on the back of his Letter, *to the Duke*; and bid one of his Servants carry it to the *Tower*, without giving him particular directions to the Duke of *Somerset*. But his Servant having known of the familiarities between his Master and the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was still in the *Tower*; and knowing none between him and the other Duke carried the Letter to the Duke of *Norfolk*. When the Lord Chancellor found the mistake at night, he knew the Duke of *Norfolk*, to make *Northumberland* his Friend, would certainly discover him; so he went in all hast to the King, and desired to be discharged of his Office, and thereby prevented the malice of his Enemies: and upon this he fell sick, either pretending he was ill, that it might raise the more pity for him, or perhaps the fright in which he was did really cast him into sickness. So the Seal was sent for, by the Marques of *Winchester*, the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Darcy*, on the 21*st.* of *December*, and put into the Hands of

And given to the Bishop of *Ely.*

the Bishop of *Ely*, who was made Keeper during pleasure: And when the Session of Parliament came on, he was made Lord Chancellor. But this was much censured: When the Reformation was first preached in *England*, *Tindal*, *Barns*, and *Latimer*, took an occasion, from the great Pomp and Luxury of Cardinal *Wolsey*, and the Secular Imployments of the other Bishops and Clergy-men, to represent them as a sort of Men that had wholly neglected the care of Souls, and those spiritual Studies and Exercises that disposed men to such Functions; and only carried the Names of Bishops and Church-men, to be a Colour to serve their Ambition and Covetousness. And this had raised great prejudices in the Minds of the People against those who were called their Pastors, when they saw them fill their Heads with cares, that were at least impertinent to their Callings if not inconsistent with the Duties that belonged to them. So now upon *Goodrick*'s being made Lord Chancellor, that was a Reformed Bishop, it was said by their Adversaries, these Men only condemned Secular Imployments in the Hands of Church-men, because their Enemies had them, but changed their mind as soon as any of their own Party came to be advanced to them. But as *Goodrick* was raised by the Popish Interest in opposition to the Duke of *Somerset*, and to *Cranmer*, that

was

was his firm Friend; ſo it appeared in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, that he was ready to turn with every Tide: and that whether he joyned in the Reformation only in compliance to the time, or was perſwaded in his mind concerning it; yet he had not that ſenſe of it that became a Biſhop, and was one of theſe who reſolved to make as much advantage by it as he could, but would ſuffer nothing for it. So his practice in this matter is neither a Precedent to juſtifie the like in others, nor can it caſt a ſcandal on thoſe to whom he joyned himſelf. Chriſt being ſpoke to to divide an Inheritance between two Brethren, ſaid, *Who made me a Judge, or a Divider?* St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of Church-men, ſays, *No Man that warreth intangleth himſelf with the Affairs of this Life:* which was underſtood by St. *Cyprian* as a perpetual Rule againſt the Secular Imployments of the Clergy. There are three of the Apoſtolical Canons againſt it: and *Cyprian* reckoning upon the ſins of his time, that had provoked God to ſend a Perſecution on the Church, names this, that many Biſhops forſaking their Sees, undertook Secular Cares. In which he was ſo ſtrict, that he thought the being Tutor to Orphans was a diſtraction unſutable to their Character: ſo that one Prieſt leaving another Tutor to his Children, becauſe by the *Roman* Law, he to whom this was left was obliged to undergo it, The Prieſt's Name who made that Teſtament was appointed to be ſtruck out of the Liſt of thoſe Church-men who had died in the Faith, and were remembred in the daily Offices. *Samoſatenus* is repreſented as one of the firſt eminent Church-men that involved himſelf much in Secular Cares. Upon the Emperors turning Chriſtian, it was a natural effect of their Converſion for them to cheriſh the Biſhops much, and many of the Biſhops became ſo much in love with the Court and publick Imployments, that Canons were made againſt their going to Court, unleſs they were called, and the *Canaliis* or Road to the Court was kept by the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſo that none might go without his Warrant. Their medling in Secular Matters was alſo condemned in many Provincial Councils, but moſt copiouſly and amply by the General Council at *Chalcedon*. It is true, the Biſhops had their Courts for the Arbitration of Civil Differences: which were firſt begun upon St. *Pauls* Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, againſt their going to Law before Unbelievers, and for ſubmitting their Sutes to ſome among themſelves. The Reaſons of this ceaſed when the Judges in the Civil Courts were become Chriſtians; yet theſe Epiſcopal Audiences were ſtill continued after *Conſtantines* time, and their Juriſdiction was ſometimes enlarged, and ſometimes abridged, as there was occaſion given. St. *Auſtin*, and many other Holy Biſhops, grew weary even of that, and found, that the hearing Cauſes, as it took up much of their time, ſo filled their Heads with thoughts of another nature than what properly belonged to them. 1551.

The Biſhops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* taking advantage from the greatneſs and Wealth of their Sees, began firſt to eſtabliſh a Secular Principality of the Church; and the Confuſions that fell out in *Italy* after the *5th. Century*, gave the Biſhops of *Rome* great opportunities for it, which they improved to the utmoſt advantage. The Revolutions in *Spain* gave a Riſe to the *Spaniſh* Biſhops medling much in all Civil Matters. And when *Charles* the Great and his Son had given great Territories and large Juriſdictions to many Sees and Monaſteries, Biſhops and Abbots

1551. bots came after that not only to have a ſhare in all the publick Councils of moſt of the States of *Europe*, to which their Lands gave them a Right, but to be chiefly imployed in all Affairs and Offices of State. The Ignorance of theſe Ages made this in a manner neceſſary: and Church-Preferments were given as Rewards to Men who had ſerved in the State in Embaſſies, or in their Princes Courts of Juſtice. So that it was no wonder if Men advanced upon that merit continued in their former Method and courſe of Life. Thus the Biſhops became for the greateſt part only a ſort of Men who went in peculiar Habits, and upon ſome high Feſtivities performed a few Offices; but for the Paſtoral care, and all the Duties incumbent on them, they were univerſally neglected: and that ſerioufneſs, that abſtraction from the World, that application to Study and Religious Exerciſes, and chiefly the care of Souls, which became their Function, ſeemed inconſiſtent with that courſe of Life which Secular Cares brought on Men who purſued them. Nor was it eaſie to perſwade the World, that their Paſtors did very much aſpire to Heaven, when they were thruſting themſelves ſo indecently into the Courts of Princes, or ambitiouſly pretending to the Adminiſtration of Matters of State; and it was always obſerved, that Church-men who aſſumed to themſelves Imployments, and an Authority that was excentrick to their Callings, ſuffered ſo much in that Eſteem, and loſt ſo much of that Authority, which of right belonged to their Character and Office.

But to go on with the Series of Affairs. There was all poſſible care taken to divert and entertain the Kings Mind with pleaſing Sights, as will appear by his Journal, which it ſeems had the effect that was deſired, for he was not much concerned in his Unkles Preſervation.

1552. An Order was ſent for beheading the Duke of *Somerſet* on the 22d of *January*, on which day he was brought to the Place of Execution on *Tower-hill*. His whole deportment was very compoſed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been: he firſt kneeled down, and prayed; and then he ſpake to the People in theſe words.

The Duke of *Somerſet*'s Speech at his Execution.

" Dearly beloved Friends, I am brought here to ſuffer death, albeit
" that I never offended againſt the King neither by word nor deed; and
" have been always as faithful and true to this Realm, as any Man hath
" been. But, for ſo much as I am by Law condemned to die, I do ac-
" knowledge my ſelf, as well as others, to be ſubject thereto. Where-
" fore, to teſtifie my obedience which I owe unto the Laws, I am come
" hither to ſuffer death: whereunto I willingly offer my ſelf, with moſt
" hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this time of Repentance;
" who might through ſudden death have taken away my Life, that nei-
" ther I ſhould have acknowledged him, nor my ſelf. Moreover, there
" is yet ſomewhat that I muſt put you in mind of, as touching Chriſtian
" Religion; which, ſo long as I was in Authority, I always diligently
" ſet forth, and furthered to my power; neither repent I me of my
" doings, but rejoyce therein, ſith that now the State of Chriſtian Reli-
" gion cometh moſt near unto the Form and Order of the Primitive
" Church: which thing I eſteem as a great benefit given of God both
" to you and me; moſt heartily exhorting you all, that this which is
" moſt purely ſet forth to you, you will with like thankfulneſs accept and
" embrace, and ſet out the ſame in your living; which thing if you do
" not, withoutdoubt greater miſchief and calamity will follow.

Whe

Anglia Protector, Avunculus, Capitc
Edwardi Regis truncatus 22 Jā: 1552

Printed for Richard Chiſwell at the Roſe and Crowne in St Pauls Church

When he had gone ſo far, there was an extraordinary noiſe heard, as if ſome Houſe had been blown up with Gun-powder; which frighted all the People, ſo that many run away, they knew not for what: and the Relator, who tarried ſtill, ſays, it brought into his remembrance the aſtoniſhment that the band was in that came to take our Saviour, who thereupon fell backwards to the ground. At the ſame time Sir *Ant. Brown* came riding towards the Scaffold, and they all hoped he had brought a Pardon; upon which there was a general ſhouting, *Pardon, Pardon, God ſave the King*; many throwing up their Caps; by which the Duke might well perceive how dear he was to the People. But as ſoon as theſe diſorders were over, he made a Sign to them with his Hand to compoſe themſelves, and then went on in his Speech thus. 1551.

"Dearly beloved Friends, there is no ſuch matter here in hand, as you "vainly hope or believe. It ſeemeth thus good unto Almighty God, "whoſe Ordinance it is meet and neceſſary that we all be obedient to. "Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my "Death; which I am moſt willing to ſuffer. And let us now joyn in "Prayer to the Lord for the preſervation of the Kings Majeſty, unto "whom hitherto I have always ſhewed my ſelf a moſt faithful and firm "Subject. I have always been moſt diligent about his Majeſty, in his Af-"fairs both at home and abroad; and no leſs diligent in ſeeking the com-"mon Commodity of the whole Realm; (upon this the People cried "out *it was moſt true*) unto whoſe Majeſty I wiſh continual health, "with all felicity, and all proſperous ſucceſs. Moreover, I do wiſh unto "all his Counſellors, the Grace and Favour of God, whereby they may "rule in all things uprightly with juſtice: unto whom I exhort you all "in the Lord to ſhew your ſelves obedient, as it is your bounden Duty, "under the pain of condemnation; and alſo moſt profitable for the pre-"ſervation and ſafeguard of the Kings Majeſty. Moreover, for as much "as heretofore I have had Affairs with divers Men, and hard it is to pleaſe "every Man, therefore if there have been any that have been offended "or injured by me, I moſt humbly require and ask him forgiveneſs; but "eſpecially Almighty God, whom throughout all my Life I have moſt "grievouſly offended: and all other whatſoever they be that have offen-"ded me, I do with my whole Heart forgive them. Then he deſired "them to be quiet, leſt their Tumults might trouble him; and ſaid, Al-"beit the Spirit be willing and ready, the Fleſh is frail and wavering; "and through your quietneſs I ſhall be much more quieter. Moreover, "I deſire you all to bear me witneſs, that I die here in the Faith of Jeſus "Chriſt, deſiring you to help me with your Prayers, that I may perſevere "conſtant in the ſame to my lives end.

Then Dr. *Cox*, who was with him on the Scaffold, put a Paper in his Hand, which was a Prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his Knees, then he took leave of all about him, and undreſſed himſelf to be fitted for the Axe. In all which there appeared no change in him, only his Face was a little rudier than ordinary: he continued calling, *Lord Jeſus ſave me*, till the Executioner ſevered his Head from his Body. His Death.

Thus fell the Duke of *Somerſet:* a Perſon of great Vertues, eminent for Piety, humble, and affable in his greatneſs, ſincere and candid in all his Tranſactions. He was a better Captain, than a Counſellor: had been oft ſucceſsful in his undertakings, was always careful of the Poor and And Character.

1551 the Oppreſſed, and in a word, had as many Vertues, and as few faults, as moſt great Men, eſpecially when they were ſo unexpectedly advanced, have ever had. It was generally believed, that all this pretended Conſpiracy, upon which he was condemned, was only a forgery. For both *Palmer*, and *Crane*, the chief Witneſſes, were ſoon after diſcharged, as were alſo *Bartuile*, and *Hamond*, with all the reſt that had been made Priſoners on the pretence of this Plot. And the Duke of *Northumberland* continued after that in ſo cloſe a friendſhip with *Palmer*, that it was generally believed he had been corrupted to betray him. And indeed, the not bringing the Witneſſes into the Court, but only the Depoſitions, and the Parties ſitting Judges, gave great occaſion to condemn the Proceedings againſt him. For it was generally thought, that all was an Artifice of *Palmers*, who had put the Duke of *Somerſet* in fears of his Life, and ſo got him to gather Men about him for his own preſervation; and that he afterwards being taken with him, ſeemed through fear to acknowledge all that which he had before contrived. This was more confirmed by the death of the other four formerly mentioned, who were executed on the 26*th* of *February*, and did all proteſt they had never been guilty of any deſign, either againſt the King, or to kill the Lords. *Vane* added, That his Blood would make *Northumberland*'s Pillow uneaſie to him. The People were generally much affected with this Execution; and many threw Handkerchiefs into the Duke of *Somerſets* Blood, to preſerve it in remembrance of him. One Lady, that met the Duke of *Northumberland* when he was led through the City in Queen *Maries* Reign, ſhaking one of theſe Bloody Handkerchiefs, ſaid, Behold the Blood of that worthy Man, that good Unkle of that excellent King, which was ſhed by thy malicious practice, doth now begin apparently to revenge itſelf on thee. Sure it is, that *Northumberland*, as having maliciouſly contrived this, was ever after hated by the People.

But on the other hand, great notice was taken that the Duke of *Norfolk*, (who, with his Son the Earl of *Surrey*, were believed to have fallen in all their miſery, by the Duke of *Somerſets* means,) did now out-live him, and ſaw him fall by a Conſpiracy of his own Servants, as himſelf and his Son had done. The Proceeding againſt his Brother was alſo remembred, for which many thought the Judgments of God had overtaken him. Others blamed him for being too apt to convert things Sacred to his own uſe, and becauſe a great part of his Eſtate was raiſed out of the Spoils of many Churches: and ſome late Writers have made an Inference from this, upon his not claiming the Benefit of Clergy, that he was thus left of God not to plead that Benefit, ſince he had ſo much invaded the Rights and Revenues of the Church. But in this they ſhewed their ignorance. For by the Statute, that Felony of which he was found guilty, was not to be purged by Clergy. Thoſe who pleaſed themſelves in comparing the events in their own times, with the Tranſactions of the former Ages, found out many things to make a parallel between the Duke of *Somerſet*, and *Humphrey* the good Duke of *Gloceſter* in *Henry* the 6*th*'s time; but I ſhall leave the Reader in that to his own obſervation.

Now was the Duke of *Northumberland* abſolute at Court, all Offices being filled with thoſe that were his Aſſociates. But here I ſtop to give a general view of Affairs beyond Sea this year, though I have a little tranſgreſſed

The Affairs of *Germany.*

greſſed the bounds of it, to give an account of the Duke of *Somerſets* Fall altogether. The Siege of *Magdeburg* went on in *Germany*. But it was coldly followed by *Maurice*, who had now other deſigns. He had agreed with the *French* King, who was both to give him aſſiſtance, and to make War on the Emperor, at the ſame time when he ſhould begin. *Ferdinand* was alſo not unwilling to ſee his Brothers greatneſs leſſened; for he was preſſing him, not without threatnings, to lay down his Dignity; as King of the *Romans*, and thought to have eſtabliſhed it on his Son. All the other Princes of *Germany* were alſo oppreſſed by him, ſo that they were diſpoſed to enter into any alliance for the ſhaking off of that Yoke. *Maurice* did alſo ſend over to try the inclinations of *England*; if they would joyn with him, and contribute 400000 Dollars towards the expence of a War, for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and recovering the liberty of *Germany*. The Ambaſſadors were only ſent to try the Kings mind, but were not empow'red to conclude any thing. They were ſent back with a good Anſwer, That the King would moſt willingly joyn in alliance with them that were of the ſame Religion with himſelf; but he deſired, that the matter of Religion might be plainly ſet down, leſt under the pretence of that, War ſhould be made for other Quarrels. He deſired them alſo to communicate their deſigns with the other Princes, and then to ſend over others more fully empow'red. *Maurice*, ſeeing ſuch Aſſiſtances ready for him, reſolved, both to break the Emperors deſigns, and by leading on a new League againſt him, to make himſelf more acceptable to the Empire, and thereby to ſecure the Electoral Dignity in his Family. So after *Magdeburg* had endured a long Siege, he, giving a ſecret intimation to ſome Men in whom they confided, perſwaded them about the end of *November* to ſurrender to him; and then broke up his Army: but they fell into the Dominions of ſeveral of the Popiſh Princes, and put them under very heavy Contributions. This alarumed all the Empire, only the Emperor himſelf, by a fatal ſecurity, did not apprehend it, till it came ſo near him, that he was almoſt ruined before he dreamed of any danger. 1551.

This Year the Tranſactions of *Trent* were remarkable. The Pope had called the Council to meet there, and the firſt of *May* this year there was a Seſſion held. There was a War now broken out, between the Pope, and the King of *France*, on this occaſion. The Pope had a mind to have *Parma* in his own Hands, but that Prince, fearing that he would keep it, as the Emperor did *Placentia*, and ſo he ſhould be ruined between them, implored the Protection of *France*, and received a *French* Garriſon for his ſafety. Upon this, the Pope cited him to *Rome* declaring him a Traitor if he appeared not: and this engaged the Pope in a War with *France*. At firſt he ſent a threatning Meſſage to that King, that if he would not reſtore *Parma* to him, he would take *France* from him. Upon this the King of *France* proteſted againſt the Council of *Trent*, and threatned that he would call a National Council in *France*. The Council was adjourned to the 10*th* of *September*. In the mean while the Emperor preſſed the *Germans* to go to it. So *Maurice*, and the other Princes of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, ordered their Divines to conſider of the matters which they would propoſe to the Council. The Electors of *Mentz* and *Trier* went to *Trent*. But the King of *France* Proceedings at *Trent*.

1551 ſent the Abbot of *Belloſana* thither, to make a Proteſtation, that by reaſon of the War that the Pope had raiſed, he could not ſend his Biſhops to the Council: and that therefore he would not obſerve their Decrees: (for they had declared in *France*, that abſent Churches were not bound to obey the Decrees of a Council: for which many Authorities were cited from the Primitive time.) But at *Trent* they proceeded for all this, and appointed the Articles about the Euchariſt to be firſt examined: and the Preſidents recommended to the Divines, to handle them according to Scripture, Tradition, and Ancient Authors, and to avoid unprofitable curioſities. The *Italian* Divines did not like this. For they ſaid, to argue ſo, was but an Act of the memory, and was an old and inſufficient way, and would give great advantage to the *Lutherans*, who were skilled in the Tongues; but the School-Learning was a myſtical and ſublime way, in which it was eaſier to ſet off or conceal matters as was expedient. But this was done to pleaſe the *Germans*: And, at the ſuite of the Emperor, the matter of Communicating in both kinds was poſtponed, till the *German* Divines could be heard. A ſafe Conduct was deſired, by the *Germans*, not only from the Emperor, but from the Council. For at *Conſtance*, *John Huſs*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, were burnt, upon this pretence, that they had not the Councils ſafe conduct; and therefore when the Council of *Baſil* called for the *Bohemians*, they ſent them a ſafe Conduct, beſides that which the Emperor gave them. So the Princes deſired one in the ſame Form that was granted by thoſe of *Baſil*. One was granted by the Council, which in many things differed from that of *Baſil*; particularly in one Clauſe, that all things ſhould be determined according to the Scriptures, which was in that ſafe Conduct of *Baſil*, but was now left out. In *October* an Ambaſſador from the Elector of *Brandenburg* came to *Trent*, who was endeavouring to get his Son ſetled in the Arch-biſhoprick of *Magdeburg*, which made him more compliant. In his firſt Addreſs to the Council, he ſpake of the reſpect his Maſter had to the Fathers in it, without a word of ſubmitting to their Decrees. But in the Anſwer that was made in the Name of the Council, it was ſaid, they were glad he did ſubmit to them, and would obey their Decrees. This being afterwards complained of, it was ſaid, that they anſwered him according to what he ſhould have ſaid, and not according to what he had ſaid. But in the mean while, the Council publiſhed their Decrees about the Euchariſt; in the firſt part of which, they defined, that the way of the Preſence could hardly be expreſſed, and yet they called Tranſubſtantiation a fit term for it. But this might be well enough defended, ſince that was a thing as hard to be either expreſſed or underſtood, as any thing they could have thought on. They went on next to examine Confeſſion, and Penitence. And now, as the Divines handled the matter, they found the gathering Proofs out of Scripture grew endleſs and trifling; for there was not a place in Scripture where *I confeſs* was to be found, but they drew it in to prove Auricular Confeſſion. From that they went on to Extream Unction. But then came the Ambaſſadors of the Duke of *Wittenberg*, another Prince of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, and ſhewed their Mandate to the Emperors Ambaſſadors; who deſired them to carry it to the Preſidents; but they refuſed to do that; ſince it was contrary to the Proteſtation, which the Princes of their Confeſſion had made againſt a Council in which the Pope ſhould preſide.

preſide. On the 25*th* of *November* they publiſhed the Decree of the neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion, that ſo the Prieſt might thereby know how to proportion the Penance to the ſin. It was much cenſured, to ſee it defined that Chriſt had inſtituted Confeſſion to a Prieſt, and not ſhew'd where or how it was inſtituted. And the reaſon for it, about the proportioning the Penance, was laughed at, ſince it was known what ſlight Penances were univerſally injoyned to expiate the greateſt ſins. But the Ambaſſadors of *Wittenberg* moving that they might have a ſafe Conduct for their Divines to come and propoſe their Doctrine; The Legate anſwered, that they would not upon any terms enter into any Diſputation with them; but if their Divines had any ſcruple, in which they deſired ſatisfaction, with a humble and obedient mind, they ſhould be heard. And for a ſafe Conduct, he thought it was a diſtruſting the Council, to ask any other than what was already granted. Soon after this, there arrived Ambaſſadors from *Strasburg*, and from other five Cities, and thoſe ſent from the Duke of *Saxe* were on their Journey: ſo the Emperor ordered his Ambaſſadors to ſtudy to gain time till they came; and then an effectual courſe muſt be taken for compaſſing that about which he had laboured ſo long in vain to bring it to a happy concluſion. And thus this Year ended. 1551.

The Parliament was opened on the 23*d* of *January*, and ſate till the 15*th* of *April*. So I ſhall begin this Year with the account of the Proceedings in it. The firſt Act that was put into the Houſe of Lords, was for an Order to bring Men to Divine Service; which was agreed to on the 26*th*, and ſent down to the Commons, who kept it long before they ſent it back. On the 6*th* of *April*, when it was agreed to, the Earl of *Darby*, the Biſhops of *Carliſle*, and *Norwich*, and the Lords *Sturton*, and *Windſor*, diſſented. The Lords afterwards brought in another Bill, for authorizing a new Common-Prayer-Book, according to the Alterations which had been agreed on the former Year. This the Commons joyned to the former, and ſo put both in one Act. By it was firſt ſet forth, "That an Order of Divine Service being publiſhed, many did "wilfully abſtain from it, and refuſed to come to their Pariſh-Churches; "therefore all are required, after the Feaſt of *All-hallows* next, to come "every *Sunday* and Holy-day, to Common-Prayers, under pain of the "Cenſures of the Church. And the King, the Lords Temporal, and "the Commons, did in Gods Name require, all Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, "and other Ordinaries, to endeavour the due execution of that Act, as "they would anſwer before God for ſuch Evils and Plagues, with which "he might juſtly puniſh them, for neglecting that good and wholeſome "Law: and they were fully authorized to execute the Cenſures of the "Church on all that ſhould offend againſt this Law. To which is added, "That there had been divers doubts raiſed about the manner of the Miniſtration of the Service, rather by the curioſity of the Miniſters and Miſtakers, than of any other worthy Cauſe; and that for the better explanation "of that, and for the greater perfection of the Service, in ſome places, "where it was fit to make the Prayer and faſhion of Service more earneſt "and fit, to ſtir Chriſtian People to the true honouring of Almighty God; "therefore it had been by the Command of the King and Parliament per-"uſed, explained, and made more perfect. They alſo annexed to it the "Form 1552. A Seſſion of Parliament. An Act authorizing the new Common-Prayer-Book.

1552. "Form of making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and so appointed this "new Book of Service, to be every where received after the Feast of "*All-Saints* next, under the same Penalties that had been enacted three "years before, when the former Book was set out.

Which was much censured.

It was upon this Act said by the Papists, That the Reformation was like to change as oft as the Fashion did: since they seemed never to be at a Point in any thing, but new Models were thus continually framing. To which it was answered, That it was no wonder that the corruptions which they had been introducing for above a thousand years, were not all discovered or thrown out at once; but now the business was brought to a fuller perfection, and they were not like to see any more material Changes. Besides, any that would take the pains to compare the Offices that had been among the Papists, would clearly perceive, that in every Age there was such an encrease of additional Rites and Ceremonies, that though the old ones were still retained, yet it seemed there would be no end of new improvements and additions. Others wondered why the execution of this Law was put off so long as till the end of the Year. All the account I can give of this is, that it was expected that by that time the new Body of the Ecclesiastical Laws, which was now preparing, should be finished; and therefore, since this Act was to be executed by the Clergy; the day, in which it was to be in force, was so long delayed till that Reformation of their Laws were concluded.

An Act concerning Treasons.

On the *8th* of *February* a Bill of Treasons was put in, and agreed to by all the Lords, except the Lord *Wentworth*. It was sent down to the Commons, where it was long disputed; and many sharp things were said of those who now bore the sway; that whereas they who governed in the beginning of this Reign had put in a Bill for lessening the number of such offences, now they saw the change of Councils, when several Laws were proposed. The Commons at last rejected the Bill, and then drew a new one, which was passed. By it they Enacted, "That if "any should call the King, or any of his Heirs named in the Statute of "the *35th* of his Fathers Reign, Heretick, Schismatick, Tyrant, Infidel, "or Usurper of the Crown; for the first offence they should forfeit "their Goods and Chattels, and be imprisoned during pleasure; for the "second, should be in a *Præmunire*; for the third, should be attainted "of Treason: but any who should advisedly set that out in printing or "writing, was for the first offence to be held a Traitor. And that those who "should keep any of the Kings Castles, Artillery, or Ships, six days after they "were lawfully required to deliver them up, should be guilty of Treason. "that Men might be proceeded against for Treasons committed out of "the Kingdom, as well as in it. They added a Proviso, That none "should be Attainted of Treason on this Act, unless two Witnesses "should come, and to their face averr the Fact for which they were to be "tried; except such as without any violence should confess it: and that "none should be questioned for any thing said or written, but within "three Months after it was done.

This Proviso seems clearly to have been made with relation to the Proceeding against the Duke of *Somerset*, in which the Witnesses were not brought to averr the Evidence to his Face, and by that means he was deprived of all the benefit and advantage which he might have had by cross examining them. It is certain, that though some false Witnesses have

have practiſed the Trade ſo much, that they ſeem to have laid off all ſhame, and have a brow that cannot be daunted; yet for the greateſt part a bright ſerenity and cheerfulneſs attends Innocence, and a lowring dejection betrays the Guilty, when the Innocent and they are confronted together. 1552.

On the 3*d* of *March* a Bill was brought in to the Lords for Holy-days and Faſting days; and ſent down to the Commons on the 15*th* of *March*, by whom it was paſſed, and had the Royal Aſſent. In the Preamble it is ſet forth, "That Men are not at all times ſo ſet on the performance of "Religious Duties as they ought to be; which made it neceſſary that there "ſhould be ſet times, in which labour was to eeaſe, that Men might on "theſe days wholly ſerve God: which days were not to be accounted "holy of their own nature, but were ſo called, becauſe of the Holy "Duties then to be ſet about; ſo that the Sanctification of them (was "not any Magical Vertue in that time, but) conſiſted in the dedicating "them to Gods Service: that no day was dedicated to any Saint; but "only to God, in remembrance of ſuch Saints: that the Scripture had "not determined the number of Holy-days, but that theſe were left to "the liberty of the Church. Therefore they Enact, That all *Sundays*, "with the days marked in the Calendar and Liturgy, ſhould be kept as "Holy-days: and the Biſhops were to proceed by the Cenſures of the "Church againſt the diſobedient. A Proviſo was added for the obſervation of St. *George*'s Feaſt by the Knights of the Garter; and another, That Labourers or Fiſher-men might, if need ſo required, work on thoſe days either in or out of Harveſt. The Eves before Holy-days were to be kept as Faſts; and in *Lent*, and on *Fridays* and *Saturdays*, abſtinence from Fleſh was Enacted: but if a Holy-day fell to be on a *Munday*, the Eve for it was to be kept on *Saturday*, ſince *Sunday* was never to be a Faſting-day. But it was generally obſerved, that in this and all ſuch Acts, the People were ready enough to lay hold on any relaxation made by it, but did very ſlightly obſerve the ſtricter parts of it: ſo that the liberty left to Tradeſ-men to work in caſes of neceſſity, was carried further than it was intended, to a too publick profanation of the time ſo ſanctified; and the other parts of it, directing the People to a conſcientious obſerving of ſuch times, was little minded.

An Act about Faſts and Holy-days.

On the 5*th*. of *March*, a Bill concerning the relief of the Poor was put into the Houſe of Lords: the Form of paſſing it has given occaſion to ſome to take notice, that though it is a Bill for taxing the Subjects; yet it had its firſt birth in the Lords Houſe, and was agreed to by the Commons. By it the Church-wardens were empow'red to gather charitable Collections for the Poor; and if any did refuſe to contribute, or did diſſwade others from it, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs was to proceed againſt them. On the 9*th*. of *March* the Biſhops put in a Bill for the ſecurity of the Clergy from ſome ambiguous words that were in the ſubmiſſion which the Convocation had made to King *Henry* in the 21*ſt* year of his Reign: by which they were under a *Præmunire*, if they did any things in their Courts contrary to the Kings Prerogative; which was thought hard, ſince ſome through ignorance might tranſgreſs. Therefore it was deſired, that no Prelate ſhould be brought under a *Præmunire*, unleſs they had proceeded in any thing after they were prohibited by the Kings Writ. To this the Lords conſented, but it was let fall by the Commous.

There

1552. An Act for the Marriage of the Clergy.

There was another Act brought in for the Marriage of the Clergy which was agreed to by the Lords; the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, Rutland, and *Bath*, and the Lords *Abergaveny*, *Stourton*, *Mounteagle*, *Sandys*, *Windsor*, and *Wharton*, protesting against it. The Commons also passed it, and it was assented to by the King. By it was set forth, "That many took "occasion from words in the Act formerly made about this matter, to "say, that it was only permitted, as Usury and other unlawful things "were, for the avoiding greater evils; who thereupon spake slanderously of such Marriages, and accounted the Children begotten in "them to be Bastards; to the high dishonour of the King, and Parliament, and the Learned Clergy of the Realm, who had determined "that the Laws against Priests Marriages were most unlawful by the "Law of God; to which they had not only given their Assent in the "Convocation, but Signed it with all their Hands. These slanders did "also occasion, that the Word of God was not heard with due reverence: whereupon it was Enacted, That such Marriages, made according to the Rules prescribed in the Book of Service, should be esteemed good and valid, and that the Children begot in them should be inheritable according to Law.

The Marques of *Northampton* did also put in a Bill for confirming his Marriage, which was passed: only the Earl of *Darby*, the Bishops of *Carlisle*, and *Norwich*, and the Lord *Stourton*, dissented. By it, the Marriage is declared lawful, as by the Law of God indeed it was; any Decretal, Canon, Ecclesiastical Law, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. This occasioned another Act, That no Man might put away his Wife, and marry another, unless he were formerly divorced; to which the Bishop of *Norwich* dissented; because he was of opinion, that a Divorce did not break the Marriage-Bond. But this Bill fell in the House of Commons, being thought not necessary, for the Laws were already severe enough against such double Marriages.

An Act against Usury.

By another Act, the Bishoprick of *Westminster* was quite suppressed and re-united to the See of *London*: but the Collegiate Church, with its exempted Jurisdiction, was still continued. Another Bill was put in against Usury; which was sent from the Lords to the Commons, and passed by both, and assented to. By it, an Act passed in Parliament in the 37*th* year of the late Kings Reign, "That none might take above "*per Cent.* for Money lent, was repealed; which, they say, was not intended for the allowing of Usury, but for preventing further inconveniences: and since Usury was by the Word of God forbidden, and set out in "divers places of Scripture as a most odious and detestable vice; which "yet many continued to practice, for the filthy gain they made by it; "therefore from the first of *May* all Usury or gain for Money lent, was to "cease: and whosoever continued to practice to the contrary, were to suffer imprisonment, and to be fined at the Kings pleasure.

This Act has been since repealed, and the gain for Money lent has been several times brought to several regulations. It was much questioned, whether these Prohibitions of Usury by *Moses* were not judicial Laws, which did only bind the Nation of the *Jews*; whose Land being equally divided among the Families by Lot, the making gain by lending Money was forbid to them of that Nation: yet it did not seem to be a thing of its nature sinful, since they might take encrease of a Stranger. The not lending

lending Money on uſe was more convenient for that Nation; which abounding in People, and being ſhut up in a narrow Country, they were neceſſarily to apply themſelves to all the ways of Induſtry for their ſubſiſtence; ſo that every one was, by that Law of not lending upon uſe, forced to employ his Money in the way of Trade or Manufacture, for which they were ſure to have vent, ſince they lay near *Tyre* and *Sidon*, that were then the chief Places of Traffick and Navigation of the World: and without ſuch Induſtry the Soil of *Judea* could not poſſibly have fed ſuch vaſt numbers as lived on it: So that it ſeemed clear that this Law in the Old Teſtament properly belonged to that policy. Yet it came to be looked on by many Chriſtians as a Law of perpetual obligation. It came alſo to be made a part of the Canon Law; and Abſolution could not be given to the breakers of it, without a ſpecial faculty from *Rome*. But for avoiding the ſeverity of the Law, the invention of Mortgages was fallen on; which at firſt, were only purchaſes made, and let back to the owner, for ſuch Rent as the uſe of the Money came to: ſo that the uſe was taken as the Rent of the Land thus bought. And thoſe who had no Land to ſell thus, fell upon another way: The Borrower bought their Goods, to be paid within a Year, (for inſtance an hundred and ten Pound) and ſold them back, for a Sum to be preſently laid down as they ſhould agree, (it may be an hundred Pound;) by this means the one had a hundred Pound in Hand, and the other was to have ten Pound or more at a years end. But this being in the way of Sale, was not called Uſury. This Law was look'd on as impoſſible to be obſerved in a Country, like *England*: and it could not eaſily appear where the immorality lay, of lending Money upon moderate gain, ſuch as held proportion to the value of Land; provided that the perpetual Rule of Chriſtian Equity and Charity were obſerved, which is, not to exact above the proportion duly limited by the Law, and to be merciful in not exacting ſeverally of Perſons who by inevitable accidents have been diſabled from making payment. This digreſſion I thought the more neceſſary, becauſe of the ſcruples that many good and ſtrict Perſons have ſtill in that matter. 1552.

Another Act paſſed both Houſes, againſt all Simoniacal Pactions, the reſervation of Penſions out of Benefices, and the granting Advowſons while the Incumbent was yet alive. It was agreed to by the Lords, the Earls of *Derby*, *Rutland*, and *Suſſex*, the Viſcount *Hereford*, and the Lords *Mounteagle*, *Sands*, *Wharton*, and *Evers*, diſſenting. But upon what reaſon I do not know, the Bill was not aſſented to by the King, who being then ſick, there was a Collection made of the Titles of the Bills which were to have the Royal Aſſent, and thoſe the King Signed, and gave Commiſſion to ſome Lords to paſs them in his Name. Theſe abuſes have been oft complained of, but there have been ſtill new contrivances found out, to elude all Laws againſt Simony: either bargains being made by the Friends of the Parties concerned without their expreſs knowledge; or Bonds of Reſignation given, by which Incumbents lie at the mercy of their Patrons, and in theſe, the faultineſs of ſome Clergy-men, is made the coulour of impoſing ſuch hard terms upon others, and of robbing the Church oftentimes by that means. A Bill againſt Simony.

1552. A Repeal of the Entail of the Duke of *Somersets* Estate.

There was a private Bill put in, about the Duke of *Somersets* Estate, which had been by Act of Parliament entailed on his Son in the 23d Year of the last Kings Reign. On the third of *March* it was sent to the House of Commons, Signed by the King, it was for the Repeal of that Act. Whether the King was so alienated from his Unkle, that this extraordinary thing was done by him for the utter ruine of his Family, or not, I cannot determine: but I rather incline to think it was done in hatred to the Dutchess of *Somerset* and her Issue. For the Estate was entailed on them by that Act of Parliament, in prejudice of the Issue of the former Marriage, of whom are descended the *Seimours* of *Devonshire*; who were disinherited and excluded from the Duke of *Somersets* Honours by his Patents, and from his Estate by Act of Parliament; partly upon some jealousies he had of his former Wife, but chiefly by the power his second Wife had over him. This Bill of Repeal was much opposed in the House, though sent to them in so unusual a way, by the King himself. And though there was on the 8*th.* of *March* a Message sent from the Lords, that they should make haste towards an end of the Parliament, yet still they stuck long upon it; looking on the breaking of Entails that were made by Act of Parliament, as a thing of such consequence that it dissolved the greatest security that the Law of *England* gives for property. It was long argued by the Commons, and was fifteen several days brought in. At last a new Bill was devised, and that was much altered too: it was not quite ended till the day before the Parliament was dissolved. But near the end of the Session, a Proviso was sent from the Lords, to be added to the Bill, confirming the Attainder of the Duke and his Complices. It seems his Enemies would not try this at first, till they had by other things measured their strength in that House; and finding their interest grew there, they adventured on it; but they mistook their measures, for the Commons would not agree to it. In conclusion, the Bill of Repeal was agreed to. But whereas there had been some Writings for a Marriage between the Earl of *Oxfords* Daughter and the Duke of *Somersets* Son, and a Bill was put in for voiding these; upon a division of the House the 28*th.* of *March* there were sixty eight that agreed, and sixty nine that rejected it, so this Bill was cast out. By this we see what a thin House of Commons there was at that time, the whole being but 137 Members. But this was a natural effect of a long Parliament: many of those who were at first chosen, being infirm; and others not willing to put themselves to the charge and trouble of such constant and long attendance. It is also from hence clear, how great an interest the Duke of *Somerset* had in the affections of the Parliament.

The Commons refuse to attaint the Bishop of *Duresme* by Bill.

Another Bill gave a more evident discovery how hateful the Duke of *Northumberland* was to them. The Bishop of *Duresme* was, upon some complaint brought against him of misprision of Treason, put into the *Tower* about the end of *December* last year. What the Particulars were I do not find; but it was visible that the secret reason was, that he being Attainted, the Duke of *Northumberland* intended to have had the Dignities and Jurisdiction of that Principality conferred on himself: so that he should have been made Count Palatine of *Duresme*. *Tonstall* had in all Points given obedience to every Law, and to all the Injunctions that had been made: but had always in Parliament protested against the

changes

changes in Religion; which he thought he might with a good Conſcience ſubmit to and obey; though he could not conſent to them. Only in the matter of the Corporal Preſence, he was ſtill of the old Perſwaſion, and writ about it. But the *Latine* Stile of his Book is much better than the Divinity and Reaſonings in it. So what he would have done, if he had been required to ſubſcribe the Articles that were now agreed on, did not appear, for he was all this while Priſoner. There was a conſtant good correſpondence between *Cranmer* and him: Though in many things they differed in opinion; yet *Tonſtall* was both a Man of candour, and of great moderation, which agreed ſo well with *Cranmers* temper, that no wonder they lived always in good terms. So when the Bill for Attainting him as guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon was paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, on the 31*ſt.* of *March*, being put in on the 28*th.* *Cranmer* ſpeak ſo freely againſt it, that the Duke of *Northumberland* and he were never after that in friendſhip together. What his Arguments were I could not recover; but when he could do no more, he proteſted againſt it, being ſeconded only by the Lord *Stourton*. How it came to paſs that the other Popiſh Lords and Biſhops that proteſted againſt the other Acts of this Parliament, did not joyn in this, I cannot imagine: unleſs it was, that they were the leſs concerned for *Tonſtall*, becauſe *Cranmer* had appeared to be ſo much his friend, or were awed by their fear of offending the Duke of *Northumberland*. But when the Bill was carried down to the Commons, with the Evidences againſt him, which were ſome Depoſitions that had been taken, and brought to the Lords; they who were reſolved to condemn that practice for the future, would not proceed upon it now. So on the fifth of *April* they ordered the Privy-Counſellors of their Houſe, to move the Lords, that his Accuſers and he might be heard face to face: and that not being done, the went no further in the Bill. 1552.

By theſe Indications the Duke of *Northumberland* ſaw how little kindneſs the Houſe of Commons had for him. The Parliament had now ſate almoſt five years, and being called by the Duke of *Somerſet*, his Friends had been generally choſe to be of it. So that it was no wonder, if upon his Fall they were not eaſie to thoſe who had deſtroyed him: nor was there any motion made for their giving the King a Supply. Therefore the Duke of *Northumberland* thought it neceſſary for his Intereſt to call a new Parliament. And accordingly on the 15*th.* of *April* the Parliament was diſſolved; and it was reſolved to ſpend this Summer in making Friends all over *England*, and to have a new Parliament in the opening of the next Year. The Parliament is Diſſolved.

The Convocation at this time agreed to the Articles of Religion that were prepared the laſt Year: which, though they have been often printed, yet ſince they are but ſhort, and of ſo great conſequence to this Hiſtory, I have put them into the Collection, as was formerly told.

Thus the Reformation of Doctrine and Worſhip were brought to their perfection; and were not after this in a tittle mended or altered in this Reign, nor much afterwards; only ſome of the Articles were put in more general words under Queen *Elizabeth*.

Another part of the Reformation was yet unfiniſhed, and it was the chief work of this year: that was, the giving Rules to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and for all things relating to the Government of the Church, A Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Courts conſidered.

1552. and the exercise of the several Functions in it. In the former Volume it was told, that an Act had passed for this effect; yet it had not taken effect, but a Commission was made upon it, and these appointed by King *Henry* had met and consulted about it, and had made some progress in it, as appears by an Original Letter of *Cranmers* to that King in the Year 1545. in which he speaks of it as a thing then almost forgotten, and quite laid aside; for from the time of the six Articles till then, the design of the Reformation had been going backward: At that time the King began to re-assume the thoughts of it, and was resolved to remove some Ceremonies, such as the creeping to the Cross, the ringing of Bells on St. *Andrews* Eve, with other superstitious Practices; for which *Cranmer* sent him the draught of a Letter to be written in the Kings Name, to the two Arch-bishops, and to be by them communicated to the rest of the Clergy. In the Postscript of his Letter he complains much of the sacrilegious waste of the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, where the Dean and Prebendaries had been made to alienate many of their Mannours upon Letters obtained by Courtiers from the King, as if the Lands had been desired for the Kings use: upon which they had surrendred those Lands, which were thereupon disposed of to the Courtiers that had an Eye upon them. This Letter should have come in in the former Volume, but I had not seen it then, so I took hold on this Occasion to direct the Reader to it in the *Collection*.

Collection Number 61.

It was also formerly told, that an Act had passed in this Reign, to empower thirty two Persons, who should be named by the King, to make a Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws, which was to be finished within three years. But the Revolutions of Affairs, and the other more pressing things that were still uncompleated, had kept them hitherto from setting to that work. On the first of *November* last year, a Commission was given to eight Persons to prepare the matter for the review of the two and thirty, that so it might be more easily compiled, being in a few hands, than could well be done, if so many had been to set about it. These eight were, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Cox*, and *Peter Martyr*, two Divines, Dr. *May*, and Dr. *Taylor*, two Doctors of the Law, and *John Lucas*, and *Richard Goodrick*, two Common Lawyers. But on the 14*th*. of *November* the Commission was renewed, and the Bishop of *London* was named in the room of the Bishop of *Ely*; one *Traheron* in the room of *May*; and *Gosnald* in *Goodrick's* room. These, it seems, desiring more time than one year to finish it in, for two of the years were now lapsed, in the last Session of the Parliament they had three years more time offered them. But it seems the Work was believed to be in such a forwardness, that this continuation was not judged necessary, for the Royal Assent was not given to that Act. After the Parliament was ended, they made haste with it. But I find it said in the Preface to the Book, as it was printed in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, that *Cranmer* did the whole Work almost himself: which will justifie the Character some give of him, that he was the greatest Canonist then in *England*. Dr. *Haddon*, that was University Orator in *Cambridge*, and Sir *Jo. Cheek*, were employed to put it in *Latin*. And they did so imitate the Stile of the *Roman* Laws, that any who reads the Book, will fancy himself to be reading a Work of the purer Ages of that State, when their Language was not yet corrupted with

these

theſe barbarous terms which the mixture of other Nations brought in, and made it no where more nauſeouſly rude than in the Canon Law. 1552.

The Work was digeſted and caſt into fifty one Titles: to bring it near the Number of the Books of the Pandects, into which *Juſtinian* had digeſted the *Roman* Law. It was prepared by *February* this year, and a Commiſſion was granted to thirty two Perſons, of whom the former eight were a part: conſiſting of eight Biſhops, eight Divines, among whom *John a Laſco* was one, eight Civilians, and eight Common Lawyers. They were to reviſe, correct, and perfect the Work, and ſo to preſent it to the King. They divided themſelves into four Claſſes, eight to a Claſſis; and every one of theſe were to prepare their Corrections, and ſo to communicate them to the reſt. And thus was the work carried on, and finiſhed; but before it received the Royal Confirmation, the King died, and this fell with him: nor do I find it was ever ſince that time taken up, or proſecuted with the care that a thing of ſuch conſequence deſerved: and therefore I ſhall not think it improper for me, having before ſhewed what was done, in the next place to give an account of what was then intended to be done; and is now very fit to be well conſidered.

The firſt Title was of the Trinity, and the Catholick Faith; in which thoſe who denied the Chriſtian Religion were to ſuffer death, and the loſs of their Goods. The Books of Scripture were numbred, theſe called *Apocryphal* being left out of the Canon; which, though they were read in the Church, it was only for the edification of the People, but not for the proof of the Doctrine. The power of the Church was ſubjected to the Scriptures: The four General Councils were received; but all Councils were to be examined by the Scripture; as were alſo the Writings of the Fathers, who were to be much reverenced, but according to what themſelves have written, they were only to be ſubmitted to when they agreed with the Scriptures. The Chief Heads of it.

The ſecond Title contains an enumeration of many Hereſies, *viz.* againſt the Trinity, Jeſus Chriſt, the Scriptures, about Original ſin, Juſtification, the Maſs, Purgatory; and cenſured thoſe who denied Magiſtracy to be lawful, or aſſerted the Community of Goods, or Wives; or who denied the Paſtoral Office, and thought any might aſſume it at pleaſure; or who thought the Sacraments naked Signs, who denied the Baptiſm of Infants, or thought none could poſſibly be ſaved that were not Baptized; or who aſſerted Tranſubſtantiation, or denied the lawfulneſs of Marriage, particularly in the Clergy; or who aſſerted the Popes Power; or ſuch as excuſed their ill Lives by the pretence of Predeſtination, as many wicked Men did: from which and other Hereſies all are diſſwaded, and earneſtly exhorted to endeavour the extirpation of them.

The third was about the Judgments of Hereſie before the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, even in exempted Places. They were to proceed by Witneſſes; but the Party, upon fame, might be required to purge himſelf: if he repented, he was to make publick profeſſion of it in thoſe places where he had ſpread it; and to renounce his Hereſie, ſwearing never to return to it any more: but obſtinate Hereticks were to be declared infamous, incapable of publick Truſt, or to be Witneſſes in any Court, or to have power to make a Teſtament, and were not to have the benefit

of

1552. of the Law: Clergy-men falling into Hereſie were not to return to their Benefices, unleſs the Circumſtances were ſuch that they required it; and thus all Capital Proceedings for Hereſie were laid down.

The fourth was about Blaſphemy, flowing from hatred or rage against God, which was to be puniſhed as obſtinate Hereſie was.

The fifth was about the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and the Lords Supper. To which is added, that Impoſition of Hands is to be retained in the Ordination of Paſtors; that Marriages are to be ſolemnly made: that thoſe who renew their Baptiſmal Vow, be confirmed by the Biſhop: and that the Sick ſhould be viſited by their Paſtors.

The ſixth was about Idolatry, Magick, Witchcraft, or conſulting with Conjurers; who were to be arbitrarily puniſhed, if they ſubmitted; otherwiſe, to be excommunicated.

The ſeventh was about Preachers; whom the Biſhops were to examine carefully, before they licenſed them; and were once a year to gather together all thoſe who were licenſed in their Dioceſſes, to know of them the true ſtate of their Flock; what Vices abounded, and what Remedies were moſt proper. Thoſe who refuſed to hear Sermons, or did make diſturbance in them, where to be ſeparated from the Communion. It ſeems it was deſigned, that there ſhould be in every Dioceſs, ſome who ſhould go round a Precinct, and Preach like *Evangeliſts*, as ſome then called them.

The eighth was about Marriage; which was to be after asking Banns three *Sundays*, or Holy-days. Thoſe who were married in any other Form, than that in the Book of Service, were not to be eſteemed lawfully married: thoſe who corrupted Virgins, were to be excommunicated if they did not marry them; or if that could not be done, they were to give them the third part of their Goods, beſides other arbitrary puniſhments. Marriages made without the conſent of Parents or Guardians, were declared null. Then follow the things that may void Marriages; they are left free to all: Poligamy is forbid, Marriages made by force are declared void, Mothers are required to ſuckle their Children.

The ninth is about the Degrees of Marriage. All theſe in the Levitical Law, or thoſe that are reciprocal to them, are forbidden: but Spiritual Kindred was not to hinder Marriage, ſince there was nothing in Scripture about it, nor was there any good reaſon for it.

The tenth was about Adultery. A Clergy-man guilty of it was to forfeit all his Goods and Eſtate to his Wife, and Children; or if he had none, to the Poor, or ſome pious uſe; and to loſe his Benefice, and be either baniſhed, or impriſoned during Life. A Lay-man was to refund his Wives Portion, and to give her the half of his Goods, and be impriſoned, or baniſhed, during Life. Wives that were guilty, were to be in like manner puniſhed. But the Innocent Party might marry again: yet ſuch were rather exhorted, if they ſaw hope of amendment, to be reconciled to the offending Party. No Marriage was to be diſſolved without a Sentence of Divorce. Deſertion, long Abſence, Capital Enmities where either Party was in hazard of their Life, or the conſtant perverſeneſs or fierceneſs of a Husband againſt his Wife, might induce Divorce: but little Quarrels might not do it; nor a perpetual Diſcord

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Relief in ſuch a Miſery being one of the Ends of Marriage. But all ſeparation from Bed and Board, except during a Trial, was to be taken away. 1552.

The 11*th.* was about Admiſſion to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices. Patrons were to conſider, the choice of the Perſon was truſted to them, but was not to be abuſed to any ſacrilegious or baſe ends: if they did otherwiſe, they were to loſe their right for that time. Benefices were not to be given or promiſed, before they were void; nor let lie deſtitute above ſix Months, otherwiſe they were to devolve to the Biſhop. Clergy-men before their Ordination were to be examined by the Arch-deacons, with ſuch other Triers as the Biſhop ſhould appoint to be aſſiſtant to them: and the Biſhop himſelf was to try them, ſince this was one of the chief things, upon which the happineſs of the Church depended. The Candidate was to give an Oath to anſwer ſincerely, upon which he was to be examined about his Doctrine, chiefly of the whole Points of the Catechiſm, if he underſtood them aright: and what knowledge he had of the Scriptures: they were to ſearch him well whether he held Heretical Opinions: None was to be admitted to more Cures than one; and all Priviledges for Pluralities were for ever to ceaſe: nor was any to be abſent from his Cure, except for a time, and a juſt cauſe, of which he was to ſatisfie his Ordinary. The Biſhops were to take great care to allow no abſence longer than was neceſſary: every one was to enter upon his Cure within two Months after he was Inſtituted by the Biſhop. Prebendaries who had no particular Cure, were to preach in the Churches adjacent to them. Baſtards might not be admitted to Orders, unleſs they had eminent Qualities. But the Baſtards of Patrons were upon no account to be received, if preſented by them. Other bodily defects, unleſs ſuch as did much diſable them, or made them very contemptible, were not to be a barr to any. Beſide the Sponſions in the Office of Ordination, they were to ſwear that they had made no agreement to obtain the Benefice to which they were preſented, and that if they come to know of any made by others on their account, they ſhould ſignifie it to the Biſhop; and that they ſhould not do any thing to the prejudice of their Church.

The 12*th.* and 13*th.* were about the renouncing or changing of Benefices.

The 14*th.* was about purgation upon common fame, or when one was accuſed for any crime, which was proved incompleatly, and only by preſumptions. The Eccleſiaſtical Courts might not re-examine any thing that was proved in any Civil Court, but upon a high ſcandal a Biſhop might require a Man to purge himſelf, otherwiſe to ſeparate him from Holy things. The Form of a Purgation was, to ſwear himſelf innocent; and he was alſo to have four Compurgators of his own Rank, who were to ſwear, that they believed he ſwore true: upon which the Judge was to reſtore him to his Fame. Any that were under ſuſpicion of a Crime, might by the Judge be required to avoid all the occaſions from which the ſuſpition had riſen: But all ſuperſtitious Purgations were to be rejected.

The 15*th*, 16*th*, 17*th*, and 18*th*, were about Dilapidations, the Letting of the Goods of the Church, the confirming the former Rules of Election in Cathedrals or Colledges, and the Collation of Benefices.

1552. fices. And there was to be a Purgation of Simony, as there ſhould be occaſion for it.

The 19*th.* was about Divine Offices. In the Morning on Holy-days the Common-Prayer was to be uſed, with the Communion-Service joyned to it. In Cathedrals, there was to be Communion every *Sunday* and Holy-day; where the Biſhop, the Dean, and the Prebendaries, and all maintained by that Church, were to be preſent. There was no Sermon to be in Cathedrals in the Morning, leſt that might draw any from the Pariſh Churches; but only in the Afternoons. In the Anthems, all Figured Muſick, by which the Hearers could not underſtand what they ſung, was to be taken away. In Pariſh Churches, there were only to be Sermons in the Moaning; but none in the Afternoon, except in great Pariſhes. All who were to receive the Sacrament, were to come the day before, and inform the Miniſter of it; who was to examine their Conſciences, and their Belief. On Holy-days in the Afternoon, the Catechiſm was to be explained for an hour. After the Evening-Prayers, the Poor were to be looked to; and ſuch as had given open ſcandal were to be examined, and publick Penitence was to be enjoyned them: and the Miniſter, with ſome of the Ancients of the Pariſh, were to commune together about the ſtate of the People in it: that if any carried themſelves indecently, they might be firſt charitably admoniſhed; and, if that did not prevail, ſubjected to ſeverer Cenſures: but none were to be excommunicated, without the Biſhop were firſt informed, and had conſented to it. Divine Offices were not to be performed in Chappels, or private Houſes, leſt the Churches ſhould under that pretence be neglected, and Errors more eaſily diſſeminated; excepting only the Houſes of Peers and Perſons of great Quality, who had numerous Families; but in theſe, all things were to be done according to the Book of Common-Prayer.

The 20*th.* was about thoſe that bore Office in the Church; Sextons, Church-wardens, Deacons, Prieſts, and Rural Deans. This laſt was to be a Yearly Office: he that was named to it by the Biſhop, being to watch over the manners of the Clergy and People in his Precinct, was to ſignifie the Biſhops pleaſure to them, and to give the Biſhop an account of his Precinct every ſixth Month. The Arch-deacons were to be general Viſitors over the Rural Deans. In every Cathedral, one of the Prebendaries, or one procured by them, was thrice a week to expound ſome part of the Scriptures. The Biſhops were to be over all, and to remember that their Authority was given to them for that end, that men might be brought to Chriſt, and that ſuch as had gone aſtray might be reſtored by Repentance. To the Biſhop all were to give obedience according to the Word of God. The Biſhop was to preach often in his Church; was to Ordain none for Rewards, or raſhly; was to provide good Paſtors, and to deprive bad ones: he was to viſit his Dioceſs every third year, or oftener as he ſaw cauſe; but then he was to do it at his own charge: he was to have yearly Synods, and to confirm ſuch as were well inſtructed. His Family was to conſiſt of Clergy-men, whom he ſhould bring up to the Service of the Church; (ſo was St. *Auſtins*, and other Ancient Biſhops Families conſtituted.) This being a great means to ſupply the great want of good and faithful Miniſters. Their Wives and Children were alſo to avoid all levity or vain dreſſing. They were never

never to be abſent from their Dioceſſes, but upon a publick and urgent cauſe: and when they grew ſick or infirm, they were to have Coadjutors. If they became ſcandalous or heretical, they were to be deprived by the Kings Authority. The Archbiſhops were to exerciſe the Epiſcopal Function in their Dioceſs; and were once to viſit their whole Province, and to overſee the Biſhops, to admoniſh them for what was amiſs, and to receive and judge Appeals, to call Provincial Synods upon any great occaſion, having obtained Warrant from the King for it. Every Biſhop was to have a Synod of his Clergy ſome time in *Lent*, ſo that they might all return home before *Palm-Sunday*. They were to begin with the Litany, a Sermon, and a Communion; then all were to withdraw into ſome private place, where they were to give the Biſhop an account of the ſtate of the Dioceſs, and to conſult of what required advice; every Prieſt was to deliver his opinion, and the Biſhop was to deliver his Sentence, and to bring mattters to as ſpeedy a Concluſion as might be; and all were to ſubmit to him, or to appeal to the Archbiſhop. 1552.

The 21*ſt*, 22*d*, 23*d*, 24*th*, 25*th*, 26*th*, 27*th*, 28*th*, and 29*th* Titles are about Church-wardens, Univerſities, Tithes, Viſitations, Teſtaments, Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, Suſpenſion, Sequeſtration, Deprivation.

The 30*th*. is about Excommunication, of which, as being the chief Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure, I ſhall ſet down their Scheme the more fully.

Excommunication they reckon an Authority given of God to the Church, for removing ſcandalous or corrupt Perſons, from the uſe of the Sacraments, or fellowſhip of Chriſtians, till they give clear ſigns of their repentance, and ſubmit to ſuch Spiritual puniſhments, by which the Fleſh may be ſubdued, and the Spirit ſaved. This was truſted to Churchmen, but chiefly, to Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, Deans, and any other appointed for it by the Church. None ought to be excommunicated but for their obſtinacy in great faults; but it was never to be gone about raſhly; and therefore the Judge who was to give it, was to have a Juſtice of Peace with him, and the Miniſter of the Pariſh where the Party lived, with two or three learned Presbyters, in whoſe Preſence the matter was to be examined, and Sentence pronounced, which was to be put in writing. It was to be intimated in the Pariſh where the Party lived, and in the neighbouring Pariſhes, that all Perſons might be warned to avoid the company of him that was under Excommunication: and the Miniſter was to declare what the nature and conſequences of Excommunication were, the Perſon ſo cenſured being cut off from the Body of Chriſt: after that, none was to eat, or drink, or keep company with him, but thoſe of his own Family: whoſoever did otherwiſe, if being admoniſhed they continued in it, were alſo to be Excommunicated. If the Perſon cenſured continued forty days without expreſſing any repentance, it was to be certified into the *Chancery*, and a Writ was to iſſue for taking and keeping him in Priſon, till he ſhould become ſenſible of his offences; and when he did confeſs theſe, and ſubmitted to ſuch puniſhments as ſhould be enjoyned, the Sentence was to be taken off, and the Perſon publickly reconciled to the Church. And this was to take place againſt thoſe, who, being condemned for capital Offences, obtained the Kings Pardon, but were notwithſtanding to be ſubject to Church-cenſures.

Their deſign concerning the uſe of Excommunication.

1552. Then follows the Office of receiving Penitents. They were firſt to ſtand without the Church, and deſire to be again received into it, and ſo to be brought in: the Miniſter was to declare to the People the hainouſneſs of ſin, and the mercies of God in the Goſpel, in a long Diſcourſe, of which the Form is there preſcribed: Then he was to ſhew the People, that as they were to abhor hard'ned ſinners, ſo they were to receive with the Bowels of true Charity, all ſincere Penitents: he was next to warn the Perſon, not to mock God, and deceive the People, by a feigned Confeſſion; he was thereupon to repeat, firſt a general Confeſſion, and then more particularly to name his ſin, and to pray to God for mercy to himſelf, and that none by his ill example might be defiled; and finally to beſeech them all to forgive him, and to receive him again into their Fellowſhip: Then the Miniſter was to ask the People, whether they would grant his deſires, who were to anſwer, they would: Then the Paſtor was to lay his Hand on his Head, and to abſolve him from the puniſhment of his offences, and the bond of Excommunication; and ſo to reſtore him to his place in the Church of God. Then he was to lead him to the Communion-Table, and there to offer up a Prayer of Thankſgiving to God for reclaiming that ſinner. For the other Titles, they relate to the other parts of the Law of thoſe Courts, for which I refer the Reader to the Book it ſelf.

How far any of thoſe things, chiefly the laſt about Excommunication, may be yet brought into the Church, I leave to the Conſultations of the Governors of it, and of the two Houſes of Parliament. It cannot be denied, that Vice and Immorality, together with much impiety, have over-run the Nation; and though the charge of this is commonly caſt on the Clergy, who certainly have been in too many places wanting to their duty; yet on the other hand, they have ſo little power, or none at all, by Law, to cenſure even the moſt publick ſins, that the blame of this great defect ought to lie more univerſally on the whole Body of the Nation, that have not made effectual proviſion for the reſtraining of vice, the making ill Men aſhamed of their ways, and the driving them from the Holy Myſteries, till they change their courſe of Life.

A Project for relieving the Clergy reduced to great Poverty.

There was another thing propoſed this Year for the correcting the great diſorders of Clergy-men, which were occaſioned by the extream miſery and poverty to which they were reduced. There were ſome motions made about it in Parliament, but they took not effect: ſo one writ a Book concerning it, which he dedicated to the Lord Chancellor, then the Biſhop of *Ely*. He ſhewed, that without Rewards or Encouragements few would apply themſelves to the Paſtoral Function, and that thoſe in it, if they could not ſubſiſt by it, muſt turn to other employments: ſo that at that time, many Clergy-men were Carpenters, and Taylors, and ſome kept Ale-houſes. It was a reproach on the Nation, that there had been ſo profuſe a zeal for ſuperſtition, and ſo much coldneſs in true Religion. He complains of many of the Clergy who did not maintain Students at the Univerſities according to the Kings Injunctions; and that in Schools, and Colledges, the poor Scholars Places were generally filled with the Sons of the Rich; and that Livings were moſt ſcandalouſly ſold; and the greateſt part of the Country-Clergy were ſo ignorant, that they could do little more than read. But there was no hope of doing any thing effectually for redreſſing ſo great a calamity,

calamity, till the King ſhould be of Age himſelf to ſet forward ſuch Laws as might again recover a competent maintenance for the Clergy. 1552.

This Year, both *Heath* of *Worceſter*, and *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, were put out of their Biſhopricks. For *Heath*, it has been already ſaid, that he was put in priſon for refuſing to conſent to the Book of Ordinations. But for *Day*, whether he refuſed to ſubmit to the new Book, or fell into other tranſgreſſions, I do not know. Both theſe were afterwards deprived, not by any Court conſiſting of Church-men, but by Secular Delegates, of whom three were Civilians, and three Common Lawyers, as King *Edwards* Journal informs us. *Dayes* Sentence is ſomething ambiguouſly expreſſed, in the Patent that *Scory* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had to ſucceed him; which bears date the 24*th.* of *May*, and mentions his being put there in the room of *George* late Biſhop of that See, who had been deprived or removed from it: In *June* following, upon *Hollbeach* Biſhop of *Lincoln*'s death, *Taylor* that had been Dean of *Lincoln*, was made Biſhop. This Year the Biſhoprick of *Gloceſter* was quite ſuppreſſed, and converted into an exempted Arch-deaconry; and *Hooper* was made Biſhop of *Worceſter*. In the *December* before, *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter* had been united, by reaſon of their Voicinage, and their great poverty, and that they were not very populous: ſo they were to be for ever after one Biſhoprick with two Titles, as *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and *Bath* and *Wells* were; and *Hooper* was made Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*. But now they were put into another method, and the Biſhop was to be called only Biſhop of *Worceſter*. In all the vacancies of Sees, there were a great many of their beſt Lands taken from them: and the Sees that before had been profuſely enriched, were now brought to ſo low a condition, that it was ſcarce poſſible for the Biſhops to ſubſiſt: and yet, if what was ſo taken from them had been converted to good uſes, to the bettering the condition of the poor Clergy over *England*, it had been ſome mitigation of ſo hainous a Robbery; but theſe Lands were ſnatched up by every hungry Courtier, who found this to be the eaſieſt way to be ſatisfied in their pretenſions: and the World had been ſo poſſeſſed with the opinion of their exceſſive Wealth, that it was thought they never could be made poor enough.

Heath and *Day* turned out of their Biſhopricks.

This Year a Paſſage fell out, relating to *Ireland*, which will give me occaſion to look over to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Kings of *England* had formerly contented themſeves with the Title of Lords of *Ireland*: which King *Henry* the 8*th.* in the 33*d.* Year of his Reign had in a Parliament there, changed into the Title of a Kingdom. But no ſpecial Crown or Coronation was appointed, ſince it was to follow the Crown of *England*. The Popes and the Emperors have pretended, that the conferring Titles of Sovereign Dignity belonged to them. The Pope derived his claim from what our Saviour ſaid, *That all Power in Heaven and in Earth was given to him*, and by conſequence to his Vicar. The Emperors, as being a dead ſhadow of the *Roman* Empire, which Title, with the deſignation of *Ceſar*, they ſtill continued to uſe, and pretended, that as the *Roman* Emperors did anciently make Kings, ſo they had ſtill the ſame right: though becauſe thoſe Emperors made Kings in the Countreys which were theirs by Conqueſt, it was an odd ſtretch to infer, that thoſe who retained nothing of their Empire, but the Name,

The Affairs of *Ireland*.

1552. should therefore make Kings in Countries that belonged not to them: and it is certain, that every entire or independent Crown or Statee may make for or within it self what Titles they please. But the Authority the Crown of *England* had in *Ireland* was not then so entire, as by the many Rebellions that have fallen out since, it is now become. The Heads of the *Clans* and Names had the Conduct of all their several Tribes, who were led on by them to what designs they pleased: And though within the *English* Pale, the King was obeyed, and his Laws executed almost as in *England*; yet the native *Irish* were an uncivilized and barbarous Nation, and not yet brought under the Yoke; and for the greatest part of *Ulster*, they were united to the *Scots*, and followed their Interests.

There had been a Rebellion in the second Year of this Reign. But Sir *Anthony St. Leiger*, then Deputy, being recalled, and Sir *Edw. Bellinghame* sent in his room, he subdued *O-Canor*, and *O-More*, that were the chief Authors of it: and not being willing to put things to extremities, when *England* was otherwise distracted with Wars, he perswaded them to accept of Pensions of 100 *l.* a-piece, and so they came in and lived in the *English* Pale. But the Winter after, there was another Rebellion designed in *Ulster*, by *O-Neal*, *O-Donnel*, *O-Docart*, and the Heads of some other Tribes; who sent to the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, to procure them assistance from *France*, and they would keep up the disorders in *Ireland*. The Bishop of *Valence*, being then in *Scotland*, was sent by her to observe their strength, that he might accordingly perswade the King of *France* to assist them. He cross'd the Seas, and met with them, and with *Wauchop*, a *Scotch-man*, who was the Bishop of *Armagh* of the Popes making, and who, though he was blind, was yet esteemed one of the best at Riding Post in the World. They set out all their greatness to the *French* Bishop, to engage him to be their friend at the Court of *France*: but he seemed not so well satisfied of their ability to do any great matter, and so nothing followed on this. One passage fell out here, which will a little discover the temper of that Bishop. When he was in *O-Docarts* House, he saw a fair Daughter of his, whom he endeavoured to have corrupted, but she avoided him carefully. Two *English* Gray-Friars, that had fled out of *England* for their Religion, and were there at that time, observing the Bishops inclinations, brought him an *English* Whore, whom he kept for some time. She one night looking among his things, found a Glass full of somewhat that was very odoriferous, and poured it all down her Throat: which the Bishop perceiving too late, fell into a most violent passion; for it had been presented to him by *Soliman* the Magnificent, at his leaving the Court, as the richest Balm in *Egypt*; and was valued at 2000 Crowns. The Bishop was in such a rage, that all the House was disturbed with it; whereby he discovered both his lewdness and passion at once. This is related by one that was then with him, and was carried over by him to be a Page to the *Scotch* Queen; Sir *James Melvil*, who lived long in that Court, under the Constable of *France*, and was afterwards much employed by the Prince Elector *Palatine* in many Negotiations; and coming home to his own Country, was sent on many occasions to the Court of *England*, where he lived in great Esteem. He in his old Age writ a Narrative of all the Affairs that himself had been concerned in, which

one of the beſt and perfecteſt Pieces of that nature that I have ſeen. The Original is yet extant under his own Hand in *Scotland*: a Copy of it was ſhewed me by one deſcended from him, from which I ſhall diſcover many conſiderable Paſſages, though the Affairs in which he was moſt employed, were ſomething later than the time of which I am to write. But to return to *Ireland*. Upon the Peace made with *France* and *Scotland*, things were quieted there; and Sir *Ant. St. Leiger* was in *Auguſt* 1550. again ſent over to be Deputy there. For the Reformation, it made but a ſmall progreſs in that Kingdom. It was received among the *Engliſh*, but I do not find any endeavours were uſed to bring it in among the *Iriſh*. This Year *Bale* was ſent into *Ireland*. He had been a buſie Writer upon all occaſions, and had a great deal of Learning, but wanted Temper, and did not write with the decency that became a Divine, or was ſutable to ſuch matters; which it ſeems made thoſe who recommended Men to preferment in this Church, not think him ſo fit a Perſon to be employed here in *England*. But the Biſhoprick of *Oſſery* being void, the King propoſed him to be ſent thither. So in *Auguſt* this Year Dr. *Goodaker* was ſent over to be Biſhop of *Armagh*, and *Bale* to be Biſhop of *Oſſery*. There were alſo two other, who were *Iriſh* Men, to be promoted. When they came thither, the Archbiſhop of *Dublin* intended to have conſecrated them according to the old Pontifical; for the new Book of Ordination had not been yet uſed among them. *Goodaker* and the two others were eaſily perſwaded to it, but *Bale* abſolutely refuſed to conſent to it: who being aſſiſted by the Lord Chancellor, it was carried, that they ſhould be ordained according to the new Book. When *Bale* went into his Dioceſs, he found all things there in dark Popery; but before he could make any Reformation there, King *Edwards* death put an end to his and all ſuch deſigns. 1552.

In *England* nothing elſe that had any relation to the Reformation paſſed this Year, unleſs what belongs to the change made in the Order of the Garter may be thought to relate to it. On the 23*d*. of *April* the former Year, being St. *George's* day, a Propoſition was made to conſider the Order and Statutes, ſince there was thought to be a great deal of ſuperſtition in them; and the Story upon which the Order was founded, concerning St. *George's* fighting with the Dragon, looked like a Legend formed in the darker Ages, to ſupport the humour of Chivalry, that was then very high in the World. And as the Story had no great credibility in it ſelf, ſo it was delivered by no Ancient Author. Nor was it found that there had been any ſuch Saint: there being among Ancient Writers none mentioned of that Name, but *George* of *Alexandria*, the *Arrian* Biſhop, that was put in when *Athanaſius* was baniſhed. Upon this motion in the former Year, the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earls of *Wiltſhire*, and *Warwick*, were appointed to review the Statutes of the Order. So this Year the whole Order was changed; and the Earl of *Weſtmorland* and Sir *Andrew Dudley*, who were now to be inſtalled, were the firſt that were received according to the new Model, (which the Reader will find in the Collection, as it was tranſlated into *Latin* out of the *Engliſh*, by the King himſelf, written all with his own Hand, and it is the third Paper after his Journal.) The Preamble of it ſets forth the noble deſign of the Order, to animate great Men to gallant Actions, and to aſſociate them into a Fraternity, for

A Change made in the Order of the Garter.

King *Edwards* Remains, Number 3.

1552. for their better encouragement and aſſiſtance; but ſays, it had been much corrupted by ſuperſtition, therefore the Statutes of it were hereafter to be theſe,

It was no more to be called the Order of St. *George*, nor was he to be eſteemed the Patron of it; but it was to be called the Order of the Garter. The Knights of this Order were to wear the Blew Ribond or Garter as formerly; but at the Collar, in ſtead of a George, there was to be on one ſide of the Jewel, a Knight carrying a Book upon a Sword point, on the Sword to be written *Protectio*, on the Book *Verbum Dei*; on the Reverſe, a Shield, on which ſhould be written *Fides*; to expreſs their reſolution both with offenſive and defenſive Weapons to maintain the Word of God. For the reſt of the Statutes I ſhall refer the Reader to the Paper I mentioned. But this was repealed by Queen *Mary*, and ſo the old Rules took place again, and do ſo ſtill. This deſign ſeems to have been chiefly intended, that none but thoſe of the Reformed Religion might be capable of it; ſince the adhering to, and ſtanding for the Scriptures, was then taken to be the diſtinguiſhing Character between the Papiſts and the Reformers.

This is the ſum of what was either done or deſigned this Year with relation to Religion. As for the State, there was a ſtrict enquiry made of all who had cheated the King in the ſuppreſſion of Chantries, or in any other thing that related to Churches; from which the Viſitors were believed to have embezeled much to their own uſes, and there were many Sutes in the *Star-Chamber* about it. Moſt of all theſe Perſons had been the Friends or Creatures of the Duke of *Somerſet*: and the enquiry after theſe things ſeems to have been more out of hatred to him than out of any deſign to make the King the richer by what ſhould be recovered for his uſe. But on none did the Storm break more ſeverely than on the Lord *Paget*. He had been Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and was charged with many miſdemeanours in that Office, for which he was fined in 6000 *l.* But that which was moſt ſevere, was that on St. *George*'s Eve, he was degraded from the Order of the Garter for divers offences; but chiefly, becauſe he was no Gentleman, neither by Fathers ſide nor Mothers ſide. His chief offence was his greateſt Vertue. He had been on all occaſions a conſtant Friend to the Duke of *Somerſet*: for which the Duke of *Northumberland* hated him mortally, and ſo got him to be degraded to make way for his own Son. This was much cenſured, as a barbarous Action, that a Man who had ſo long ſerved the Crown in ſuch publick Negotiations, and was now of no meaner Blood than he was when King *Henry* firſt gave him the Order, ſhould be ſo diſhonoured, being guilty of no other fault, but what is common to moſt Courtiers, of enriching himſelf at his Maſters coſt; for which his Fine was ſevere enough for the expiation. But the Duke of *Northumberland* was a Perſon ſo given up to violence and revenge, that an ordinary diſgrace did not ſatisfie his hatred.

Paget degraded from being a Knight of the Garter.

Sir *Ant. St. Leiger*, another Knight of the Order, was at the ſame time accuſed, upon complaint ſent from the Archbiſhop of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, for ſome high words that he had uſed. But theſe being examined, he was cleared, and admitted to his Place among the Knights of the Garter. Many others that were obnoxious came in, upon this violent proſecution, to purchaſe the favour of *Northumberland*, who was much

much ſet on framing a Parliament to his mind, and ſo took thoſe methods which he thought likelieſt to work his ends. It being ordinary for Men of inſolent and boiſterous tempers, who are generally as abject when they are low, as they are puft up with proſperity, to meaſure other People by themſelves; therefore knowing that the methods of reaſon and kindneſs would have no operation on themſelves, and that height and ſeverity are the only ways to ſubdue them, they uſe that ſame way of gaining others which they find moſt effectual with themſelves. 1552.

This Year the King went on, in paying his Debts, reforming the Coin, and other ways that might make the Nation great and wealthy. And one great Project was undertaken, which has been the chief beginning and foundation of the great Riches, and ſtrength of Shipping, to which this Nation has attained ſince that time. From the days of King *Henry* the third, the free Towns of *Germany*, who had aſſiſted him in his Wars, obtained great Priviledges in *England*: they were made a Corporation, and lived together in the *Still-yard* near the Bridge. They had in *Edward* the 4*th*'s time been brought into ſome trouble, for carrying their Priviledges further than their Charter allowed them: and ſo Judgment was given that they had forfeited it, but they redeemed themſelves out of that, by a great Preſent which they made to the King. That which chiefly ſupported them at Court, was, that they trading in a Body were not only able to take the Trade out of all other Perſons Hands, by underſelling them, but they had always a great ſtock of Money; and ſo when the Government was in a ſtrait, they were ready, upon a good Security, to lend great Sums: and on leſſer occaſions could obtain the favour of a Stateſ-man by the Preſents they made him. But now Trade was raiſed much above what it had been, and Courts becoming more magnificent than formerly, there was a greater conſumption, particularly of Cloth, than had ever been known. The diſcovery of the *Indies* had raiſed both Trade and Navigation, ſo that there was a quicker circulation of the Wealth of the World, than had been in former Ages. The encreaſe of Trade.

Antwerp, and *Hamburgh*, lying both conveniently, the one in the mouth of the *Elb*, and the other near the mouth of the *Rhine*, which were the two greateſt Rivers that fell into thoſe Seas, the Merchants of thoſe two Cities at that time had the chief Trade of the World. The *Engliſh* began to look on thoſe Eaſterlings with envy. All that was Imported or Exported came for moſt part in their bottoms: all Markets were in their Hands, ſo that Commodities of forreign growth were vented by them in *England*, and the Product of the Kingdom was bought up by them. And all the Nation being then ſet much on Paſture, they had much advanced their Manufacture; in ſo much that their own Wooll, which had been formerly wrought at *Antwerp*, was now made into Cloth in *England*, which the *Still-yard* Men obtained leave to carry away. At firſt they Shipped not above eight Cloaths in a year, after that an hundred, then a thouſand, then ſix thouſand; but this laſt year there was Shipped in their Name 44000 Cloaths; and not above 1100 by all others that traded within *England*.

The Merchant Adventurers found they could not hold out, unleſs this Company was broke. So they put in their complaint againſt them in the beginning of this year, to which the *Still-yard* Men made anſwer, and they

1552. they replied. Upon this, the Council made a Decree, that the Charter was broken, and ſo diſſolved the Company. Thoſe of *Hamburg*, and *Lubeck*, and the Regent of *Flanders*, ſolicited the Council to have this redreſſed, but in vain: for the advantage the Nation was to have by it, was too viſible to admit of any interpoſition. But the deſign of Trade being thus ſet on foot, another Project of a higher nature followed it. The War was now begun between the Emperor and the King of *France*. And that, with the perſecution raiſed in *Flanders* againſt all that leaned to the Doctrine of the Proteſtants, made many there think of changing their Seats. It was therefore propoſed here in *England* to open a free Trade, and to appoint ſome Mart Towns, that ſhould have greater Priviledges and Securities for encouraging Merchants to live in them, and ſhould be eaſier in their Cuſtoms than they were any where elſe. *Southampton* for the Cloth Trade, and *Hull* for the Northern Trade, were thought the two fitteſt Places. And for the advantages and diſadvantages of this deſign, I find the young King had ballanced the matter exactly; for there is a large Paper all written with his own Hand, containing what was to be ſaid on both ſides. But his death, and Queen *Maries* marrying the Prince of *Spain*, put an end to this Project: though all the Addreſſes her Husband made, ſeconding the deſires of the *Eaſterlings*, could never prevail to the ſetting up of that Company again. If the Reader would underſtand this matter more perfectly, he may find a great deal of it in the Kings Journal, and in the fourth Paper that follows it, where the whole Affair ſeems to be conſidered on all hands: but Men that know Merchandize more perfectly will judge better of theſe things.

King *Edwards* Remains, Number 4.

Cardan in *England*.

This Summer, *Cardan*, the great Philoſopher of that Age, paſſed thorough *England*. He was brought from *Italy* on the account of *Hamilton* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, who was then deſperately ſick of a Dropſie. *Cardan* cured him of his Diſeaſe: but being a Man much converſant both in Aſtrology, and Magick, as himſelf profeſſed, he told the Archbiſhop, that though he had at preſent ſaved his Life, yet he could not change his fate; for he was to die on a Gallows. In his going through *England* he waited on King *Edward*, where he was ſo entertained by him, and obſerved his extraordinary Parts and Vertues ſo narrowly, that on many occaſions he writ afterwards of him, with great aſtoniſhment, as being the moſt wonderful Perſon he had ever ſeen.

The Affairs of *Scotland*.

But the mention of the *Scotch* Archbiſhops ſickneſs leads me now to the Affairs of *Scotland*. The Queen had paſſed thorough *England* from *France* to *Scotland* laſt year. In her Paſſage ſhe was treated by the King with all that reſpect that one Crowned Head could pay to another. The Particulars are in his Journal, and need not be recited here. When ſhe came home, ſhe ſet her ſelf much to perſwade the Governour to lay down the Government, that it might be put in her Hands; to which he, being a ſoft Man, was the more eaſily induced, becauſe his Brother, who had great power over him, and was a violent and ambitious Man, was then ſo ſick, that there was no hope of his Life. He had alſo received Letters from *France*, in ſuch a Style, that he ſaw he muſt either lay down the Government, or not only loſe the Honour and Penſion he had there, but be forced to ſtruggle for what he had in his own Country. Whether the *French* underſtood any thing by their Spies in the Court of *England*, that

it had been propoſed there to perſwade him to pretend to the Crown, and were therefore the more earneſt to have the Government out of his Hands, I do not know: but though I have ſeen many hundreds of Letters that paſſed in thoſe times between *England* and *Scotland*, I could not find by any of them that he ever entred into any Treaty about it. 1552.

It ſeems his baſe Brother had ſome thoughts of it. For when he was ſo far recovered that he could enquire after news, and heard what his Brother had done, he flew out in a paſſion, and called him *a Beaſt for parting with the Government, ſince there was none but a Laſs between him and the Crown.* I ſet down his own words, leaving a ſpace void for an Epithete he uſed of the young Queen, ſcarce decent enough to be mentioned. There had been a great Conſultation in *France* what to do with the Queen of *Scotland.* Her Unkles preſſed the King to marry her to the *Dolphin*; For thereby another Kingdom would be added to *France*, which would be a perpetual Thorn in the ſide of *England*; She had alſo ſome Proſpect of ſucceeding to the Crown of *England*; ſo that on all accounts it ſeemed the beſt Match in *Europe* for the *Dolphin.* But the wiſe Conſtable had obſerved, that the *Spaniards* loſt by their Dominions that lay ſo remote from the chief Seat of their Government; though theſe were the richeſt Countries in *Europe*; namely, *Sicily*, *Naples*, *Millain*, and the *Netherlands*; and wiſely apprehended that *France* might ſuffer much more, by the acceſſion of ſuch a Crown, which not only was remote, but where alſo the Country was poor, and the People not eaſily governed. It would be a vaſt charge to them, to ſend Navies, and to pay Armies there: The Nobility might when they would, by confederating with *England*, either ſhake off the *French* Government, or put them to a great expence to keep it: ſo that whereas *Scotland* had been hitherto, by a Penſion, and ſometimes by a little aſſiſtance, kept in a perpetual alliance with *France*, he apprehended by ſuch a Union it might become their Enemy, and a great weight on their Government. This the Conſtable preſſed much, both out of his care of his Maſters Intereſt, and in oppoſition to the Houſe of *Guiſe.* He adviſed the King rather to marry her to ſome of his Subjects, of whom he was well aſſured, and to ſend her and her Husband home into *Scotland*; by which means the perpetual amity of that Kingdom might be preſerved on eaſie terms. But the King was ſo poſſeſſed with the notion of the Union of that Crown to *France*, that he gave no ear to this wiſe advice; thinking it flowed chiefly from the hatred and enmity which he knew the Conſtable bore the Family of *Guiſe.* This the Conſtable himſelf told *Melvil*, from whoſe Narrative I have it. The Queen Mother of *Scotland* being poſſeſſed of the Government, found two great Factions in it. The Head of the one was the Arch-biſhop, who now recovering, and finding himſelf neglected, and the Queen governed by other Councils, ſet himſelf much againſt her, and drew the Clergy for the moſt part into his Intereſts. The other Faction was of thoſe who hated him, and them both, and inclined to the Reformation. They ſet up the Prior of St. *Andrews*, who was their young Queens natural Brother, as their Head, and by his means offered their Service to the Queen now made Regent: they offered that

1552 they would agree with her to send the Matrimonial Crown to the *Dolphin*, and consent to the Union of both Kingdoms: only they desired her protection from the violence of the Clergy, and that they might have secretly Preachers in their Houses to instruct them in the Points of Religion. This Offer the Queen readily accepted of, and so by their assistance carried things till near the end of her Regency with great moderation and discretion. And now the Affairs of *Scotland* were put in a Channel, in which they held long steady and quiet, till about six years after this, that upon the Peace with the King of *Spain* there were cruel Councils laid down in *France*, and from thence sent over into *Scotland*, for extirpating Heresie. But of that we shall discourse in its proper place.

The Affairs of *Germany*. As for the Affairs of *Germany*, there was this year a great and sudden turn of things there; with which the Emperor was surprized by a strange supineness, that proved as fatal to him, as it was happy to the Empire; though all the World besides saw it coming on him. Upon the delivery of *Magdeburg*, *Maurice* of *Saxe*'s Army, pretending there was an Arrear due to them, took up their Winter Quarters, near *Saxe*, in the Dominions of some Popish Princes: where they were very unwelcome Guests. The Sons of the *Landgrave*, being required by their Father, pressed the Duke of *Saxe* on his Honour, to free their Father, or to become their Prisoner in his room, since they had his faith for his liberty: so he went to them, and offered them his Person; but though he did not trust them with his whole design; yet he told them so much that they were willing to let him go back. The Emperors Counsellors were allarumed with what they heard from all hands. And the Duke of *Alva* (well known afterwards by his cruelties in the *Netherlands*) advised him to send for *Maurice* to come and give an account of all those suspitious passages, to take the Army out of his hands; and to take such securities from him, as might clear all the jealousies, for which his carriage had given great cause. But the Bishop of *Arras* was on the other hand so assured of him, that he said, the giving him any suspition of the Emperors distrust might really engage him into such designs; and that such deep Projects as they heard he was in, were too fine conceits for *Dutch* drunken Heads. He also assured them he had two of his Secretaries in Pension, so that he was advertised of all his motions. But the Duke of *Saxe* came to know that those his Secretaries were the Emperors Pensioners; and dissembled it so well, that he used them in all appearance with more confidence than formerly: he held all his Consultations in their presence, and seemed to open his heart so to them, that they possessed the Bishop with a firm confidence of his sincerity and steadiness to the Emperors Interests. Yet his lingering so at the Town of *Magdeburg*, with the other dark Passages concerning him, made the Emperor conceive at last a jealousie of him, and he writ for him to come and clear himself: Then he refined it higher; for having left Orders with the Officers whom he had made sure to him, to follow with the Army in all the haste they could; he himself took Post, with as small a Train as his Dignity could admit of, and carried one of those corrupted Secretaries with him: but on the way he complained of pains in his side, so that he could not hold on his Journey: but sent forward his Secretary

cretary, who gave ſuch an account of him, that it, together with his coming ſo readily a great part of his way in ſo ſecure a manner, made the Emperor now lay down all his former diſtruſts. The Emperor writ to *Trent*, and to many other Places, that there was no cauſe of fear from *Maurice*. And *Maurice*, to colour the matter more compleatly, had ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Trent*, and had ordered *Melanchon*, and his other Divines, to follow them ſlowly, that as ſoon as the ſafe Conduct was obtained, they might go on and defend their Doctrine. 1552.

Upon their coming to *Trent*, and propoſing their deſires, that all might be again conſidered; the Legates rejected the Propoſition with much ſcorn. The Emperors Ambaſſadors and Prelates preſſed that they might be well received. The Arch-biſhop of *Toledo* ſhew'd how much Chriſt had born with the Scribes and Phariſees; and that in imitation of him, they ought to leave nothing undone that might gain upon them. So it was reſolved, that the Council ſhould make a Proteſtation, that the uſage they gave them was out of Charity, which is above all Law; ſince it was againſt the Decretals to have any Treaty with profeſſed Hereticks. At the ſame time the Imperialiſts dealt no leſs earneſtly with the Ambaſſadors from the Proteſtant Princes, not to ask too much at once, but to go on by degrees; and aſſured them they had a mind to leſſen the Popes greatneſs as much as they had. The Ambaſſadors firſt ſtep was to be for obtaining a ſafe Conduct. They excepted to that which the Council had given, as different from that the Council of *Baſil* had ſent to the *Bohemians*, in four material Points. The firſt was, That their Divines ſhould have a deciſive Voice. 2. That all Points ſhould be determined according to the Scriptures; and according to the Fathers, as they were conformable to thoſe. The third, That they ſhould have the exerciſe of their Religion within their own Houſes. 4. That nothing ſhould be done in contempt of their Doctrine. So they deſired that the ſafe Conduct might be word for word the ſame with that of *Baſil*. Proceedings at *Trent*.

But the Legates abhorred the Name of that Council, that had endeavoured ſo much to break the Power of the Popedom, and had conſented to that extraordinary ſafe Conduct, only to unite *Germany*, and to gain them by ſuch compliance to be of their ſide againſt the Pope. Yet the Legates promiſed to conſider of it. The Ambaſſadors were received in a Congregation, which differed from a Seſſion of the Council, juſt as a Committee of a whole Houſe of Parliament, differs from the Houſe, when ſet according to its Forms. They began their Speech with this Salutation, *Moſt Reverend and moſt Mighty Fathers and Lords*; they added a cold Complement, and deſired a ſafe Conduct. At this time the Pope hearing that the Emperor was reſolved to bring on the old deſigns of ſome Councils for leſſening his greatneſs, and that the *Spaniſh* Biſhops were much ſet on it, united himſelf to *France*, and reſolved to break the Council as ſoon as it was poſſible; and therefore he ordered the Legates to proceed in the deciſion of the Doctrine, hoping that the Proteſtants would deſpair of obtaining any thing, and ſo go away. So the ſafe Conduct they had deſired was not granted them, and another was offered in its room, containing

1552. taining only full security for their Persons. Upon this security, such as it was, Divines came both from *Wirtenberg*, and the Town of *Strasburg*. But as they were going on to treat of Matrimony, the War of *Germany* broke out, and the Bishops of the Empire, with the other Ambassadors, immediately went home. The Legates laid hold on this so readily, that though the Session was to have been held on the second of *May*, they called an extraordinary one on the 28*th* of *April*, and suspended the Council for two years.

An Account of the Council of *Trent*.

And being to have no other occasion to say any thing more of this Council, I shall only add, that there had been a great expectation over Christendome of some considerable event of a General Council for many years. The Bishops and Princes had much desired it, hoping it might have brought the differences among Divines to a happy composure; and have setled a Reformation of those abuses, which had been long complained of, and were still kept up by the Court of *Rome*, for the ends of that Principality that they had assumed in Sacred things. The Popes for the same reasons were very apprehensive of it, fearing that it might have lessened their Prerogatives; and by cutting off abuses, that brought in a great Revenue to them, have abridged their Profits. But it was, by the cunning of the Legates, the dissensions of Princes, the great number of poor *Italian* Bishops, and the ignorance of the greatest part of the other, so managed, that in stead of composing differences in Religion, things were so nicely defined, that they were, made irreconcilable. All those abuses, for which there had been nothing but practice, and that much questioned before, were now, by the Proviso's, and Reservations, excepted for the Priviledges of the *Roman* See, made warrantable. So that it had in all Particulars an Issue quite contrary to what the several Parties concerned had expected from it, and has put the World ever since out of the humour of desiring any more General Councils, as they are accustomed to call them. The History of that Council was writ with as much Life, and Beauty, and Authority, as had been ever seen in any humane Writing, by Frier *Paul* of *Venice*, within half an Age of the time in which it was ended; when the thing was yet fresh in Mens Memories, and many were alive who had been present: and there was not one in that Age that engaged to write against it. But about forty years after, when Father *Paul*, and all his friends who knew from what Vouchers he writ, were dead; *Pallavicini*, a Jesuit, who was made a Cardinal, for this Service, undertook to answer him, by another History of that Council, which, in many matters of Fact, contradicts Father *Paul*; upon the credit (as he tells us) of some Journals and Memorials of such as were present, which he perused, and cites upon all occasions. We see that *Rome* hath been in all Ages so good at forging those things which might be of use to its Interests, that we know not how to trust that Shop of false Wares in any one thing that comes out of it. And therefore it is not easie to be assured of the truth and genuineness of any of the Materials, out of which the Jesuit composed his Work. But as for the main Thread of the Story, both his and Father *Pauls* Accounts do so agree, that whosoever compares them, will clearly see,

And a Judgment of the Historles of it.

that

that all things were managed by Intrigues and ſecret Practiſes; ſo that it will not be eaſie for a Man of common ſenſe, after he has read over *Pallavicini*'s Hiſtory to fancy that there was any extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghoſt hovering over and directing their Councils. And the care they took for palliating all the corruptions then complained of was ſo apparent, that their Hiſtorian had no other way by which to excuſe it, but to ſet up a new Hypotheſis, which a *French* Writer ſince has wittily called *the Cardinals New Goſpel*; "That "there muſt be a Temporal Principality in the Church, that all things "which ſupport that Principality are to be at leaſt tolerated, though "they be far contrary to the Primitive Patterns, and to the firſt deli-"very of the Goſpel by Chriſt and his Apoſtles. That which was "then ſet up, he accounts a ſtate of Infancy, to which Milk was pro-"per; but the Church being ſince grown to its full ſtate and ſtrength, "other things are now neceſſary for the maintaining and preſerving "of it. 1552.

But to return to *Maurice*, he having poſſeſſed the Emperor with an entire confidence in him, gathered his Army together, took *Ausburg*, with many other Imperial Cities; and diſplaced the Magiſtrates which the Emperor had put in them, and reſtored their old ones, with the baniſhed Miniſters: ſo that every thing began to put on a new face. *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* did Mediate; both on his own account, for the *Turks* were falling into *Hungary*; and on the Empires, for the King of *France* was come with a great Army to the Confines of the Empire: and the Conſtable, pretending that he only deſired paſſage through the Town of *Metz*, entred it, and poſſeſſed himſelf of it. *Toul* and *Verdun* fell alſo into his Hands: and the *French* were endeavouring to be admitted into *Strasburg*. The Emperor was now in great diſorder, he had no Army about him; thoſe he had confided in were declared againſt him; his own Brother was not ill pleaſed at his misfortune, the *French* were like to gain ground on his Hereditary Dominions. Being thus perplexed, and irreſolved, he did not ſend a ſpeedy Anſwer to *Maurice*'s Demands, which he had ſent by his Brother; for the ſetting of the Landgrave at liberty, reſtoring the freedoms of the Empire, and particularly in matters of Religion. But to loſe no time the mean while, *Maurice* marched on to *Inſpruch*, where the Emperor lay: and ſurprized a Paſs to which he had truſted, ſo that he was within two Miles of him before he was aware of it. Upon this the Emperor roſe from Supper in great haſt, and by Torch-light fled away to make his eſcape into *Italy*. He gave the Duke of *Saxe* his liberty; but he generouſly reſolved to follow him in this his calamity; and perhaps he was not willing to owe his liberty to his Coufin *Maurice*. Thus all that deſign, which the Emperor had been laying ſo many years, was now broken off on a ſudden: he loſt all the advantages he had of his former Victories, and was forced to ſet the Priſoners at liberty, and to call in the Proſcriptions; and in conclufion, the Edict of *Paſſaw* was made, by which the ſeveral Princes and Towns were ſecured in the free exerciſe of their Religion.

I have

1552. I have made this digreſſion, which I thought not diſagreeable to the matter of my Hiſtory, to give account of the extream danger in which Religion was in *Germany*, and how ſtrangely it was recovered; in which he who had been the chief Inſtrument of the miſeries it had groaned under, was now become its unlooked-for deliverer. I have enlarged on ſome Paſſages that are in none of the Printed Hiſtories, which I draw from *Melvils* Memoires, who ſays he had them from the Elector Palatines own Mouth.

The Emperor is much caſt down.

But the Emperors misfortunes redoubled on him. For having made Peace in the Empire, he would againſt all reaſon, or probability of ſucceſs, ſit down before *Metz*. But the Duke of *Guiſe* defended the Place ſo againſt him, and the time of the year was ſo unſeaſonable, being in *December*, that after a great loſs of Men, and vaſt expence of Treaſure, he was forced to raiſe his Siege. From thence he retired into *Flanders*, where his afflictions ſeiſed ſo violently on him, that for ſome time he admitted none to come near him: Some ſaid he was frantick, others that he was ſullen and Melancholly. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at *Bruſſels* for many Weeks could learn nothing certain concerning him. Here, it is ſaid, he began to reflect on the vanity of the World, when, he who had but a year before given Law to Chriſtendom, was now driven to ſo low an ebbe, that as he had irrecoverably loſt all his footing in *Germany*; ſo in all other things his Councils were unlucky. It was one of the notableſt turns of Fortune that had been in many Ages; and gave a great demonſtration, both of an over-ruling Providence, that diſpoſes of all humane Affairs at pleaſure, and of a particular care that God had of the Reformation, in thus recovering it when it ſeemed gone without hope in *Germany*.

Theſe Reflections made deep impreſſions on his mind, and were believed to have firſt poſſeſſed him with the deſign which not long after he put in execution, of laying down his Crowns, and retiring to a private courſe of Life. In his retirement having time to conſider things more impartially, he was ſo much changed in his opinion of the Proteſtant Religion, that he who hitherto had been a moſt violent oppoſer of it, was ſuſpected of being turned to it before he died.

1553. Thus ended this Year; and now I come to the laſt and fatal Year of this young Kings Life and Reign: The firſt thing done in it, was, a regulation of the Privy-Council, which was divided into ſo many Committees, and every one of theſe had its proper Work and days appointed for the receiving and diſpatching of all Affairs. In all theſe things a Method was preſcribed to them, of which the Reader will ſee a full account in the fixth Paper of thoſe that follow King *Edwards* Journal; which Paper, though it is not all written with his Hand, as the others be, yet it is in ſo many places interlined by him, that he ſeems to have conſidered it much, and been well pleaſed with it. His ſecond Parliament was opened on the firſt of *March*. On the ſixth of *March* it was moved in the Houſe of Commons to give the King two Tenths and two Fifteenths

A Regulation of the Privy-Council.

King *Edwards* Remains, Number 6.

A new Parliament.

with a Subſidy for two years: It was long argued at firſt, and at the paſſing the Bill it was again argued, but at laſt the Commons agreed to it. The Preamble of it is a long Accuſation of the Duke of *Somerſet*, for involving the King in Wars, waſting his Treaſure, engaging him in much Debt, embaſing the Coin, and having given occaſion to a moſt terrible Rebellion. In fine, conſidering the great Debt the King was left in by his Father, the loſs he put himſelf to in the reforming the Coin, and they finding his temper to be ſet wholly on the good of his Subjects, and not on enriching himſelf; therefore they give him two Tenths, and two Fifteenths, with one Subſidy for two years. Whether the debate in the Houſe of Commons was againſt the Subſidies in this Act, or againſt the Preamble, cannot be certainly known: but it is probable the Debate at the engroſſing the Bill was about the Preamble, which the Duke of *Northumberland* and his Party were the more earneſtly ſet on, to let the King ſee how acceptable they were, and how hateful the Duke of *Somerſet* had been. The Clergy did alſo, for an expreſſion of their affection and duty, give the King ſix Shillings in the Pound of their Benefices. There was alſo a Bill ſent down from the Lords, that none might hold any Spiritual Promotion, unleſs he were either Prieſt or Deacon: But after the third reading it was caſt out. The reaſon of it was, becauſe many Noblemen and Gentlemens Sons had Prebends given them, on this pretence, that they intended to fit themſelves by Study for entring into Orders; but they kept theſe, and never advanced in their Studies: upon which the Biſhops prevailed to have the Bill agreed to by the Lords, but could carry it no further. 1553.

Another Act paſſed for the ſuppreſſing the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme*, which is ſo ſtrangely miſ-repreſented by thoſe who never read more than the Title of it, that I ſhall therefore give a more full account of it. It is ſet forth in the Preamble, "That that Biſhoprick being then void of a Prelate, ſo that the Gift thereof was "in the Kings pleaſure: and the compaſs of it being ſo large, extending to ſo many Shires ſo far diſtant, that it could not be ſufficiently ſerved by one Biſhop; and ſince the King, according to "his godly diſpoſition, was deſirous to have Gods Holy Word "preached in theſe Parts, which were wild and barbarous, for lack "of good Preaching, and good Learning; therefore he intended to "have two Biſhopricks for that Dioceſs: the one at *Dureſme*, which "ſhould have 2000 Marks Revenue; and another at *Newcaſtle*, "which ſhould have 1000 Marks Revenue: and alſo to Found a "Cathedral Church at *Newcaſtle*, with a Deanry and Chapter, out "of the Revenues of the Biſhoprick: therefore the Biſhoprick of "*Dureſme* is utterly extinguiſhed and diſſolved, and Authority is "given for Letters Patents to erect the two new Biſhopricks together with the Deanry and Chapter at *Newcaſtle*: with a Proviſo "that the Rights of the Deanry, Chapter, and Cathedral of *Dureſme* "ſhould ſuffer nothing by this Act. The Biſhoprick of *Dureſme* ſuppreſſed, and two new ones appointed.

When this Bill is conſidered, that diſſolution that was deſigned by it will not appear to be ſo ſacrilegious a thing as ſome Writers have

1553 have represented it. For whosoever understands the value of old Rents, especially such as these were near the Marches of an Enemy, where the Service of the Tenants in the War made their Lands be set at very low rates, will know, that 3000 Marks of Rent being reserved, besides the endowing of the Cathedral, which could hardly be done under another thousand Marks, there could not be so great a Prey of that Bishoprick as has been imagined. *Ridley*, as himself writes in one of his Letters, was named to be Bishop of *Duresme*, being one of the Natives of that Country; but the thing never took effect. For in *May*, and no sooner, was the Temporalty of the Bishoprick turned into a County Palatine, and given to the Duke of *Northumberland*. But the Kings sickness, and soon after his death, made that and all the rest of these designs prove abortive.

How *Tonstall* was deprived, I cannot understand. It was for misprision of Treason, and done by Secular Men. For *Cranmer* refused to meddle in it. I have seen the Commission given by Queen *Mary* to some Delegates to examine it: in which it is said, That the Sentence was given only by Lay men; and that *Tonstall*, being kept Prisoner long in the *Tower*, was brought to his Trial, in which he had neither Counsel assigned him, nor convenient time given him for clearing himself; and that after divers Protestations, they had, notwithstanding his Appeal, deprived him of his Bishoprick. He was not only turned out, but kept Prisoner, till Queen *Mary* set him at liberty.

At the end of this Parliament the King granted a free Pardon: concerning which, this is only remarkable, That whereas it goes for a Maxime, that the Acts of Pardon must be passed without changing any thing in them, the Commons, when they sent up this Act of Pardon to the Lords, desired that some words might be amended in it; but it is not clear what was done, for that same day the Acts were passed, and the Parliament was dissolved.

In it the Duke of *Northumberland* had carried this Point, That the Nation made a publick Declaration of their dislike of the Duke of *Somersets* Proceedings; which was the more necessary, because the King had let fall words concerning his death, by which he seemed to reflect on it with some concern, and look'd on it as *Northumberlands* deed. But the Act had passed with such difficulty, that either the Duke did not think the Parliament well enough disposed for him; or else he resolved totally to vary from the Measures of the Duke of *Somerset*, who continued the same Parliament long, whereas this that was opened on the first was dissolved on the last day of *March*.

A Visitation for the Plate in the Churches

Visitors were soon after appointed to examine, what Church-plate, Jewels, and other Furniture, was in all Cathedrals and Churches; and to compare their account with the Inventories made in former Visitations; and to see what was embezeled, and how it was done. And because the King was resolved to have Churches and Chappels furnished with that that was comely and convenient for the Administration of the Sacraments; they were to give one or two Chal-

ces

ces of Silver, or more, to every Church, Chappel, or Cathedral, as their diſcretions ſhould direct them; and to diſtribute comely Furniture for the Communion-Table, and for Surplices; and to ſell the reſt of the Linnen, and give it to the Poor: and to ſell Copes, and Alter-Cloaths, and deliver all the reſt of the Plate and Jewels to the Kings Treaſurer Sir *Edm. Pecham.* This is ſpitefully urged by one of our Writers, who would have his Reader infer from it, that the King was ill principled as to the matters of the Church, becauſe when this Order was given by him he was now in the 16*th.* Year of his Age. But if all Princes ſhould be thus judged by all Inſtructions that paſs under their Hands, they would be more ſeverely cenſured than there is cauſe. And for the particular matter that is charged on the Memory of this young Prince, which, as it was repreſented to him, was only a calling for the ſuperfluous Plate and other Goods that lay in Churches more for pomp than for uſe; though the applying of it to common uſes, except upon extream neceſſities, is not a thing that can be juſtified; yet it deſerved not ſo ſevere a cenſure; eſpecially the Inſtructions being Signed by the King in his ſickneſs; in which it is not likely that he minded Affairs of that kind much, but ſet his Hand eaſily to ſuch Papers as the Council prepared from him. 1553.

Theſe Inſtructions were directed, in the Copy that I have peruſed, to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Lord Preſident of the *North*: upon which occaſion, I ſhall here make mention of that which I know not certainly in what year to place, namely, the Inſtructions that were given to that Earl when he was made Preſident of the *North.* And I mention them the rather, becauſe there have been ſince that time ſome Conteſts about that Office, and the Court belonging to it. There was by his Inſtructions a Council to be aſſiſtant to him; whereof ſome of the Members were at large, and not bound to attendance, others were not to leave him without licence from him: and he was in all things to have a negative Voice in it. For the other Particulars, I refer the Reader to the Copy, which he will find in the *Collection.* One Inſtruction among them belongs to Religion; that he and the other Councellors, when there was at any time Aſſemblies of People before them, ſhould perſwade them to be obedient chiefly to the Laws about Religion, and eſpecially concerning the Service ſet forth in their own Mother-Tongue. There was alſo a particular charge given them concerning the aboliſhed Power of the Biſhop of *Rome*: whoſe abuſes they were by continual inculcation ſo to beat into the minds of the People, that they might well apprehend them, and might ſee that thoſe things were ſaid to them from their Hearts, and not from their Tongues only for Forms ſake. They were alſo to ſatisfie them about the abrogation of many Holy-days appointed by the ſame Biſhop; who endeavoured to perſwade the World that he could make Saints at his pleaſure: which by leading the People to idleneſs, gave occaſion to many vices and inconveniences. Theſe Inſtructions were given after the Peace was made with *Scotland*; otherwiſe there muſt have been a great deal in them relating to that War; but the Critical time of them I do not know.

Inſtructions for the Preſident of the *North.*

Collection Number 56.

1553. This Year *Harly* was made Bishop of *Hereford*, instead of *Skip*, who died the last Year. And he being the last of those who were made so by Letters Patents, I shall give the Reader some satisfaction concerning that way of making Bishops. The Patents began with the mention of the vacancy of the See, by death, or removal: upon which the King being informed of the good qualifications of such a one, appoints him to be Bishop, during his natural Life, or so long as he shall behave himself well: giving him power to ordain and deprive Ministers, to confer Benefices, judge about Wills, name Officials, and Commissaries, exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, visit the Clergy, inflict Censures, and punish scandalous Persons, and to do all the other parts of the Episcopal Function that were found by the Word of God to be committed to Bishops; all which they were to execute and do in the Kings Name and Authority. After that in the same Patent follows the restitution of the Temporalties. The day after, a Certificate in a Writ called a *Significavit* was to be made of this, under the Great Seal, to the Archbishop, with a Charge to consecrate him.

The Form of the Bishops Letters Patents.

The first that had his Bishoprick by the Kings Patents was *Barlow* that was removed from St. *Davids* to *Bath* and *Wells*. They bear date the third of *February*, in the second Year of the Kings Reign: and *Ferrar*, Bishop of St. *Davids*, was not the first, as some have imagined, for he was made Bishop the first of *August* that Year. This *Ferrar* was a rash indiscreet Man, and drew upon himself the dislike of the Prebendaries of St. *Davids*. He was made Bishop upon the Duke of *Somersets* favour to him. But last Year many Articles were objected to him: some, as if he had incurred a *Præmunire* for acting in his Court not in the Kings, but his own Name, and some for neglecting his Charge; and some little indecencies were objected to him, as going strangely habited, travelling on foot, whistling impertinently, with many other things, which if true, shewed in him much weakness and folly. The heaviest Articles he denied: yet he was kept in Prison, and Commissioners were sent into *Wales* to examine Witnesses, who took many Depositions against him. He lay in Prison till Queen *Maries* time; and then he was kept in on the account of his Belief. But his suffering afterwards for his Conscience, when *Morgan*, who had been his chief Accuser before on those other Articles, being then made his Judge, condemned him for Heresie, and made room for himself to be Bishop by burning him, did much turn the Peoples Censures from him, upon his Successor.

By these Letters Patents it is clear, that the Episcopal Function was acknowledged to be of Divine appointment, and that the Person was no other way named by the King than as Lay-Patrons present to Livings; only the Bishop was legally authorized, in such a part of the Kings Dominions, to execute that Function which was to be derived to him by Imposition of Hands. Therefore here was no pretence for denying that such Persons were true Bishops, and for saying, as some have done, that they were not from Christ, but from the King.

Upon this occasion it will not be improper to represent to the Reader how this matter stands according to the Law at this day, which is

is the more neceſſary, becauſe ſome ſuperficial Writers have either miſ-underſtood, or miſ-repreſented it. The Act that authorized thoſe Letters Patents, and required the Biſhops to hold their Courts in the Kings Name, was repealed both by the 1 *Mar. Chap.* 2. and 1, and 2 *Phil.* and *Mary Chap.* 8. The latter of theſe that repealed only a part of it, was repealed by the 1 *Eliz. Chap.* 1. and the former by the 1 *Jac. Chap.* 25. So ſome have argued, that ſince thoſe Statutes which repealed this Act of *Edward* the *6th.* 1 *Par. Chap.* 2. are ſince repealed, that it ſtands now in full force. This ſeems to have ſome colour in it, and ſo it was brought in queſtion in Parliament in the fourth year of King *James:* and great debate being made about it, the King appointed the two Chief Juſtices to ſearch into the matter: they upon a ſlight enquiry agreed, that the Statute of *Edw.* the *6th.* was in force by that Repeal; but the Chief Baron, and the other Judges, ſearching the matter more carefully, found, that the Statute had been in effect repealed by the firſt of *Eliz. Ch.* 1. where the Act of the 25 *Hen.* 8. concerning the Election and Juriſdiction of Biſhops, as formerly they had exerciſed it, was revived: ſo that being in full force the Act of *Edw.* the *6th.* that repealed it, was thereby repealed. To this all the Learned Men of the Law did then agree; ſo that it was not thought ſo much as neceſſary to make an explanatory Law about it, the thing being indeed ſo clear, that it did not admit of any ambiguity. 1553. *Coke* 2. *Inſt. P.* 684, 685.

In *May* this Year the King by his Letters Patents authorized all Schoolmaſters to teach a new and fuller Catechiſme, compiled, as is believed, by *Poinet.*

Theſe are all the Paſſages in which the Church is concerned this Year. The Forreign Negotiations were important. For now the ballance began to turn to the *French* ſide; therefore the Council reſolved to mediate a Peace between the *French* and the Emperor. The Emperor had ſent over an Ambaſſador in *September* laſt year, to deſire the King would conſider the danger in which *Flanders* was now, by the *French* Kings having *Metz*, with the other Towns in *Lorrain*, which did in a great meaſure divide it from the aſſiſtance of the Empire: and therefore moved, that according to the ancient League between *England* and the Houſe of *Burgundy*, they would enter into a new League with him. Upon this occaſion the Reader will find how the Secretaries of State bred the King to the underſtanding of buſineſs, with relation to the Studies he was then about: for Secretary *Cecil* ſet down all the Arguments for and againſt that League, with little Notes on the Margent, relating to ſuch Topicks from whence he brought them; by which it ſeems the King was then learning Logick. It is the fifth of thoſe Papers after his Journal. *King Edwards Remains, Number* 5.

A Treaty with the Emperor.

It was reſolved on, to ſend Sir *Richard Moriſon*, with inſtructions to complement the Emperor upon his coming into *Flanders*, and to make an offer of the Kings aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*, who had made great Depredations that year both in *Hungary*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*. If the Emperor ſhould, upon that, complain of the *French* King, and ſay, that he had brought in the *Turks*, and ſhould have asked aſſiſtance againſt him; he was to move the Emperor to ſend over an

1553. Ambaſſador to treat about it; ſince he that was then Reſident in *England* was not very acceptable. Theſe Inſtructions (which are in the *Collection*) were Signed in *September*, but not made uſe of till *January* this year. And then new Orders were ſent to propoſe the King to be a Mediator between *France* and the Emperor. Upon which, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Sir *Phil. Hobbey* were ſent over to joyn with Sir *Richard Moriſon*: and Sir *William Pickering*, and Sir *Tho. Chaloner*, were ſent into *France*. In *May* the Emperor fell ſick, and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors could learn nothing certainly concerning him: but then the Queen of *Hungary*, and the Biſhop of *Arras* treated with them. The Biſhop of *Arras* complained, that the *French* had begun the War, had taken the Emperors Ships at *Barcelona*, had robbed his Subjects at Sea, had ſtirred up the Princes of *Germany* againſt him, had taken ſome of the Towns of the Empire from him; while the *French* Ambaſſadors were all the while ſwearing to the Emperor, that their Maſter intended nothing ſo much as to preſerve the Peace: ſo that now, although the *French* were making ſeveral Overtures for Peace, they could give no credit to any thing that came from them. In fine, the Queen and Biſhop of *Arras*, promiſed the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors to let the Emperor know of the Kings offering himſelf to mediate; and afterwards told them, that the Emperor delayed giving anſwer till he were well enough to do it himſelf.

Collection Number 57.

On the *26th.* of *May*, the Ambaſſadors writ over that there was a Project ſent them out of *Germany*, of an Alliance between the Emperor, *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, the King of *England*, and the Princes of the Empire. They did not deſire that the King ſhould offer to come into it of his own accord; but *John Frederick* of *Saxe* would move *Ferdinand* to invite the King into it. This way they thought would give leaſt jealouſie. They hoped the Emperor would eaſily agree to the conditions that related to the Peace of *Germany*, ſince he was now out of all hopes of making himſelf Maſter of it. The Princes neither loved, nor truſted him; but loved his Brother, and relied much on *England*. But the Emperor having propoſed, that the *Netherlands* ſhould be included in the perpetual League of the Empire, they would not agree to that, unleſs the Quota's of their Contribution were much changed: for theſe Provinces were like to be the Seats of Wars, therefore they would not engage for their defence, but upon reciprocal advantages and eaſie terms.

When the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in the Court of *France*, deſired to know on what terms a Peace might be mediated, they found they were much exalted with their ſucceſs: ſo that (as they writ over on the firſt of *May*) they demanded the reſtitution of *Millan*, and the Kingdoms of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Navarre*, the Sovereignty of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and the Town of *Tournay*; they would alſo have *Siena* to be reſtored to its liberty, and *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, to continue under the Protection of *France*. Theſe terms the Council thought ſo unreaſonable, that, though they writ them over as News to their Ambaſſadors in *Flanders*, yet they charged them not to propoſe

propoſe them. But the Queen of *Hungary* asked them what Propoſitions they had for a Peace, knowing already what they were; and from thence ſtudied to inflame the Ambaſſadors, ſince it appeared how little the *French* regarded their Mediation, or the Peace of Chriſtendom, when they asked ſuch high and extravagant things upon a little ſucceſs. 1553.

On the *9th.* of *June* the Emperor ordered the Ambaſſadors to be brought into his Bed-Chamber, whither they were carried by the Queen of *Hungary*. He looked pale, and lean; but his Eyes were lively, and his Speech clear. They made him a Complement upon his Sickneſs, which he returned with another for their long attendance. Upon the matter of their Embaſſy, he ſaid, the King of *France* had begun the War, and muſt likewiſe begin the Propoſitions of Peace: But he accepted of the Kings Offer very kindly, and ſaid, They ſhould always find in him great inclinations to a juſt Peace. On the firſt of *July* the Council writ to their Ambaſſadors. Firſt, aſſuring them, that the King was ſtill alive, and they hoped he ſhould recover; they told them, they did not find that the *French* would offer any other terms than thoſe formerly made: and they continued ſtill in that mind, that they could not be offered by them as Mediators; yet they ordered them to impart them unto the Emperor as News, and carefully to obſerve his looks and behaviour upon their opening of every one of them.

The Kings ſickneſs.

But now the Kings death broke off this Negotiation, together with all his other Affairs. He had laſt year, firſt the Meaſels, and then the Small-Pox, of which he was perfectly recovered: In his Progreſs, he had been ſometimes violent in his Exerciſes, which had caſt him into great Colds: but theſe went off, and he ſeemed to be well after it. But in the beginning of *January* this year he was ſeized with a deep Cough; and all Medicines that were uſed did rather encreaſe than leſſen it; upon which a ſuſpition was taken up, and ſpread over all the World, (ſo that it is mentioned by moſt of the Hiſtorians of that Age) that ſome lingering Poiſon had been given him: but more than Rumours, and ſome ill-favoured Circumſtances, I could never diſcover concerning this. He was ſo ill, when the Parliament met, that he was not able to go to *Weſtminſter*; but ordered their firſt meeting, and the Sermon to be at *White-hall.* In the time of his ſickneſs, Biſhop *Ridley* preached before him, and took occaſion to run out much on Works of Charity; and the obligation that lay on Men of high Condition to be eminent in good Works. This touched the King to the quick: So that preſently after Sermon he ſent for the Biſhop. And after he had commanded him to ſit down by him, and be covered, he reſumed moſt of the Heads of the Sermon, and ſaid, he looked on himſelf as chiefly touched by it: he deſired him, as he had already given him the Exhortation in general, ſo to direct him how to do his duty in that Particular. The Biſhop, aſtoniſhed at this tenderneſs in ſo young a Prince, burſt forth in Tears, expreſſing how much he was overjoyed to ſee ſuch Inclinations in him: but told him he muſt take time to think on it, and craved leave to conſult with the Lord Major and Court of Aldermen. So the King writ

His care of the Relief of the Poor.

1553. by him to them to consult speedily how the Poor should be relieved. They considered there were three sorts of Poor; such as were so by natural infirmity or folly, as impotent Persons, and Mad-men, or Ideots; such as were so by accident, as sick, or maimed Persons; and such as by their idleness did cast themselves into poverty. So the King ordered the *Gray-Friars* Church near *Newgate* with the Revenues belonging to it, to be a House for Orphans: St. *Bartholomews* near *Smith-field* to be an Hospital: and gave his own House of *Bridewell* to be a Place of Correction and Work for such as were willfully idle. He also confirmed and enlarged the grant for the Hospital of St. *Thomas* in *Southwark*, which he had erected and endowed in *August* last. And when he set his Hand to these Foundations, which was not done before the 26*th.* of *June* this Year: He thanked God, that had prolonged his Life, till he had finished that design. So he was the first Founder of those Houses, which, by many great Additions since that time have risen to be among the Noblest in *Europe*.

He expressed in the whole course of his Sickness great submission to the Will of God, and seemed glad at the approaches of death; only the consideration of Religion and the Church touched him much; and upon that account he said, he was desirous of Life. About the end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, the Duke of *Suffolks* three Daughters were married: The eldest, Lady *Jane*, to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, the fourth Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, (who was the only Son whom he had yet unmarried:) The second, the Lady *Katharine*, to the Earl of *Pembroke*'s eldest Son, the Lord *Herbert*: The third, the Lady *Mary*, who was crooked, to the Kings Groom-Porter *Martin Keys*. The Duke of *Northumberland* married his two Daughters, the eldest to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Son to Sir *William Sidney*, that had been Steward to the King when he was Prince; the other was married to the Lord *Hastings*, Son to the Earl of *Huntingdon*. The People were mightily inflamed against this insolent Duke, for it was generally given out, that he was sacrificing the King to his own extravagant ambition. He seemed little to regard their Censures, but attended on the King most constantly, and expressed all the care and concern about him that was possible. And finding that nothing went so near his Heart as the ruine of Religion, which he apprehended would follow upon his death, when his Sister *Mary* should come to the Crown: Upon that, he and his Party took advantage to propose to him to settle the Crown by his Letters Patents on the Lady *Jane Gray*. How they prevailed with him to pass by his Sister *Elizabeth*, who had been always much in his favour, I do not so well understand. But the King being wrought over to this, the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, who was next in King *Henry*'s Will, was ready to devolve her Right on her Daughter, even though she should come afterwards to have Sons. So on the 11*th.* of *June*, *Mountague* that was Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, and *Baker*, and *Bromley*, two Judges with the Kings Attorney, and Solicitor, were commanded to come to Council. There they found the King with some Privy-Councellors about him. The King told them, he did now apprehend the

Several Marriages.

He is perswaded to leave the Crown to the Lady *Jane*.

Which the Judges at first opposed.

the danger the Kingdom might be in, if upon his death his Siſter *Mary* ſhould ſucceed; who might marry a Stranger, and ſo change the Laws and the Religion of the Realm. So he ordered ſome Articles to be read to them, of the way in which he would have the Crown to deſcend. They objected, that the Act of Succeſſion, being an Act of Parliament, could not be taken away by any ſuch device: yet the King required them to take the Articles, and draw a Book according to them: they asked a little time to conſider of it. So having examined the Statute of the firſt Year of this Reign, concerning Treaſons, they found that it was Treaſon, not only after the Kings death, but even in his Life, to change the Succeſſion. Secretary *Petre* in the mean while preſſed them to make haſte: When they came again to the Council, they declared they could not do any ſuch thing; for it was Treaſon; and all the Lords ſhould be guilty of Treaſon if they went on in it. Upon which the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was not then in the Council-Chamber, being advertiſed of this, came in great fury, calling *Mountague* a Traitor, and threatned all the Judges; ſo that they thought he would have beaten them. But the Judges ſtood to their Opinion. They were again ſent for, and came, with *Goſnold* added to them, on the 15*th.* of *June*. The King was preſent, and he ſomewhat ſharply asked them, Why they had not prepared the Book as he had ordered them? They anſwered, That what ever they did would be of no force without a Parliament. The King ſaid, he intended to have one ſhortly. Then *Mountague* propoſed, that it might be delayed till the Parliament met. But the King ſaid, He would have it firſt done, and then ratified in Parliament; and therefore he required them on their Allegiance to go about it; and ſome Counſellors told them, if they refuſed to obey that, they were Traitors. This put them in a great conſternation; and old *Mountague*, thinking it could not be Treaſon what ever they did in this matter while the King lived, and at worſt, that a Pardon under the Great Seal would ſecure him, conſented to ſet about it, if he might have a Commiſſion requiring him to do it, and a Pardon under the Great Seal when it was done. Both theſe being granted him, he was ſatisfied. The other Judges, being asked if they would concur, did all agree, being overcome with fear; except *Goſnald*, who ſtill refuſed to do it. But he alſo, being ſorely threatned, both by the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, conſented to it the next day. So they put the Entail of the Crown in Form of Law, and brought it to the Lord Chancellor to put the Seal to it. They were all required to ſet their Hands to it, but both *Goſnald* and *Hales* refuſed. Yet the former was wrought on to do it, but the latter, though a moſt ſteady and zealous Man for the Reformation, would upon no conſideration yield to it: After that the Lord Chancellor, for his Security, deſired that all the Counſellors might ſet their Hands to it; which was done on the 21*ſt.* of *June* by thirty three of them; it is like, including the Judges in the Number. But *Cranmer*, as he came ſeldom to Council after the Duke of *Somerſets* Fall, ſo he was that day abſent on deſign. *Cecil*, in a Relation which he made one write of this Tranſaction, for clearing himſelf afterwards, ſays, That when he had heard *Goſnald* and *Hales* declare how much it was againſt Law, he refuſed to ſet his Hand to it as a Counſellor, and that he only Signed as a Witneſs

1553.

But through fear all yielded except Judge *Hales*.

1553 Witnesses to the Kings Subscription. But *Cranmer* still refused to do it after they had all Signed it, and said he would never consent to the disinheriting of the Daughters of his late Master. Many Consultations were had to perswade him to it. But he could not be prevailed on, till the King himself set on him; who used many Arguments, from the danger Religion would otherwise be in, together with other Perswasions; so that, by his Reasons, or rather Importunities, at last he brought him to it. But whether he also used that distinction of *Cecils*, that he did it as a Witness, and not as a Counsellor, I do not know: but it seems probable that if that liberty was allowed the one, it would not be denied the other.

Cranmer was very hardly brought to consent to it.

The Kings sickness becomes desperate.

But though the setling this business gave the King great content in his mind, yet his Distemper rather encreased than abated; so that the Physicians had no hope of his recovery. Upon which, a confident Woman came, and undertook his Cure, if he might be put into her Hands. This was done, and the Physicians were put from him, upon this pretence, that they having no hopes of his recovery, in a desperate Cause desperate Remedies were to be used. This was said to be the Duke of *Northumberlands* advice in particular; and it encreased the Peoples jealousie of him, when they saw the King grow very sensibly worse every day after he came under the Womans care: which becoming so plain, she was put from him, and the Physicians were again sent for, and took him into their charge. But if they had small hopes before, they had none at all now. Death thus hastening on him, the Duke of *Northumberland*, who knew he had done but half his work, except he had the Kings Sisters in his hands, got the Council to write to them in the Kings Name, inviting them to come and keep him company in his sickness. But as they were on the way, on the sixth of *July*, his Spirits and Body were so sunk, that he found death approaching; and so he composed himself to die in a most devout manner. His whole exercise was in short Prayers and Ejaculations. The last that he was heard to use was in these words: *Lord God deliver me out of this miserable and wretched Life, and take me among thy Chosen; Howbeit not my Will but thine be done; Lord, I commit my Spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy Chosens sake send me Life and Health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless my People, and save thine Inheritance; O Lord God, save thy chosen People of* England; *O Lord God, defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my People may praise thy Holy Name, for Jesus Christ his sake.* Seeing some about him, he seemed troubled, that they were so near, and had heard him: but with a pleasant countenance he said, he had been praying to God. And soon after, the Pangs of death coming on him, he said to Sir *Henry Sidney*, who was holding him in his Arms, *I am faint, Lord have mercy on me, and receive my Spirit*; and so he breathed out his Innocent Soul. The Duke of *Northumberland*, according to *Cecils* Relation, intended to have concealed his death for a fortnight, but it could not be done.

His last Prayer

His Death and Character.

Thus died King *Edward* the sixth, that incomparable young Prince. He was then in the sixteenth Year of his Age, and was counted the wonder of that Time. He was not only learned in the Tongues, and other Liberal

beral Sciences, but knew well the State of his Kingdom. He kept a Book, in which he writ the Characters that were given him, of all the chief Men of the Nation, all the Judges, Lord-Lieutenants, and Juſtices of the Peace over *England*: in it he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal for Religion. He had ſtudied the matter of the Mint, with the Exchange, and value of Money; ſo that he underſtood it well, as appears by his Journal. He alſo underſtood Fortification, and deſigned well. He knew all the Harbours and Ports, both of his own Dominions, and of *France*, and *Scotland*; and how much Water they had, and what was the way of coming in to them. He had acquired great knowledge in Forreign Affairs; ſo that he talked with the Ambaſſadors about them in ſuch a manner, that they filled all the World with the higheſt opinion of him that was poſſible; which appears in moſt of the Hiſtories of that Age. He had great quickneſs of apprehenſion; and being miſtruſtful of his memory, uſed to take Notes of almoſt every thing he heard: he writ theſe firſt in *Greek* Characters, that thoſe about him might not underſtand them; and afterwards writ them out in his Journal. He had a Copy brought him of every thing that paſſed in Council, which he put in a Cheſt, and kept the Key of that always himſelf. 1553.

In a word, the natural and acquired perfections of his mind were wonderful; but his Vertues and true Piety were yet more extraordinary. He was ſuch a Friend to Juſtice, that though he loved his Unkle the Duke of *Somerſet* much, yet when he was poſſeſſed of a belief of his deſigning to murder his Fellow-Councellors, he was alienated from him: and being then but fourteen, it was no wonder if that was too eaſily infuſed in him. His chief Favourite was *Barnaby Fitz-Patrick*, to whom he writ many Letters and Inſtructions when he ſent him to be bred in *France*. In one of his Letters to him, he writ, That he muſt not think to live like an Ambaſſador, but like a private Gentleman, who was to be advanced as he ſhould deſerve it. He allowed him to keep but four Servants: he charged him to follow the company of Gentlemen, rather than of Ladies: that he ſhould not be ſuperfluous in his Apparel: that he ſhould go to the Campagne, and obſerve well the Conduct of Armies, and the Fortification of ſtrong Places: and let the King know always when he needed Money, and he would ſupply him. All theſe with many other directions the King writ with his own Hand: and at his return, to let him ſee he intended to raiſe him by degrees, he gave him a Penſion only of 150 Pound. This *Fitz-Patrick* did afterwards fully anſwer the opinion this young King had of him. He was bred up with him in his Learning; and as it is ſaid, had been his whipping Boy, who according to the Rule of educating our Princes, was alway to be whipt for the Kings faults. He was afterwards made by Queen *Elizabeth* Baron of Upper *Oſſory* in *Ireland*, which was his Native Country.

King *Edward* was tender and compaſſionate in a high meaſure: ſo that he was much againſt the taking away the Lives of Hereticks; and therefore ſaid to *Cranmer*, when he perſwaded him to Sign the Warrant for the burning of *Joan* of *Kent*, that he was not willing to do it, becauſe he thought that was to ſend her quick to Hell. He expreſſed great tenderneſs to the miſeries of the Poor in his ſickneſs, as hath been already

ſhewn.

1553 ſhewn. He took particular care of the Sutes of all poor Perſons; and gave Dr. *Cox* ſpecial charge to ſee that their Petitions were ſpeedily anſwered, and uſed oft to conſult with him how to get their matters ſet forward. He was an exact keeper of his word; and therefore, as appears by his Journal, was moſt careful to pay his Debts, and to keep his credit: knowing that to be the chief Nerve of Government; ſince a Prince that breaks his Faith, and loſes his Credit, has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himſelf liable to perpetual diſtruſts, and extream contempt.

He had above all things a great regard to Religion. He took Notes of ſuch things as he heard in Sermons, which more ſpecially concerned himſelf: and made his meaſures of all Men by their zeal in that matter. This made him ſo ſet on bringing over his Siſter *Mary* to the ſame Perſwaſions with himſelf; that when he was preſſed to give way to her having Maſs, he ſaid, That he would not only hazard the loſs of the Emperors friendſhip, but of his Life, and all he had in the World, rather than conſent to what he knew was a ſin: and he cited ſome Paſſages of Scripture that obliged Kings to root out Idolatry; by which he ſaid he was bound in Conſcience not to conſent to her Maſs; ſince he believed it was Idolatry; and did argue the matter ſo learnedly with the Biſhops, that they left him, being amazed at his knowledge in Divinity. So that *Cranmer* took *Cheek* by the Hand upon it, and ſaid, He had reaſon all the days of his Life to rejoyce that God had honoured him to breed ſuch a Scholar. All Men who ſaw and obſerved theſe qualities in him, looked on him as one raiſed by God for moſt extraordinary ends; and when he died, concluded that the ſins of *England* muſt needs be very great, that had provoked God to take from them a Prince under whoſe Government they were like to have ſeen ſuch bleſſed times. He was ſo affable and ſweet natured, that all had free acceſs to him at all times; by which he came to be moſt univerſally beloved, and all the high things that could be deviſed were ſaid by the People to expreſs their eſteem of him. The Fable of the Phœnix pleaſed moſt; ſo they made his Mother one Phœnix, and him another, riſing out of her Aſhes. But graver Men compared him to *Joſiah*; and long after his death I find both in Letters and Printed Books they commonly named him *Our Joſias*, others called him *Edward* the Saint.

A Prince of ſuch qualities; ſo much eſteemed and loved, could not but be much lamented at his death; and this made thoſe of the Reformation abhor the Duke of *Northumberland*, who they ſuſpected had haſtened him to ſuch an untimely end: which contributed, as much as any thing, to the eſtabliſhing of Queen *Mary* on the Throne; for the People reckoned none could be ſo unworthy to govern, as thoſe who had poiſoned ſo worthy a Prince, and ſo kind a Maſter. I find nothing of opening his Body for giving ſatisfaction about that which brought him to his end; though his lying unburied till the eight of *Auguſt* makes it probable that he was opened.

But indeed the ſins of *England*, did at this time call down from Heven heavy Curſes on the Land. They are ſadly expreſſed in a Diſcourſe that *Ridley* writ ſoon after, under the Title of the Lamentation of *England*: he ſays Lechery, Oppreſſion, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and a hatred and

and ſcorn of Religion, were generally ſpread among all People: chiefly thoſe of the higher Rank. *Cranmer* and he had been much diſliked: the former for delivering his Conſcience ſo freely on the Duke of *Somerſets* death; and both of them for oppoſing ſo much the rapine and ſpoil of the Goods of the Church, which was done without Law or Order. Nor could they engage any to take care of relieving the Poor, except only *Dobbs*, who was then Lord Major of *London*. Theſe ſins were openly preached againſt, by *Latimer*, *Lever*, *Bradford*, and *Knox*, who did it more ſeverely, and by others who did it plainly, though more ſoftly. One of the main cauſes *Ridley* gives of all theſe evils, was, that many of the Biſhops, and moſt of the Clergy, being all the while Papiſts in Heart, who had only complied to preſerve their Benefices, took no care of their Pariſhes, and were rather well pleaſed that things were ill managed. And of this that good Biſhop had been long very apprehenſive when he conſidered the ſins then prevailing, and the Judgments which they had reaſon to look for; as will appear by an excellent Letter, which he ſent about to his Clergy to ſet them on to ſuch Duties as ſo ſad a Proſpect required: It will be found in the *Collection*; and though it belongs to the former Year, yet I chooſe rather to bring it in on this occaſion. Theſe things having been fully laid open in the former parts of this Work, I ſhall not inſiſt on them here, having mentioned them only for this cauſe, that the Reader may from hence gather, what we may ſtill expect, if we continue guilty of the ſame or worſe ſins, after all that illumination and knowledge with which we have been ſo long bleſt in theſe Kingdoms. 1553.

Collection Number 58.

The END of the Firſt BOOK.

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BOOK II.

THE LIFE AND REIGN OF Queen MARY.

1553.

Q. *Mary* ſucceeds, but is in great danger.

UPon the Death of King *Edward*, the Crown devolved, according to King *Henry*'s Will, and the Act of Parliament, made in the 35*th.* Year of his Reign, on his Eldeſt Siſter, the now Queen *Mary*. She was on her way to *London*, in obedience to the Letters that had been writ to her, to come and comfort her Brother in his Sickneſs; and was come within half a days Journey of the Court, when ſhe received an Advertiſement from the Earl of *Arundel*, that her Brother was dead; together with an account of what was done about the Succeſſion. The Earl alſo informed her, that the King's Death was concealed, on deſign to entrap her before ſhe knew of it; and therefore he adviſed her to retire. Upon this, ſhe knowing that the Duke of *Northumberland* was much hated in *Norfolk*, for the great ſlaughter he had made of the Rebels, when he ſubdued them in the third Year of the laſt Reign; therefore choſe to go that way to the Caſtle of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*: Which Place being near the Sea, ſhe might, if her Deſigns ſhould miſcarry, have an opportunity from thence to fly over to the Emperor that was then in *Flanders*.

And retires to *Suffolk*.

At *London*, it ſeems, the whole Buſineſs of ſetting up the Lady *Jane*, had been carried very ſecretly; ſince if Queen *Mary* had heard any

1553. hint of it, she had certainly kept out of the way, and not adventured to have come so near the Town. It was an unaccountable Error in the Party for the Lady *Jane*, that they had not, immediately after the Seal was put to the Letters Patents, or at furthest, presently after the King's Death, sent some to make sure of the King's Sisters; instead of which they thus lingred, hoping they would have come into their Toils, in an easier and less violent way. On the 8*th*. of *July*, they writ to the English Ambassadors at *Brussels* the news of the King's Death, but said nothing of the Succession. On the 9*th*. of *July*, they perceived the King's Death was known; for Queen *Mary* writ to them, from *Kenning-Hall*, that she understood the King her Brother was dead; which how sorrowful it was to her, God only knew, to whose Will she did humbly submit her Will. The Provision of the Crown to her, after his Death, she said, was well known to them all; but she thought it strange, that he being three days dead, she had not been advertised of it by them. She knew what Consultations were against her, and what Engagements they had entred into; but was willing to take all their Doings in good part, and therefore did give Pardon for all that was past, to such as would accept of it, and required them to proclaim her Title to the Crown in *London*.

She writes to the Council.

Upon this Letter, they saw the death of the King could no longer be concealed; so the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, went to *Durham-House*, where the Lady *Jane* lay, to give her notice of her being to succeed to the Crown, in the room of the deceased King. She received the News with great sorrow for King *Edward*'s Death; which was not at all lessened, but rather encreased, by that other part of their Message, concerning her being to succeed him.

Who declare for the Lady *Jane*.

Lady *Jane*'s Character.

She was a Lady that seemed indeed born for a great Fortune; for she was a beautiful and graceful Person, so she had great Parts, and greater Vertues. Her Tutor was Dr. *Elmer*, believed to be the first that was afterwards made Bishop of *London* by Queen *Elizabeth*. She had learned from him the Latin and Greek Tongues to great perfection; so that being of the same Age with the late King, she seemed his perior to him in those Languages. And having acquired the helps Knowledge, she spent her time much in the study of it. *Roger Asch* Tutor to the Lady *Elizabeth*, coming once to wait on her at her ther's House in *Leicestershire*, found her reading *Plato*'s Works in Gre when all the rest of the Family were hunting in the Park: He ask her, How she could be absent from such pleasant Diversions? She a swered, The Pastimes in the Park were but a shadow to the delight had in reading *Plato*'s *Phedon*, which then lay open before her; added, That she esteemed it one of the greatest Blessings that G ever gave her, that she had sharp Parents, and a gentle Schoolmas which made her take delight in nothing so much, as in her Study. S read the Scriptures much, and had attained great knowledge in Div ty. But with all these Advantages of Birth and Parts, she was so ble, so gentle, and pious, that all People both admired and loved and none more than the late King. She had a Mind wonderfully ra above the World, and at the Age wherein others are but imbib the Notions of Philosophy, she had attained to the practice of high

highest Precepts of it. She was neither lifted up with the hope of a Crown, nor cast down when she saw her Palace made afterwards her Prison; but carried her self, with an equal temper of Mind, in those great inequalities of Fortune, that so suddenly exalted and depressed her. All the Passion she expressed in it was, that which is of the noblest sort, and is the indication of tender and generous Natures, being much affected with the Troubles her Father and Husband fell in, on her account. 1553.

The mention of the Crown, when her Father, with her Father-in-Law, saluted her, Queen, did rather heighten her disorder upon the King's Death. She said, She knew, by the Laws of the Kingdom, and by natural Right, the Crown was to go to the King's Sisters; so that she was afraid of burdening her Conscience, by assuming that which belonged to them; and that she was unwilling to enrich her self by the spoils of others. But they told her, all that had been done was according to the Law, to which all the Judges and Counsellors had set their Hands. This joyned with their Persuasions, and the Importunities of her Husband, who had more of his Fathers temper, than of her Philosophy in him, at length prevailed with her to submit to it: Of which her Father-in-Law did afterwards say in Council, She was rather, by enticement of the Counsellors, and force, made to accept of the Crown, than came to it by her own seeking and request. Her unwillingness to accept of the Crown.

Upon this, Order was given for proclaiming her Queen the next day. And an Answer was writ to Queen *Mary*, signed by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*; the Marquesses of *Winchester* and *Northampton*; the Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Huntington*, *Bedford*, and *Pembrook*; the Lords, *Cobham* and *Darcy*; Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *William Cecil*, Sir *John Cheek*, Sir *John Mason*, Sir *Edward North*, and Sir *Robert Bowes*, in all one and twenty; letting her know, 'That Queen *Jane* was now their Soveraign, according to the Ancient Laws of the Land, and the late King's Letters Patents, to whom they were now bound by their Allegiance. They told her, That the Marriage between her Father and Mother, was dissolved by the Ecclesiastical Courts, according to the Laws of God, and of the Land. That many noble Universities in Christendom had consented to it; That the Sentence had been confirmed in Parliaments, and she had been declared illegitimate, and uninheritable to the Crown. They therefore required her to give over her Pretences, and not to disturb the Government; and promised, that if she shewed her self Obedient, she should find them all ready to do her any Service which in Duty they could. Council writes to Q. *Mary*.

The day following they proclaimed Queen *Jane*. The Proclamation will be found in the *Collection*. It sets forth, 'That the late King had, by his Letters Patents, limited the Crown, that it should not descend to his two Sisters, since they were both illegitimated by Sentences in the Spiritual Courts, and Acts of Parliament, and were only his Sisters by the Half-Blood, who (though it were granted they had been legitimate) are not inheritable by the Law of *England*. It was added, That there was also great cause to fear, that the King's Sisters might marry Strangers, and so change the Laws of the Kingdom, and Lady *Jane* proclaimed Queen. *Collection*. Number 1.

1553. 'ſubject it to the Tyranny of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and other Foreign Laws. For theſe Reaſons they were excluded from the Succeſſion; and the Lady *Frances*, Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, being next the Crown, it was provided, that if ſhe had no Sons at the death of the King, the Crown ſhould devolve immediately on her eldeſt Daughter *Jane*, and after her, and her Iſſue, to her Siſters; ſince ſhe was born within the Kingdom, and already married in it. Therefore ſhe was proclaimed Queen, promiſing to be moſt benign and gracious to all her People, to maintain God's Holy Word, and the Laws of the Land, requiring all the Subjects to obey and acknowledge her. When this was proclaimed, great multitudes were gathered to hear it; but there were very few that ſhouted with the Acclamations ordinary on ſuch Occaſions. And whereas a Vintner's Boy did ſome-way expreſs his ſcorn at that which was done, it was ordered, that he ſhould be made an Example the next day, by being ſet on a Pillory, and having his Ears nail'd to it, and cut off from his Head; which was accordingly done; a Herauld in his Coat, reading to the multitude that was called together, by ſound of Trumpet, the nature of his Offence.

Cenſures paſs'd upon it.

Upon this, all People were in great diſtraction; The Proclamation, opening the new Queens Title, came to be variouſly deſcanted on. Some who thought the Crown deſcended by right of Blood, and that it could not be limited by Parliament, argued, that the King having his Power from God, it was only to deſcend in the natural way of Inheritance; therefore they thought the next Heir was to ſucceed. And whereas the King's two Siſters were both by ſeveral Sentences and Acts of Parliament, declared *Baſtards*; and whether that was well judged, or not, they were to be reputed ſuch as the Law declared them to be, ſo long as it ſtood in force; therefore they held that the Queen of *Scotland* was to ſucceed; who, though ſhe pretended this upon Queen *Mary*'s Death, yet did not claim now, becauſe by the Papal Law, the Sentence againſt Queen *Mary* was declared *Null*. Others argued, that though a Prince were named by an immediate appointment from Heaven, yet he might change the courſe of Succeſſion, as *David* did, preferring *Solomon* before *Adonijah*: But this, it was ſaid, did not belong to the Kings of *England*, whoſe right to the Crown, with the extent of their Prerogative, did not come from any Divine Deſignation, but from a long Poſſeſſion, and the Laws of the Land: and that therefore the King might by Law limit the Succeſſion, as well as he and other Kings had in ſome Points limited the Prerogative, (which was clearly Sir *Thomas More*'s Opinion;) and that therefore the Act of Parliament, for the Succeſſion of the King's Siſters, was ſtill ſtrong in Law. It was alſo ſaid, That if the King's Siſters were to be excluded for Baſtardy, all *Charles Brandon*'s Iſſue were in the ſame predicament; ſince he was not lawfully married to the French Queen, his former Wife *Mortimer* being then alive, and his Marriage with her was never diſſolved; (for though ſome Engliſh Writers ſay they were divorced, yet thoſe who wrote for the Queen of *Scots* Title, in the next Reign denied it;) But in this the difference was great between them; ſince the King's Siſters were declared Baſtards in Law, whereas this againſt *Charles Brandon*'s Iſſue, was only a Surmiſe. Others objected, That if the Blood gave an Indefeaſible Title, how came it that the L. *Jane*'s Mother did not Reign? It is true, *Maud* the Empreſs,

Empreſs, and *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond*, were ſatisfied that their Sons, *Henry* the Second, and *Henry* the Seventh, ſhould reign in their Rights; but it had never been heard of, that a Mother had reſigned to her Daughter, eſpecially when ſhe was yet under Age. But this was imputed to the Duke of *Suffolk*'s weakneſs, and the Ambition of the Duke of *Northumberland*. That Objection concerning the Half-Blood, being a Rule of Common Law in the Families of Subjects, to cut off from Step-Mothers the Inclinations and Advantages of deſtroying their Husbands Children, was not thought applicable to the Crown: Nor was that of Ones being born out of the Kingdom, which was hinted at to exclude the Queen of *Scotland*, thought pertinent to this Caſe: ſince there was an Exception made in the Law for the King's Children, which was thought to extend to all their Iſſue. But all People agreed in this, that though by Act of Parliament, King *Henry* was empowred to provide or limit the Crown, by his Letters Patents; yet that was a Grant particularly to him, and did not deſcend to his Heirs: So that the Letters Patents made by King *Edward*, could have no force to ſettle the Crown, and much leſs when they did expreſly contradict an Act of Parliament. The proceeding ſo ſeverely againſt the Vintner's Boy, was imputed to the violent temper of the Duke of *Northumberland*. And though when a Government is Firm, and Factions are weak, the making ſome publick Examples, may intimidate a Faction otherwiſe diſheartned; yet Severities, in ſuch a juncture as this, when the Council had no other Support but the aſſiſtance of the People, ſeemed very unadviſed; and I thought it was a great Error to puniſh him in that manner. 1553.

This made them reflect on the reſt of *Northumberland*'s Cruelties; in bringing the Duke of *Somerſet*, with thoſe Gentlemen that ſuffered with him, to their End, by a foul Conſpiracy; but above all things, the Suſpitions that lay on him, of being the Author of the late King's untimely Death, enraged the People ſo much againſt him, that without conſidering what they might ſuffer under Queen *Mary*, they generally inclined to ſet her up. The Duke of *Northumberland* much hated.

The Lady *Jane* was proclaimed in many Towns near *London*, yet the People were generally running to Queen *Mary*: Many from *Norfolk* came to her, and a great Body of *Suffolk* Men gathered about her, who were all for the Reformation. They deſired to know of her, whether ſhe would alter the Religion ſet up in King *Edward*'s Days; to whom ſhe gave full Aſſurances, that ſhe would never make any Innovation or Change, but be contented with the private Exerciſe of her own Religion. Upon this they were all poſſeſſed with ſuch a belief of her ſincerity, that it made them reſolve to hazard their Lives and Eſtates in her Quarrel. The Earls of *Bath* and *Suſſex* raiſed Forces, and joined with her; ſo did the Sons of the Lord *Wharton* and *Mordant*; with many more. Many declare for Q. *Mary*.

Upon this the Council reſolved to gather Forces for the diſperſing of theirs, and ſent the Earl of *Huntington*'s Brother to raiſe *Buckingham*-ſhire, and others to other parts, ordering them to meet the Forces that ſhould come from *London*, at *New-Market*. It was at firſt propoſed to have the Duke of *Suffolk* to command them; but the Lady *Jane* was ſo much concerned in her Father's preſervation, that ſhe urged, he might not be ſent; and he being but a ſoft Man, was eaſily excuſed. So it The Council orders Forces to be ſent againſt her.

1553. it fell next on the Duke of *Northumberland*, who was now much distracted in his Mind. He was afraid, if he went away, the City might declare for Queen *Mary*; nor was he well assured of the Council, who seemed all to comply with him, rather out of fear, than good will. *Cecil* would not officiate as Secretary, as himself relates; the Judges would do nothing; and the Duke plainly saw, that if he had not (according to the custom of our Princes, on their first coming to the Crown) gone with the Lady *Jane*, and the Council, into the *Tower*, whereby he kept them as Prisoners, the Council were inclined to desert him. This divided him much in his Thoughts. The whole success of his Design depended on the dispersing of the Queens Forces: And it was no less necessary to have a Man of courage continue still in the *Tower*. There was none there whom he could entirely trust, but the Duke of *Suffolk*, and he was so mean spirited, that he did not depend much on him. But the progress the Queens Forces made, pressed him to go, and make head against her. So he laid all the heavy Charges he could on the Council, to look to Queen *Jane*, and to stand firmly to her Interests; and left *London* on the 14*th*. of *July*, marching out with 2000 Horse, and 6000 Foot. But as he rode through *Bishops-gate* street, and *Shoreditch*, though there were great Crouds looking on, none cried out to wish him success, which gave a sad indication how ill they were affected to him.

And write to the Emperor.

The Council writ to the Emperor by one *Shelley*, whom they sent to give notice of the Lady *Jane*'s Succession, complaining that the Lady *Mary* was making Stirs, and that his Ambassador had officiously meddled in their Affairs; but that they had given Orders for reducing the Lady *Mary* to her Duty. They also desired the continuance of his Friendship, and that he would command his Resident to carry himself as became an Ambassador. Sir *Philip Hobbey* was continued Ambassador there; the others were ordered to stay and prosecute the Mediation of the Peace; but the Emperor would not receive the Letters; and in a few days there went over others from Queen *Mary*.

Ridley preaches for the L. *Jane*'s Title.

Ridley was appointed to set out Queen *Jane*'s Title, in a Sermon at *Pauls*; and to warn the People of the Dangers they would be in if Queen *Mary* should reign: which he did, and gave an account in a Sermon of what had passed between him and her, when he went and offered to preach to her. At the same time the Duke of *Northumberland*, at *Cambridge*, where himself was both Chancellor of the University, and Steward of the Town, made the Vice-Chancellor preach to the same purpose. But he held in more general terms, and managed it so that there was no great Offence taken on either hand.

Q. *Mary*'s Party grows strong.

But now the Queen had made her Title be proclaimed at *Norwich*, and sent Letters all over *England*, requiring the Peers, and other persons of great Quality, to come to her assistance. Some Ships had been sent about, to lie on that Coast for intercepting her, if she should fly away; but those who commanded them were so dealt with, that instead of appearing against her, they declared for her. Sir *Edward Hastings* had raised 4000 Men in *Buckinghamshire*, instead of joyning with the Duke of *Northumberland*, went over with them into her Service. Many came also from all Places every day running to her, and in several Co-

of *England* ſhe was proclaimed Queen. But none came in to the Duke of *Northumberland*, ſo he writ earneſtly to the Lords at *London*, to ſend him more Supplies. 1553.

They underſtanding, from all the Corners of *England*, that the Tyde grew every-where ſtrong for the Queen, entred into Conſultations how to redeem their paſſed Faults, and to reconcile themſelves to her. The Earl of *Arundel* hated *Northumberland* on many accounts. The Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* was famous for his dexterity in ſhifting ſides, all ways to his own Advantage. To them joyned the Earl of *Pembrook*, the more cloſely linked to the Intereſts of the Lady *Jane*, ſince his Son had married her Siſter; which made him the more careful to diſentangle himſelf in time. To thoſe, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Sir *John Maſon*, with the two Secretaries, came over. It was ſaid, that the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors had deſired an Audience in ſome Place in the City; and it was propoſed to give it in the Earl of *Pembrooks* Houſe; who being the leaſt ſuſpected, it was agreed to, by the Duke of *Suffolk*, that they ſhould be ſuffered to go from the *Tower* thither. They alſo pretended, that ſince the Duke of *Northumberland* had writ ſo earneſtly for new Forces, they muſt go and treat with my Lord Mayor and the City of *London* about it. But as ſoon as they were got out, the Earl of *Arundel* preſſed them to declare for Queen *Mary:* And to perſwade them to it, he laid open all the Cruelty of *Northumberland*, under whoſe Tyranny they muſt reſolve to be enſlaved, if they would not now ſhake it off. The other conſenting readily to it, they ſent for the Lord Mayor, with the Recorder, and the Aldermen; and having declared their Reſolutions to them, they rode together into *Cheapſide*, and there proclaimed Queen *Mary*, on the 19*th.* of *July:* From thence they went to Saint *Pauls*, where *Te Deum* was ſung. An Order was ſent to the *Tower*, to require the Duke of *Suffolk* to deliver up that Place, and to acknowledge Queen *Mary:* and that the Lady *Jane* ſhould lay down the Title of *Queen*. To this, as her Father ſubmitted tamely, ſo ſhe expreſſed no ſort of Concern in loſing that imaginary Glory, which now had for nine days been rather a Burden, than any Matter of Joy to her. They alſo ſent Orders to the Duke of *Northumberland* to disband his Forces, and to carry himſelf as became an Obedient Subject to the Queen. And the Earl of *Arundel*, with the Lord *Paget*, were ſent to give her an account of it, who continued ſtill at *Framingham* in *Suffolk*.

And the Council turn to her.

And proclaimed her Queen.

The Duke of *Northumberland* had retired back to *Cambridge*, to ſtay for new Men from *London*; but hearing how Matters went there, before ever the Councils Orders came to him, he diſmiſt his Forces, and went to the Market-place, and proclaimed the Queen, flinging up his own Hat for joy, and crying, *God ſave Queen Mary*. But the Earl of *Arundel* being ſent by the Queen to apprehend him; it is ſaid, That when he ſaw him, he fell abjectly at his Feet to beg his favour. This was like him, it being not more unuſual for ſuch Inſolent Perſons to be moſt baſely ſunk with their Misfortunes, than to be out of meaſure blown up with ſucceſs. He was, on the 25*th.* of *July*, ſent to the *Tower*, with the Earl of *Warwick* his eldeſt Son, *Ambroſe* and *Henry* two of his other Sons. Some other of his Friends were made Priſoners, among whom was Sir *Thomas Palmer*, the wicked Inſtrument of the

The Duke of *Northumberland* ſubmits, and is taken.

With many more Priſoners who were ſent to the *Tower* of *London*.

1553. the Duke of *Somerset*'s fall, who was become his most intimate Confident; and Dr. *Sands* the Vicechancellor of *Cambridge*.

Now did all People go to the Queen to implore her Mercy. She received them all very favourably, except the Marques of *Northampton*, Dr. *Ridley*, and Lord *Robert Dudley*. The first of these had been a submissive fawner on the Duke of *Northumberland*; the second had incurred her displeasure by his Sermon, and she gladly laid hold on any colour to be more severe to him, that way might be made for bringing *Bonner* to *London* again; the third had followed his Father's Fortune. On the 27*th*, the Lords Chief Justices, *Cholmley* and *Montague*, were sent to the *Tower*; and the day after, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *John Cheek*, went after them; the Lady *Jane* and her Husband being still detained in the *Tower*. Three days after an Order came to set the Duke of *Suffolk* at liberty, upon engagement to return to Prison when the Queen required it, for it was generally known that he had been driven on by *Dudley*; and as it was believed, that he had not been faulty out of Malice, so his great weakness made them little apprehensive of any Dangers from him; and therefore the Queen being willing to express a signal Act of Clemency at her first coming to the Crown, it was thought best to let it fall on him.

The Queen enters *London*.

Now did the Queen come towards *London*, being met on the way by her Sister *Elizabeth*, with a thousand Horse, who had gathered about her, to shew their Zeal to maintain both their Titles, which in this late contest had been linked together. She made her entry into *London* on the third of *August*, with great solemnity and pomp. When she came to the *Tower*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been almost seven Years in it; *Gardiner*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, that had been five Years there; the Dutchess of *Somerset*, that had been kept there near two Years; and the Lord *Courtney*, (whom she made afterwards Earl of *Devonshire*) that was Son to the Marques of *Exeter*, and had been kept there ever since his Father was Attainted, had their Liberty granted them. So now she was peaceably setled in the Throne, without any effusion of Blood; having broke through a Confederacy against her, which seemed to be so strong, that if he that was the Head of it, had not been universally odious to the Nation, it could not have been so easily dissipated. She was naturally pious and devout, even to superstition; had a generous disposition of Mind, but much corrupted by Melancholy, which was partly natural in her, but much increased by the cross Accidents of her Life, both before and after her Advancement; so that she was very peevish, and splenetick, towards the end of her Life. When the Differences became irreconcilable between her Father and Mother, she followed her Mothers Interests, they being indeed her own; and for a great while could not be perswaded to submit to the King; who being impatient of contradiction from any, but especially from his own Child, was resolved to strike a terror in all his People, by putting her openly to death. Which her Mother coming to know, writ her a Letter of a very devout strain, which will be found in the *Collections*. In which, 'She encouraged her to suffer 'chearfully, to trust to God, and keep her heart clean. She charged 'her, in all things, to obey the King's Commands, except in the Mat-'ters of Religion. She sent her two Latin Books, the one of the Life 'of

She had been in danger in her Father's Time.

Coll. Numb. 2.

'of Christ, (which was perhaps the famous Book of *Thomas a Kempis*) 1553.
'and the other St. *Jerom*'s Letter. She bid her divert her self at the Vir-
'ginals or Lute, but above all things to keep her self pure, and to enter
'into no treaty of Marriage, till these ill times should pass over; of
'which her Mother seemed to retain still good hopes. This Letter
should have been in my former Volumn, if I had then seen it, but it is
no improper Place to mention it here. At Court, many were afraid
to move the King for her; both the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner*
look'd on, and were unwilling to hazard their own Interests to preserve
her. But (as it was now printed, and both these appealed to) *Cran-* And was pre-
mer was the only Person that would adventure on it. In his gentle serv'd by *Cran-*
way, he told the King, that she was young and indiscreet, and there- *mer*'s means.
fore it was no wonder if she obstinately adhered to that which her Mo-
ther, and all about her, had been infusing into her for many Years:
but that it would appear strange if he should for this Cause so far forget
he was a Father, as to proceed to Extremities with his own Child: that if
she were separated from her Mother, and her People, in a little time
there might be ground gained on her; but to take away her Life, would
raise horror through all *Europe* against him. By these means he preserved
her at that time.

After her Mother's Death, in *June* following, she changed her note; She submitted
for besides the Declaration she then signed, which was inserted in the to her Father.
former part of this Work; she writ Letters of such submission, as
shew how expert she was at dissembling. Three of these to her Fa-
ther, and one to *Cromwell*, I have put in the *Collection*; 'in which she, *Collect.* Numb.
with the most studied Expressions, declaring her sorrow for her past 3, 4, 5, 6.
stubbornness, and disobedience to his most just and vertuous Laws,
implores his Pardon, as lying prostrate at his Feet: and considering
his great Learning and Knowledg, she puts her Soul in his Hand, re-
solving that he should for ever thereafter direct her Conscience, from
which she vows she would never vary. This she repeats in such ten-
der words, that it shews she could command her self to say any thing
that she thought fit for her ends. And when *Cromwell* writ to her, to
know 'what her Opinion was about Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Re-
liques, she assures him she had no Opinion at all, but such as she should
receive from the King, who had her whole Heart in his keeping; and
he should imprint upon it, in these and all other Matters, whatever
his inestimable Vertue, high Wisdom, and excellent Learning, should
think convenient for her. So perfectly had she learned that stile,
that she knew was most acceptable to him. Having copied these from
the Originals, I thought it not unfit to insert them, that it may appear
how far those of that Religion can comply, when their Interest leads
them to it.

From that time this Princess had been in all Points most exactly com-
liant to every thing her Father did. And after his Death, she never
retended to be of any other Religion, than that which was established
by him: So that all that she pleaded for, in her Brother's Reign, was
only the continuance of that way of Worship, that was in use at her Fa-
her's Death. But now, being come to the Crown, that would not
ontent her; yet when she thought where to fix, she was distracted between
wo different Schemes that were presented to her.

1553. The Designs for changing Religion.

On the one hand, *Gardiner* and all that Party, were for bringing Religion back to what it had been at King *Henry*'s Death; and afterward, by slow degrees, to raise it up to what it had been before the breach with the Papacy. On the other hand, the Queen, of her own Inclination, was much disposed to return immediately to the Union of the Catholick Church, as she called it: and it was necessary for her to do it, since it was only by the Papal Authority that her Illegitimation was removed. To this it was answered, that all these Acts and Sentences that had passed against her, might be annulled, without taking any notice of the Pope. *Gardiner* finding these things had not such weight with her as he desired, for she looked on him as a crafty temporizing Man, sent over to the Emperor, on whom she depended much, to assure him, that if he would perswade her to make him Chancellor, and to put Affairs into his Hands, he should order them so, that every thing she had a mind to, should be carried in time. But *Gardiner* understood she had sent for Cardinal *Pool*; so he writ to the Emperor, that he knew *his Zeal* for the Exaltation of the Popedom, would undo all: therefore he pressed him to write to the Queen for moderating her heat and to stop the Cardinal's coming over. He said, that *Pool* stood attainted by Law, so that his coming into *England* would alarm the Nation. He observed, that upon a double account they were averse to the Papacy: The one was, for the Church Lands, which they had generally bought from the Crown on very easie terms, and they would not easily part with them. The other was, The fear they had of Papal Dominion and Power, which had been now for about 25 Years set up to the People, as the most intollerable Tyranny that ever was. Therefore, he said, it was necessary to give them some time to wear out their Prejudices; and the precipitating of Councils might ruin all. He gave the Emperor also secret Assurances of serving him in all his Interests. All this *Gardiner* did the more warily, because he understood that Cardinal *Pool* hated him as a false and deceitful Man. Upon this the Emperor writ to the Queen several Letters with his own hand, which were so hardly legible, that it was not possible for me, or some others to whom I shewed them, to read them, so well as to copy them out: as one that was written by his Sister, the Queen of *Hungary*, and signed by him, is no better; but from many half Sentences, I find, that it was with a design to temper her, that she should not make too much haste, nor be too much led by Italian Counsels. Upon the return of this Message, the Seal, which had been taken from *Goodrick*, Bishop of *Ely*, and put for some days in the keeping of *Hare*, Master of the Rolls, was, on the 13*th* of *August*, given to *Gardiner*, who was declared Lord Chancellor of *England*, and the conduct of Affairs was entirely put in his hands. So that now the measure of the Queens Counsels was to do every thing slowly, and by such sure steps as might put them less in hazard.

Gardiner's Policy.

He is made Chancellor.

The Duke of *Northumberland* and others Tried.

The first thing that was done, was, the bringing the Duke of *Northumberland* to his Trial. The old Duke of *Norfolk* was made Lord High Steward; the Queen thinking it fit to put the first Character of honour on him, who had suffered so much for being the Head of the Popish Party. And here a subtle thing was started, which had been kept a great Secret hitherto. It was said, the Duke of *Norfolk*

never been truly attainted; and that the Act againſt him was not a true Act of Parliament; ſo that without any Pardon, or reſtitution in Blood, he was ſtill Duke of *Norfolk*. This he had never mentioned all the laſt Reign, leſt that ſhould have procured an Act to confirm his Attainder. So he came now in upon his former Right, by which, all the Grants that had been given of his Eſtate, were to be declared void by Common Law. The Duke of *Northumberland*, with the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were brought to their Tryals. The Duke deſired two Points might be firſt anſwered by the Judges, in matter of Law. The one, Whether a Man acting by the Authority of the Great Seal, and the Order of the Privy Council, could become thereby guilty of Treaſon? The other was, Whether thoſe who had been equally guilty with him, and by whoſe Direction and Commands he had acted, could ſit his Judges? To theſe the Judges made anſwer, That the Great Seal of one that was not lawful Queen, could give no Authority, nor Indempnity, to thoſe that acted on ſuch a Warrant: and that any Peer that was not, by an Attainder upon Record, convicted of ſuch acceſſion to his Crime, might ſit his Judg, and was not to be challenged upon a Surmiſe or Report. So theſe Points, by which only he could hope to have defended himſelf, being thus determined againſt him, he confeſſed he was guilty, and ſubmitted to the Queens Mercy. So did the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Duke's Son, the Earl of *Warwick*, who (it ſeems by this Trial) had a Writ for ſitting in the Houſe of Peers; they were all three found guilty. Judgment alſo paſſed next day, in a Jury of Commoners, againſt Sir *John Gates*, and his Brother Sir *Humphrey*; Sir *Andrew Dudley*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, confeſſing their Indictments. But of all theſe it was reſolved, that only the Duke of *Northumberland*, and Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, ſhould be made Examples; *Heath*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, was employed to inſtruct the Duke, and to prepare him for his Death. Whether he had been always in heart what he then profeſſed, or whether he only pretended it, hoping that it might procure him favour, is variouſly reported: but certain it is, that he ſaid, he had been always a Catholick in his Heart; yet this could not ſave him. He was known to be a Man of that temper, ſo given, both to revenge and diſſimulation, that his Enemies ſaw it was neceſſary to put him out of the way, leſt if he had lived, he might have inſinuated himſelf into the Queens favour, and then turn'd the danger upon them. So the Earl of *Arundel*, now made Lord Steward of the Houſhold, with others, eaſily obtained that his Head ſhould be cut off, together with Sir *John Gates*'s, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*'s.

1553

And condemned.

At his Death he profeſſes he had been always a Papiſt.

On the 22*d* of *Auguſt* he was carried to the Place of Execution. On the way, there was ſome expoſtulation between *Gates* and him; They, as is ordinary for Complices in ill Actions, laying the blame of their Miſeries on one another: Yet they profeſſed they did mutually forgive, and ſo died in Charity together. It is ſaid, that he made a long Speech, accuſing his former ill Life, and confeſſing his Treaſons. But that part of it which concerned Religion, is only preſerved. In it, he exhorted the People to ſtand to the Religion of their Anceſtors, and to reject that of latter date, which had occaſioned all the miſery of the foregoing thirty Years; and deſired, as they would prevent the like for the future,

1553. that they would drive out of the Nation these Trumpets of Sedition, the new Preachers; that for himself, what-ever he had otherwise pretended, he believed no other Religion than that of his fore-fathers; in which he appealed to his Ghostly Father, the Bishop of *Worcester* then present with him; but being blinded with Ambition, he had made wreck of his Conscience, by temporising, for which he professed himself sincerely penitent. So did he, and the other two, end their days. *Palmer* was little pitied, as being believed a treacherous Conspirator against his former Master, and Friend, the Duke of *Somerset*.

His Character. Thus died the ambitious Duke of *Northumberland*. He had been, in the former parts of his Life, a great Captain, and had the reputation of a wise Man: He was generally successful, and they that are so, are always esteemed wise. He was an extraordinary Man in a lower sphere, but had forgot himself much when he was raised higher, in which his Mind seemed more exalted than his Fortunes. But as he was transported by his Rage and Revenge out of measure, so he was as servile and mean in his Submissions. *Fox*, it seems, was informed, that he had hopes given him of his Life, if he should declare himself to be of the Popish Religion, even though his Head were laid on the Block: but which way soever he made that Declaration, either to get his Life by it, or that he had really been always what he now professed; it argues that he regarded Religion very little, either in his Life, or at his Death. But whether he did any thing to hasten the late King's Death, I do not find it was at all enquired after: Only those who considered how much Guilt disorders all People, and that they have a black Cloud over their Minds, which appears, either in the violence of Rage, or the abjectness of Fear, did find so great a change in his deportment, in these last Passages of his Life, from what was in the former parts of it, that they could not but think there was some extraordinary thing within him from whence it flowed.

King *Edwards* Funeral. And for King *Edward*'s Death, those who had Affairs now in their Hands, were so little careful of his Memory, and indeed so glad of his Death, that it is no wonder they made little search about it. It is rather strange that they allowed him such Funeral Rites. For the Queen kept a solemn Exequie, with all the other Remembrances of the Dead, and Masses for him, used in the Roman Church, at the *Tower*, on the 8th of *August*, the same day that he was buried at *Westminster*: the Lord Treasurer, (who was the Marques of *Winchester*, still continued in that Trust) the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, and *Pembrook*, being the principal Mourners. *Day*, that was now to be restored to his See of *Chichester*, was appointed to Preach the Funeral Sermon: In which he commended and excused the King, but loaded his Government severely; and extolled the Queen much, under whom he promised the People happy days. It was intended that all the Burial Rites should have been according to the old Forms that were before the Reformation. But *Cranmer* opposed this vigorously, and insisted upon it, That as the King himself had been a zealous promoter of that Reformation, so the English Service was then established by Law: upon this he stoutly hindred any other way of officiating, and himself performed all the Offices of the Burial; to which he joined the solemnity of a Communion. In these, it may be easily imagined, he did every thing with a very lively sorrow, since

since as he had loved the King beyond expreſſion, ſo he could not but look on his Funeral, as the Burial of the Reformation, and in particular as a ſtep to his own. 1553.

On the 12*th* of *Auguſt*, the Queen made an open declaration in Council, that although her Conſcience was ſtaied in the Matters of Religion, yet ſhe was reſolved not to compel or ſtrain others, otherwiſe than as God ſhould put into their Hearts, a perſwaſion of that Truth ſhe was in; and this ſhe hoped ſhould be done by the opening His Word to them, by godly, vertuous, and learned Preachers. Now all the deprived Biſhops looked to be quickly placed in their Sees again. *Bonner* went to St. *Pauls* on the 13*th* of *Auguſt*, being *Sunday*, where *Bourn*, that was his Chaplain, preached before him. He ſpake honourably of *Bonner*, with ſharp Reflections on the Proceedings againſt him in the Time of King *Edward*. This did much provoke the whole Audience, who as they hated *Bonner*, ſo could not hear any thing ſaid that ſeemed to detract from that King. Hereupon there was a great Tumult in the Church; ſome called to pull him down, others flung Stones, and one threw a Dagger towards the Pulpit with that force, that it ſtuck faſt in the timber of it; *Bourn*, by ſtooping, ſaved himſelf from that danger: and *Rogers*, and *Bradford*, two eminent Preachers, and of great credit with the People, ſtood up, and gently quieted the heat; and they, to deliver *Bourn* out of their hands, conveyed him from the Pulpit, to a Houſe near the Church.

The Queen declares ſhe will force no Man's Conſcience.

A Tumult at *Paul*'s Croſs.

This was ſuch an Accident as the Papiſts would have deſired; for it gave them a colour to proceed more ſeverely, and to prohibit Preaching, which was the firſt ſtep they intended to make. There was a Meſſage ſent to the Lord Mayor, to give a ſtrict charge, that every Citizen ſhould take care of all that belonged to him, and ſee that they went to their own Pariſh Church, and kept the Peace; as alſo to acquaint them with what the Queen had declared in Council on the 13*th* of *Auguſt*. And on the 18*th*, there was publiſhed an Inhibition in the Queens Name, to this effect; 'That ſhe, conſidering the great Dan-'ger that had come to the Realm, by the Differences in Religion, did 'declare for her ſelf, that ſhe was of that Religion that ſhe had profeſ-'ſed from her Infancy, and that ſhe would maintain it during her time, 'and be glad that all her Subjects would charitably receive it: Yet ſhe 'did not intend to compel any of her Subjects to it, till publick Order 'ſhould be taken in it by common Aſſent: requiring all, in the mean 'while, not to move Sedition or Unquietneſs, till ſuch Order ſhould 'be ſetled, and not to uſe the Names of *Papiſt*, or *Heretick*, but to 'live together in Love, and in the Fear of God: but if any made 'Aſſemblies of the People, ſhe would take care they ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed: and ſhe ſtraitly charged them, that none ſhould preach, 'or expound Scripture, or print any Books, or Plays, without her ſpe-'cial Licenſe. And required her Subjects, that none of them ſhould 'preſume to puniſh any on pretence of the late Rebellion, but as they 'ſhould be authoriſed by her: Yet ſhe did not thereby reſtrain any 'from informing againſt ſuch Offenders: She would be moſt ſorry to 'have cauſe to execute the ſeverity of the Law, but ſhe was reſolved 'not to ſuffer ſuch Rebellious Doings to go unpuniſhed, but hoped her 'Subjects would not drive her to the extream execution of the Laws.

An Inhibition of all preaching.

When

1553. When this was publiſhed, which was the firſt thing that was ſet out in her Name ſince ſhe had come to the Crown, it was much deſcanted on. The Profeſſion ſhe made of her Religion to be the ſame it had been from her Infancy, ſhewed it was not her Fathers Religion, but entire Popery that ſhe intended to reſtore. It was alſo obſerved, that whereas before ſhe had ſaid plainly ſhe would compel none to be of it; now that was qualified with this, till publick Order ſhould be taken in it; which was, till they could ſo frame a Parliament, that it ſhould concur with the Queens Deſign. The equal forbidding of Aſſemblies, or ill Names, on both ſides, was thought intended to be a Trap for the Reformed, that they ſhould be puniſhed if they offended, but the others were ſure to be rather encouraged. The reſtraint of preaching without Licenſe, was pretended to be copied from what had been done in King *Edward*'s Time: Yet then there was a Liberty left for a long time to all to Preach in their own Churches, only they might preach no where elſe without a Licenſe: And the power of Licenſing was alſo lodged at firſt with the Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, and at laſt with the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, as well as with the King; whereas now, at one ſtroke, all the Pulpits of *England* that were in the hands of the Reformed, were brought under an Interdict; for they were ſure to obtain no Licenſes. But the cunningeſt part of theſe Inhibitions, was, the declaring that the Queen would proceed with rigour againſt all that were guilty of the late Rebellion, if they ſhould provoke her; many about *London* had ſome way or other expreſſed themſelves for it, and theſe were the hotteſt among the Reformed: So that here was a ſtorm threatning hanging over them, if they ſhould expreſs any more Zeal about Religion.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

She requites the Service of the Men of *Suffolk* ill.

When this was put out, the Queen underſtanding, that in *Suffolk* thoſe of that Profeſſion took a little more liberty than their Neighbours, preſuming on their great Merit, and the Queens Promiſes to them; there was a ſpecial Letter ſent to the Biſhop of *Norwich*'s Vicar, himſelf being at *Bruſſels*, to ſee to the execution of theſe Injunctions againſt any that ſhould preach without Licenſe. Upon this, ſome came from *Suffolk* to put the Queen in mind of her Promiſe. This was thought inſolent; and ſhe returned them no other anſwer, But that they being Members, thought to rule her that was their Head; but they ſhould learn, that the Members ought to obey the Head, and not to think to bear Rule over it. One of theſe had ſpoken of her Promiſe with more confidence than the reſt, his Name was *Dobbe*; ſo he was ordered to ſtand three days in the Pillory, as having ſaid that which tended to the defamation of the Queen. And from hence all ſaw what a ſevere Government they were to come under, in which the claiming of former Promiſes, that had been made by the Queen when ſhe needed their Aſſiſtance, was to be accounted a Crime. But there was yet a more unreaſonable Severity ſhewed to *Bradford* and *Rogers*, who had appeaſed the Tumult the *Sunday* before, and reſcued the Preacher from the Rage of the People. It was ſaid, that their appeaſing it, ſo eaſily, ſhewed what Intereſt they had with the People, and was a preſumption that they had ſet it on; ſo without any further Proof, the one was put in the *Tower*, and the other confined to his Houſe.

But now the deprived Biſhops, who were *Bonner* of *London*, *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, *Tonſtall* of *Dureſm*, *Heath* of *Worceſter*, and *Day* of *Chichester*, were to be reſtored to their Sees. I have only ſeen the Commiſſion for reſtoring *Bonner* and *Tonſtall*; but the reſt were no doubt in the ſame ſtrain, with a little variation. The Commiſſion for *Bonner* bearing date the 22*d* of *Auguſt*, was directed to ſome Civilians, ſetting forth, that he had petitioned the Queen to examine the Appeal he had made from the Delegates that had deprived him; and that therefore the Sentence againſt him being unjuſt and illegal, he deſired it might be declared to be of no effect. Upon which, theſe did, without any great heſitation, return the Sentences void, and the Appeals good. So thus they were reſtored to their Sees. But becauſe the Biſhoprick of *Dureſm* was by Act of Parliament diſſolved, and the Regalities of it, which had been given to the Duke of *Northumberland*, were now by his Attainder fallen into the Queens hand, She granted *Tonſtall* Letters Patents, erecting that Biſhoprick again of new; making mention that ſome wicked Men, to enrich themſelves by it, had procured it to be diſſolved. 1553. The Popiſh Biſhops reſtored.

On the 29th of *Auguſt* Commiſſion was granted to *Gardiner* to give Licences under the Great Seal to ſuch Grave, Learned and diſcreet Perſons, as he ſhould think meet and able to preach God's Word. All who were ſo licenſed, were qualified to preach in any Cathedral or Parochial Church, to which he ſhould think it convenient to ſend them. By this the Reformers were not only out of hope to obtain any Licences, but likewiſe ſaw a way laid down for ſending ſuch Men as *Gardiner* pleaſed into all their Pulpits, to infect their People. Upon this they conſidered what to do. If there had been only a particular Interdiction of ſome private perſons, the conſiderations of Peace and Order being of a more publick nature than the conſequence of any one Man's open Preaching could be, they judged it was to be ſubmitted to: but in ſuch a caſe, when they ſaw this Interdiction was general, and on deſign to ſtop their mouths till their Enemies ſhould ſeduce the People, they did not think they were bound in Conſcience to give Obedience. Many of them therefore continued to preach openly; others, inſtead of Preaching in Churches, were contented to have only the Prayers and other Service there; but for inſtructing their People, had private Conferences with them. The Council hearing that their Orders had been diſobeyed by ſome in *London*, two in *Coventry*, and one in *Amerſham*, they were ſent for, and put in Priſon. And *Coverdale* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and *Hooper* of *Gloceſter*, being cited to appear before the Council, they came and preſented themſelves on the 29*th.* and 30*th.* of *Auguſt*; and on the firſt of *September*, *Hooper* was ſent to the Fleet, and *Coverdale* appointed to wait their pleaſure. The Conſultations among the Reformed Doctors.

At this time the Popiſh Party, growing now inſolent over *England*, began to be as forward in making Changes, before the Laws warranted them, as theſe of the Reformation had been in King *Edward*'s time: ſo that in many places they ſet up Images, and the Latin Service, with the old Rites again. This was plainly againſt Law; but the Council had no mind to hinder it; but on the other hand encouraged it all they could. Upon which Judge *Hales*, who thought he might with the more aſſurance ſpeak his mind, having appeared ſo ſteadily for the Queen, did at the Circuits in *Kent*, give a Charge to the Juſtices to ſee to the execu- The barbarous uſage of Judge *Hales*.

1553 execution of King *Edward*'s Laws, which were still in force and unrepealed. Upon this he was, without any regard to his former Zeal, put first into the Marshalsea; from thence he was removed to the Counter, and after that to the Fleet: where the good old Man was so disordered with the Cruelties that the Warden told him were contriving against all that would not change their Religion, that it turned his Brain, so that he endeavoured to have kill'd himself with a Penknife. He was after that, upon his Submission, set at liberty; but never came to himself again: so he, not being well looked to, drowned himself. This, with the usage of the *Suffolk*-Men, was much censured; and from thence it was said, that no Merits or Services could secure any from the Cruelties of that Religion. And it appeared in another signal Instance, how the Actions of Men were not so much considered as their Religion. The Lord Chief Justice *Mountague*, who had very unwillingly drawn the Letters Patents for the Lady *Jane*'s Succession, was turned out of his Place, kept six weeks in Prison, fined in a Thousand pounds, and some Lands that had been given him by King *Edward*, were taken from him; though he had sent his Son with Twenty Men to declare for the Queen, and had a great Family of Seventeen Children, six Sons and eleven Daughters: whereas Judg *Bromley* that had concurred in framing the Letters Patents without any reluctancy, was made Lord Chief Justice: The true Reason was, *Bromley* was a Papist in his heart, and *Mountague* was for the Reformation.

In many other places, where the People were Popishly affected, they drove away their Pastors. At *Oxford*, *Peter Martyr* was so ill used, that he was forced to fly for his safety to *Lambeth*, where he could not look for any long protection, since *Cranmer* himself was every day in expectation of being sent to Prison. He kept himself quiet, and was contriving how to give some Publick and Noble Testimonies to the Doctrine that he had so long professed, and indeed had been the chief promoter of in this Church. But his quiet behaviour was laid hold on by his Enemies, and it was given out, that he was resolved to comply with every thing the Queen had a mind to. So I find *Bonner* wrote to his Friend Mr. *Lechmore* on the *6th* of *September*, in that Letter which is in the Collection. 'He gives him notice that the day before he had been restored to 'his Bishoprick, and *Ridley* repulsed; for which he is very witty. 'Ridley had a Steward for two Manours of his, whose name was *Ship-* '*side*, his Brother-in-law; upon which he plays as if he had been Sheep-'head. He orders *Lechmore* to look to his Estate, and he should take 'care at the next Parliament that both the *Sheepsheads* and the Calves-'heads should be used as they deserved. He adds that *Cranmer*, whom 'in scorn he calls Mr. *Canterbury*, was become very humble, and ready 'to submit himself in all things; but that would not serve his turn: 'and it was expected that he should be sent to the Tower that very 'day. These reports being brought to *Cranmer*, some advised him to fly beyond Seas: he said he would not diswade others from that course, now that they saw a Persecution rising; but considering the station he was in, and the hand he had in all the Changes that were made, he thought it so indecent a thing for him to fly, that no entreaties should ever perswade him to it. So he by *Peter Martyr*'s advice, drew up a Writing, that I have put in the *Collection* (in Latin, as it was at that time 'translated)

Cranmer declared openly against the Mass.

Bonners Insolence. Coll. Numb. 7.

Cranmer's Declaration. Coll. Numb. 8.

tranſlated.) The ſubſtance of it was to this effect; 'That as the Devil 1553.
'had at all times ſet on his Inſtruments by Lies to defame the Servants of
'God, ſo he was now more than ordinarily buſie. For whereas King
'*Henry* had begun the correcting of the abuſes of the Maſs, which his
'Son had brought to a further perfection: and ſo the Lords Supper
'was reſtored to its firſt Inſtitution, and was celebrated according to
'the pattern of the Primitive Church; now, the Devil intending to
'bring the Maſs again into its room, as being his own invention, had
'ſtirred up ſome to give out that it had been ſet up in *Canterbury* by
'his the ſaid *Cranmer*'s Order; and it was ſaid that he had undertaken
'to ſing Maſs to the Queens Majeſty, both at King *Edward*'s Funeral,
'at *Paul*'s, and other places: and though for theſe twenty years he
'had deſpiſed all ſuch vain and falſe Reports, as were ſpread of him; yet
'now he thought it not fit to lye under ſuch miſrepreſentations. There-
'fore he proteſted to all the World, that the Maſs was not ſet up at
'*Canterbury* by his Order; but that a fawning hypocritical Monk (this
'was *Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*,) had done it without his know-
'ledge; and for what he was ſaid to have undertaken to the Queen, her
'Majeſty knew well how falſe that was: offering if he might obtain
'her Leave for it, to maintain, that every thing in the Communion Ser-
'vice that was ſet out by their moſt innocent and good King *Edward*,
'was according to Chriſts Inſtitution, and the practice of the Apoſtles,
'and the ancient Church for many Ages: to which the Maſs was con-
'trary, being full of errors and abuſes; and although *Peter Martyr* was
'by ſome called an ignorant Man, he with him or other four or five, ſuch
'as he ſhould chooſe, would be ready to defend not only their Book
'of Common Prayer, and the other Rites of their Service, but the
'whole Doctrine and Order of Religion, ſet forth by the late King, as
'more pure, and more agreeable to the Word of God, than any ſort of
'Religion that had been in *England* for a thouſand years before it: pro-
'vided that all things ſhould be judged by the Scriptures, and that the
'Reaſonings on both ſides ſhould be faithfully written down.

This he had drawn, with a Reſolution to have made a publick uſe of it: but *Scory*, who had been Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, coming to him, he ſhewed him the Paper, and bade him conſider of it. *Scory* indiſcreetly gave Copies of it; and one of theſe was publickly read in *Cheapſide*, on the fifth of *September*. So on the eighth of that month he was called before the *Star-Chamber*, and asked whether he was the Author of that ſeditious Bill, that was given out in his Name; and if ſo, whether he was ſorry for it. He anſwered, that the Bill was truly his; but he was very ſorry it had gone from him in ſuch a manner; for he had reſolved to have enlarged it in many things, and to have ordered it to be affixed to the doors of *Pauls*, and of the other Churches in *London*, with his Hand and Seal to it. He was at that time, contrary to all mens expectation, diſmiſſed. *Gardiner* plainly ſaw he could not expect to ſucceed him, and that the Queen had deſigned that See for Cardinal *Pool*, ſo he reſolved to protect and preſerve *Cranmer* all he could. Some moved that he ſhould be only put from his Biſhoprick, and have a ſmall Penſion aſſigned him, with a charge to keep within a Confinement, and not to meddle with matters of Religion. He was generally beloved for the gentleneſs of his temper; ſo it was thought that proceeding ſe-

Publiſhed without his knowledge.

But owned by him before the Council.

1553. verely with him, might alienate some from them, and embroil their affairs in the next Parliament. Others objected, that if he, who had been the chief promoter of Heresie, was used with such tenderness, it would encourage the rest to be more obstinate. And the Queen who had forgot the Services he did her in her Father's time, remembring rather that he had pronounced the Sentence of Divorce against her Mother, was easily induced to proceed severely. So on the thirteenth of *September* both he and *Latimer* were called before the Council; *Latimer* was that day committed; but *Cranmer* was respited till next day, and then he was sent to the *Tower*, both for matters of Treason against the Queen, and for dispersing of seditious Bills. *Tylor* of *Hadlee*, and several other Preachers, were also put in Prison; and upon an Information brought against *Horn* Dean of *Durefm*, he was sent for.

He and *Latimer* sent to the Tower.

The Forreigners sent out of *England*.

The Forreigners, that were come over upon publick Faith and encouragement, were better used: for *Peter Martyr* was preserved from the rage of his enemies, and suffered to go beyond Sea. There was also an Order sent to *John a Lasco* and his Congregation to be gone; their Church being taken from them, and their Corporation dissolved. And an hundred seventy five of them went away in two Ships to *Denmark* on the seventeenth of *September*, with all their Preachers; except two who were left to look to those few, which stayed behind, and being engaged in Trade, resolved to live in *England*, and follow their Consciences in the matters of Religion in private, with the Assistance of those Teachers. But *a Lasco*, after a long and hard passage, arriving at *Denmark*, was as ill received there, as if it had been a Popish Country, when they understood that he and his Company were of the *Helvetian* Confession: so that, though it was *December*, and a very severe Winter, they were required to be gone within two days, and could not obtain so much as liberty to leave their Wives or Children behind them, till they could provide a place for them. From thence they went first to *Lubeck*, then to *Wismar*, and *Hamburgh*, where they found the disputes about the manner of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament, had raised such violent animosities, that after much barbarous usage, they were banished out of all those Towns, and could find no place to settle in, till about the end of *March*, that they came to *Friseland*, where they were suffered to plant themselves.

Many English fly beyond Sea

Many in *England*, seeing the Government was set on severe courses so early, did infer that this would soon grow up to an extream Persecution; so that above a thousand Persons fled beyond Seas: most of them went in the company, and as the Servants, of French Protestants who having come over in King *Edward's* time, were now required, as the *Germans* had been, to return into their own Country. The Council understanding this, took care that no Englishman should escape out of their hands; and therefore sent an Order to the Ports, that none should be suffered to go over as Frenchmen, but those who brought Certificates from the French Ambassador. Among those that had got over, some eminent Divines went; who, either having no Cures, or being turned out of their Benefices, were not under such ties to any Flock, so that they judged themselves disingaged, and therefore did not, as Hirelings leave their Flock to the Persecution then imminent, but rather went to look after those who had not

left *England*. The chief of these that went at first were *Cox*, *Sands*, *Grindal*, and *Horn*. *Cox* was without any good colour turned out, both of his Deanery of *Christ-Church*, and his Prebendary at *Westminster*. He was put into the *Marshalsea*, but on the 19*th*. of *August* was discharged. *Sands* was turned out for his Sermon before the Duke of *Northumberland* at *Cambridge*: On what account *Grindal* was turned out, I know not; *Horn*, soon after he got beyond Sea, printed an Apology for his leaving his Country: he tells that he heard there was some Crimes against the State objected to him, which made him come up from *Duresm* to clear himself: It was said that three Letters had been written to him in the Queens Name, requiring him to come up, and intimating that they were resolved to charge him with contempt, and other points of State. He protests that he had never received but one, which was given him on the Road; but seeing how he was like to be used, he withdrew out of *England*: upon which he takes occasion in that discourse to vindicate the Preachers in King *Edward*'s time, against whom it was now objected, that they had neglected Fasting and Prayer, and had allowed the People all sorts of Liberty: This he said was so false, that the ruling Men in that time were much offended at the great freedom which the Preachers then took, so that many of them would hear no more Sermons; and he says for himself, that though *Tonstal* was now his great enemy, he had refused to accept of his Bishoprick, and was ill used, and threatned, for denying to take it. 1553.

All these things tended much to inflame the People. Therefore great care was taken, first, to oblige all those Noblemen who had assisted the Queen at her coming to the Crown; since a grateful acknowledgment of past Services is the greatest encouragement, both to the same Persons to renew them, and to others to undertake the like upon new occasions. The Earl of *Arundel* was made Lord Steward; Sir *Edward Hastings* was made Master of the Horse, and afterwards Lord *Hastings*; Sir *John Gage*, Lord Chamberlain; Sir *John Williams*, who had Proclaimed the Queen in *Oxfordshire*, was made Lord *Williams*; and Sir *Henry Jerningham*, that first gathered the Men of *Norfolk* about her, was made Captain of her Guard: but *Ratcliff* Earl of *Sussex* had done the most considerable Service of them all; for to him she had given the chief Command of her Army, and he had managed it with that Prudence, that others were thereby encouraged to come in to her Assistance; so an unusual Honour was contrived for him, that he might cover his head in her Presence: which passed under the Great Seal the second of *October*; he being the only Peer of *England* in whom this Honour was ever conferred, as far as I know. The like was granted to the Lord *Courcy* Baron of *Kingsale* in *Ireland*, whose Posterity enjoy it to this day: but I am not so well informed of that Family, as to know by which of our Kings it was first granted. The Queen having summoned a Parliament to the tenth of *October*, was Crowned on the first of that month, by *Gardiner*, who with ten other Bishops, all in their Mitres, Copes, and Crosiers, performed that Ceremony with great Solemnity. *Day* preaching the Coronation Sermon; who, it seems, was accounted the best Preacher among them; since he was ordered to Preach both at the late King's Funeral, and now again at the Coronation.

The Queen rewards those who had served her.

The Queen is Crowned, and discharges all Taxes.

But *Gardiner* had prepared a Largess of an extraordinary nature for

1553. the Queen to distribute that day among her People, besides her general Pardon; he caused a Proclamation to be published, which did set forth, 'That whereas the good Subjects of *England* had always exhibited Aid 'to their Princes, when the good of the Publick, and Honour of the 'Realm required it; and though the Queen, since her coming to the 'Crown, found the Treasury was marvellously exhausted, by the evil 'Government of late years, especially since the Duke of *Northumber-* '*land* bare Rule; though she found her self charged with divers great 'Sums of her Father and Brothers Debts, which for her own Honour, 'and the Honour of the Realm, she determined to pay in times con- 'venient and reasonable; yet having a special regard to the welfare of 'her Subjects, and accounting their loving hearts and prosperity the 'chiefest Treasure which she desired, next to the Favour and Grace of 'God; therefore, since in her Brother's last Parliament, two Tenths, 'two Fifteenths, and a Subsidy both out of Lands and Goods, were 'given to him for paying his Debts; which were now due to her; 'she of her great Clemency did fully pardon and discharge these Sub- 'sidies; trusting her said good Subjects will have loving consideration 'thereof for their parts, whom she heartily requires, to bend themselves 'wholly to God, to serve him sincerely, and with continual Prayer, for 'the honour and advancement of the Queen, and the Common- 'Wealth.

A Parliament summoned.

And thus Matters were prepared for the Parliament; which was opened the tenth of *October*. In the Writ of Summons, and all other Writs, the Queen retained still the Title of *Supream Head*. *Taylor* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and *Harley* Bishop of *Hereford* came thither, resolving to justifie their Doctrine. Most of the other reformed Bishops were now in Prison: for besides these formerly mentioned, on the fourth of *October* the Archbishop of *York* was put in the *Tower*, no cause being given but heinous Offences only named in general. When the Mass begun, it is said that those two Bishops withdrew, and were upon that never suffered to come to their Places again. But one *Beal* the Clerk of the Council in Queen *Elizabeths* time, reports this otherwise, and more probably; that Bishop *Taylor* took his Place in his Robes, but refusing to give any reverence to the Mass, was violently thrust out of the House. He says nothing of *Harley*, so it is probable that he followed the other. The same Writer also informs us, that in many Places of the Country, Men were chosen by Force and Threats; in other Places those imployed by the Court, did by violence hinder the Commons from coming to chuse; in many Places false Returns were made; and that some were violently turned out of the House of Commons: upon which Reasons he concludes that it was no Parliament, since it was under a Force; and so might be annulled, as the Parliament held at *Coventry* in the 38*th.* year of King *Henry* the 6*th.* was, upon Evidence of the like Force, declared afterwards to be no Parliament. The Journals of the House of Lords in this Parliament are lost; so there is no light to be had of their Proceedings, but from the imperfect Journals of the House of Commons.

Bishops violently thrust out for not worshipping the Mass.

Great disorder in Elections.

On the second day of the Session, one moved in the House of Commons for a review of King *Edward*'s Laws. But that being a while argued, was at this time laid aside, and the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage was put in. Then followed a Debate upon Dr. *Nowell*'s being returned

from *Loo* in *Cornwal*, whether he being a Prebendary of *Weſtminſter* could ſit in that Houſe? and the Committee being appointed to ſearch for Preſidents, it was reported, that he being repreſented in the Convocation Houſe, could not be a Member of that Houſe; ſo he was caſt out. The Bill of Tonnage and Poundage was ſent up to the Lords, who ſent it down to the Commons to be reformed in two Proviſo's that were not according to former Preſidents. How far this was contrary to the Rights of the Commons, who now ſay that the Lords cannot alter a Bill of Money, I am not able to determine. The only publick Bill that paſſed in this ſhort Seſſion was for a Declaration of Treaſons and Felonies: by which it was ordained that nothing ſhould be judged Treaſon, but what was within the Statute of Treaſons in the twenty fifth of *Edward* the third; and nothing ſhould be ſo judged Felony, that was not ſo before the *1ſt.* year of King *Henry* the eight, excepting from any benefit of this Act, all ſuch as had been in Priſon before the laſt of *September*; who were alſo excepted out of the Queens Pardon at her Coronation. Two private Bills alſo paſſed: the one for the reſtoring of the Wife of the late Marqueſs of *Exeter*, who had been Attainted in the *32d.* year of King *Henry*'s Reign; and the other for her Son *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*. And ſo the Parliament was Prorogued from the *21ſt.* to the *24th.* of *October*, that there might be a Seſſion of Parliament conſiſting only of Acts of Mercy; though this Repeal of additional Treaſons and Felonies, was not more than what had paſſed in the beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign, without the clog of ſo ſevere a Proviſo, by which many were cut off from the Favour deſigned by it. 1553.

An Act for moderating ſome ſevere Laws.

Some have thought, that ſince Treaſons had been reduced by the ſecond Act of *Edward* the *6th.* to the ſtandard of the *25th.* of *Edward* the third, that therefore there was ſomewhat elſe deſigned by this Act, than barely the repealing ſome late ſevere Acts, which being done the *1ſt.* of *Edward* the *6th.* needed not be now repealed, if it imported no more. And ſince this Act as it is worded, mentions, or rather excepts, thoſe Treaſons that are declared and expreſſed in the *25th.* of *Edward* the *3d.* they have inferred that the power of Parliaments declaring of Treaſons *Ex poſt facto*, which was reſerved by that Statute, is hereby taken away; and that nothing is now to be held Treaſon, but what is enumerated in that Statute. Yet this is ſtill liable to Debate; ſince the one may be thought to be declared and expreſſed in general words, as well as the other ſpecialties are in more particular words; and is alſo ſtill in force. So nothing ſeems comprehended within this Repeal, but the Acts paſſed in King *Edward*'s Reign, declaring other Crimes to be Treaſon: ſome are added in the ſame Act, and others in that of the *3d* and *4th.* of his Reign, *chap.* 5. Nor is it likely, that if the Parliament had intended to have delivered the Subjects from the apprehenſions of all Acts of Attainder, upon a Declaration of new Treaſons, they would not have expreſſed it more plainly; ſince it muſt have been very grateful to the Nation, which had groaned heavily under Arbitrary Attainders of late years.

When the Parliament met again, the firſt Bill the Commons entred on, was that of Tonnage and Poundage, which they paſſed in two days. Then was the Bill about King *Henry*'s Marriage with the Queens Mother ſent down on the *26th.* by the Lords, and the Commons paſſed it on the *28th.* ſo ſtrangely was the ſtream turned, that a Divorce that had been

The Marriage of Queen *Katherine* to King *Henry* Confirmed.

1553. been for seven years much desired by the Nation, was now repealed upon fewer days consultation. In the Preamble it was said, 'That truth how 'much soever obscured and born down, will in the end break out: and 'that therefore they declared that King *Henry* the 8*th.* being lawfully 'married to Queen *Katherine* by the consent of both their Parents, and 'the advice of the wisest Men in the Realm, and of the best and notablest 'Men for Learning in Christendom, did continue that state twenty years, 'in which God blessed them with her Majesty and other Issue, and a 'course of great happiness; but then a very few malicious Persons did 'endeavour to break that happy agreement between them, and studied 'to possess the King, with a scruple in his Conscience about it: and to 'support that, caused the Seals of some Universities to be got against 'it, a few Persons being corrupted with money for that end. They had 'also by sinistrous ways, and secret threatnings, procured the Seals of the 'Universities of this Kingdom, and finally *Thomas Cranmer* did most ungodlily, and against Law, judge the Divorce, upon his own unadvised understanding of the Scriptures, upon the Testimonies of the Universities, and some bare and most untrue conjectures; and that was afterwards confirmed by two Acts of Parliament, in which was contained the Illegitimacy of her Majesty: But that Marriage not being prohibited by the Law of God, and lawfully made, could not be dissolved broken; since what God hath joyned together, no Man could put asunder: all which they considering, together with the many miseries that had fallen on the Kingdom since that time, which they did esteem Plagues sent from God for it; therefore they declare that Sentence given by *Cranmer* to be unlawful, and of no force from the beginning: and do also repeal the Acts of Parliament that had confirmed it.

Which was much Censured.

By this Act, *Gardiner* had performed his Promise to the Queen of getting her Illegitimation taken off, without any relation to the Popes Authority. But in the drawing of it, he shewed that he was past all shame: when he could frame such an Act, of a business which himself had so violently and servilely promoted. The falsehood of that pretence of corrupting Universities has been shewn in the former Volume: but it was all they had now to say. The laying it all upon *Cranmer* was as high a pitch of malice and impudence as could be devised: for as *Gardiner* had been setting it on, long before *Cranmer* was known to King *Henry*; so he had been joyned with him in the Commission, and had given his assent to the Sentence which *Cranmer* gave. Nor was the Divorce grounded meerly upon *Cranmer's* understanding of the Scriptures, but upon the fullest and most studied Arguments, that had perhaps been in any Age brought together in one particular Case: and both Houses of Convocation had condemned the Marriage before his Sentence. But because in the right of his See he was *Legate to the Pope*, therefore to make the Sentence stronger, it was only in his name, though he had but a small share in it, compared to what *Gardiner* had.

The Queen carries it severely to the Lady *Elizabeth.*

By this Act, there was also a second Illegitimation brought on the Lady *Elizabeth*, to whom hitherto the Queen had been very kind, using her on all occasions with the tenderness of a Sister: but from this time forwards she handled her more severely. It was perhaps occasioned by

by this Act, ſince before they ſtood both equally illegitimated; but now the Act that legitimated the Queen, making her moſt certainly a Baſtard in Law, the Queen might think it now too much to uſe her as ſhe had done formerly. Others ſuggeſt a more ſecret reaſon of this diſtaſt. The new Earl of *Devonſhire* was much in the Queens favour, ſo that it was thought ſhe had ſome inclinations to marry him; but he, either not preſuming ſo high, or really having an averſion to her, and an inclination to her Siſter, who of that moderate ſhare of beauty that was between them, had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his Addreſſes with more than ordinary concern to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and this did bring them both in trouble, as ſhall be afterwards ſhewn. 1553.

The next Bill that was ſent from the Lords to the Commons, was for the repealing King *Edward*'s Laws about Religion. It was ſent down on the 31*ſt.* of *October*, and argued ſix days in the Houſe of Commons: but in the end it was carried, and ſent back to the Lords. The Preamble of it ſets forth the great diſorders that had fallen out in the Nation by the changes that had been made in Religion, from that which their Fore-fathers had left them by the Authority of the Catholick Church: thereupon all the Laws that had been made in King *Edward*'s time about Religion were now repealed; and it was Enacted that, from the 20*th.* of *December* next, there ſhould be no other Form of Divine Service but what had been uſed in the laſt year of King *Henry* the 8*th*, leaving it free to all till that day, to uſe either the Books appointed by King *Edward*, or the old ones at their pleaſure. The Laws made by King *Edward* repealed.

Another Act was paſſed, which the Commons ſent up to the Lords, againſt all thoſe who by any overt Act ſhould moleſt or diſquiet any Preacher, becauſe of his Office, or for any Sermon that he might have Preached; or ſhould any way diſturb them when they were in any part of the Divine Offices, that either had been in the laſt year of King *Henry*, or ſhould be afterwards ſet forth by the Queen; or ſhould break or abuſe the holy Sacrament, or break Altars, Crucifixes, or Croſſes; thoſe that did any of theſe things ſhould be preſented to the Juſtices of Peace, and be by them put in Priſon, where they ſhould lye three Months, or till they were penitent for their Offences: and if any reſcued them, they ſhould be liable to the ſame puniſhment. But to this a Proviſo was added by the Lords, that this Act ſhould no way derogate from the Authority of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Courts, who might likewiſe proceed upon ſuch Offences: and a Certificate from the Ordinaries, that ſuch Offenders were puniſhed by them, being brought to the Juſtices of Peace, they were to proceed no further: or if the Juſtices made a Certificate that they had puniſhed them according to Law, the Ordinary might not puniſh them a ſecond time. But the Commons were now ſo heated, that they ſent up another Bill to the Lords againſt thoſe who came not to Church, nor to Sacraments, after the old Service ſhould be again ſet up: the inflicting of the Puniſhments in theſe caſes being left to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. This fell in the Houſe of Lords, not ſo much from any oppoſition that was made, as that they were afraid of allarming the Nation too much, by many ſevere Laws at once. An Act againſt the affronting Prieſts.

Another Law was made for ſecuring the publick Peace againſt unlawful An Act againſt unlawful Aſſemblies.

1553. advertised. But to let him see how much she depended on his Counsels, she desired he would send her a List of such Persons as should be made Bishops; for many were now to be turned out. To this (besides the Answer which he might have writ to her self, that I have not seen,) he writ a copious Answer, in a tedious Paper of Instructions, which he gave to *Goldwell*; the Conclusion of which, summing up his whole Mind fully enough, I thought sufficient to put into the *Collection*, for the Instructions are extream long, and very full of words to little purpose. They seem to be of his own hand-writing, but of that I am not well assured, having seen nothing else of his hand, except his Subscription.

Collections, Numb. 9.

The Advice he sent to the Queen.

The substance of it was this: 'He rejoyced much at the two Acts 'that were passed, but yet he censures them both, because he observed 'some Defects in them: In the Act for confirming her Mothers Mar- 'age, he found fault that there was no mention made of the Popes Bulls 'by the authority of which only it could be a lawful Marriage. In the 'other, he did not like it, that the Worship of God, and the Sacraments 'were to be as they were in the end of her Fathers Reign; for 'then the People were yet in a State of Schism, and Schismaticks have 'no right to the Sacraments; the Pope's Interdict still lay on the Na- 'tion, and till that were taken off, none could without Sin either admi- 'nister, or receive them. He told her, that *Commendone* had said no- 'thing in her Name to the Consistory; but had spoken to them only on 'the Reports which, he said, he had heard of her from good hands; 'and it was necessary to say somewhat, in order to the sending a Legate. 'That many in the Consistory had opposed the sending of him, because 'there was no express Desire sent about it; but it was carried, that he 'should come over with very full Graces, and Power to reconcile the 'Kingdom on very easy Terms. He also told her, he was afraid, that 'when the Pope and Cardinals should hear that he was stopp'd, they 'would repent their Benignity, and take this as an Affront, and recall 'him and his Powers, and send another that would not be so tender 'of the Nation, or bring with him such full Powers: That to prevent 'this, he had sent one to the Pope and Cardinals, to mitigate their 'displeasure, by letting them know, he was only stopp'd for a little 'while, till the Act of Attainder that stood against him was repealed; 'and to make a shew of going forward, he had sent his Household- 'Stuff to *Flanders*, but would stay where he was, till he had further 'Orders. He said, he knew this flowed chiefly from the Emperor, who 'was for using such Political Courses, as himself had followed in the be- 'ginning of the *Interim*, and was earnest to have the State setled, before 'she meddled with Religion; he had spoke with his Confessor about it, 'and had convinced him of the Impiety of such Courses, and sent him 'to work on him. He also told the Queen, he was afraid carnal Policy 'might govern her too much, and that she might thereby fall from her 'simplicity in Christ, in which she had hitherto lived. He encouraged 'her therefore to put on a Spirit of Wisdom and Courage, and to trust 'in God who had preserved her so long, and had setled her on the 'Throne in so unlook'd for a manner. He desired she would shew as 'much Courage in rejecting the Supremacy, as her Father had done in 'acquiring it. He confessed, he knew none in either House of Par- 'liament fit to propose that matter: the Spiritualty had all complied 'so

'ſo far, had written and declared for it ſo much, that it could not 1553.
'flow from them decently; and the Temporalty being poſſeſſed of the
'Church Lands, would not willingly move it: therefore he thought
'it beſt for her ſelf to go to the Parliament, having before-hand ac-
'quainted ſome few both of the Spiritualty and Temporalty with her
'Deſign; and that ſhe ſhould tell both Houſes, ſhe was touched in
'her Conſcience, that ſhe and her People were in a Schiſm from the Ca-
'lick Church and the Apoſtolick See; and that therefore ſhe had de-
'ſired a Legate to come over to Treat about it; and ſhould thereupon
'propoſe that the Attainder might be taken off from him, that he might
'be capable to come on that Meſſage. And he proteſted, that he had
'never acted againſt the King, or Kingdom, but only with deſign to
'reduce them to the Unity of the Church; neither before nor after
'the Attainder: And whereas ſome might apprehend a thraldom from
'the Papacy, ſhe might give them aſſurance that they ſhould ſee all
'things ſo well ſecured, that there ſhould no danger come to the Na-
'tion from it; and he aſſured them that he, for his part, ſhould take
'as much care of that, as any of all the Temporalty could deſire.
'What Recommendations he ſent, for the Sees that were to be decla-
'red vacant, I do not know.

When this Diſpatch of his was brought into *England*, *Gardiner*, by the aſſiſtance of the Emperor, convinced the Queen that his method was unpracticable, and that the Marriage muſt be firſt diſpatched: and now *Gardiner* and he did declare open Enmity to one another. *Gardiner* thought him a weak man, that might have ſome ſpeculative knowledge of abſtracted *Idea's*, but underſtood not the World, nor the genious of the Engliſh Nation. *Pool*, on the other hand, thought him a falſe Man, that made conſcience of nothing, and was better at Intrigues and Diſſimulation, than the Government of the Church. But the Emperor ſaw *Gardiner* had ſo prudently managed this Parliament, that he concluded his meaſures were rather to be followed than the Cardinals. But *Gardiners* Methods are preferred to him.

In the Houſe of Commons it was given out, that it was neceſſary to gain the Queen to the Intereſt of the Nation, and to turn her from foreign Councils and Aid, by being eaſy to her in the matter of Religion, and therefore they were ready both to repeal the Divorce, and King *Edward's* Laws. But when they ſaw the deſign of the Marriage, and uniting with *Rome*, was ſtill carried on, they were all much allarm'd: ſo they ſent their Speaker, and twenty of their Houſe with him, with an earneſt and humble Addreſs to her, not to a marry a Stranger. This had ſo enflamed the Houſe, that the Court ſaw more could not be expected from them, unleſs they were ſatisfied in that point. So on the ſixth of *December* the Parliament was diſſolved. Upon that *Gardiner* ſent to the Emperor, to let him know that the Marriage was like to meet with ſuch oppoſition, that unleſs extraordinary Conditions were offered, which all ſhould ſee were much to the advantage of the Engliſh Crown, it could not be carried without a general Rebellion. He alſo aſſured him, that if great ſums of money were not ſent over to gratifie the chief Nobility and leading men in the Country, both for obliging them to his Intereſt, and enabling them to carry Elections for the next Parliament, the oppoſition would be ſuch, that the Queen muſt lay down all thoughts of marrying his Son. Upon this, the Emperor and his Son reſolved to offer

The Houſe of Commons diſpleaſed with the Marriage with *Spain*.

The Parliament is diſſolved.

1553. offer what Conditions the English would demand; for *Philip* reckoned, if he once had the Crown on his Head, it would be easie for him with the assistance which his other Dominions might give him, to make all these signifie little. And for Money the Emperor borrowed twelve hundred thousand Crowns, (which in English Money was four hundred thousand pounds, for the Crown was then a Noble) and promised to send it over to be distributed as *Gardiner* and his Embassadors should think fit: but made his Son bind himself to repay him that sum, when he had once attained the Crown of *England*. And this the Emperor made so little a secret, that when, a year after, some Towns in *Germany* that had lent a part of this Money, desired to be repaid; he answered them, that he had lent his Son 1200000 Crowns to marry him to the Queen of *England*, and had yet received of him only 300000 Crowns, but he had good security for the rest, and the Merchants were bound to pay him 100000 lib. Sterling, and therefore he demanded a little more time of them. All this was printed soon after at *Strasburgh* by the English there, in a Book which they sent over to *England*; in which, both the Address made by the Commons in Parliament, and this Answer of the Emperor's to the Towns, is mentioned. And that whole Discourse, (which is in the form of an Address to the Queen, the Nobility and the Commons,) is written with such gravity and simplicity of Stile, that as it is by much the best I have seen of this time: so in these publick Transactions, there is no reason to think it untrue. For the things which it relates are credible of themselves; and though the sum there mentioned was very great, yet he that considers that *England* was to be bought with it, will not think it an extraordinary price. In that Discourse, it is further said, that as *Gardiner* corrupted many by Bribes, so in the Court of *Chancery*, Common Justice was denyed to all but those who came into these Designs.

1200000 Crowns sent into *England* to procure the consent of the Nation to the Marriage.

Having thus given an account of what was done in the Parliament, I shall next shew how the Convocation proceeded. *Bonner* being to preside in it, as being the first Bishop of the Province of *Canterbury*, appointed *John Harpsfield* his Chaplain to preach: who took his Text out of the twentieth of the *Acts* (verse 20.) *Feed the Flock*. He run out in his bidding Prayers, most profusely on the Queens Praises, comparing her to *Deborah* and *Esther*, with all the servilest flatteries he could invent: next he bid them pray for the Lady *Elizabeth*: but when he came to mention the Clergy, he enlarged in the praises of *Bonner*, *Gardiner*, *Tonstall*, *Heath*, and *Day*, so grosly, that it seems the strain of flattering Church-men at that time were very course: and he run out so copiously in them, as if he had been to deliver a Panegyrick and not to bid the Beads. In his Sermon he inveighed against the late Preachers, for not observing Fasts, nor keeping Lent, and for their Marriages which he severely condemned.

The Proceedings of the Convocation.

Weston, Dean of *Westminster*, was presented Prolocutor by the lower House, and approved of by *Bonner*. Whether any of the Bishops that had been made in King *Edwards* time sat among them, I do not know. But in the lower House there was great opposition made. There had been care taken that there should be none returned to the Convocation, but such as would comply in all points. But yet there came some Non-compliers, who being Deans or Arch-Deacons, had a right to sit in

Disputes concerning the Sacrament.

in the Convocation. Theſe were *Philpot* Archdeacon of *Wincheſter*, *Philips* Dean of *Rocheſter*, *Haddon* Dean of *Exeter*, *Cheyney* Arch-deacon of *Hereford*, *Ailmer* Arch-deacon of *Stow*, and *Young* Chanter of St. *Davids*. *Weſton* the Prolocutor propoſed to them, on the 18*th.* of *October*, that there had been a Catechiſm printed in the laſt year of King *Edwards* Reign in the name of that Synod, and as he underſtood it was done without their conſents, which was a peſtiferous Book, and full of Hereſies; There was likewiſe a very abominable Book of Common Prayer ſet out; it was therefore the Queens pleaſure that they ſhould prepare ſuch Laws about Religion, as ſhe would ratifie with her Parliament. So he propoſed that they ſhould begin with condemning thoſe Books, particularly the Articles in them contrary to the Sacrament of the Altar: and he gave out two queſtions about it: Whether in the Sacrament, upon the Sanctification of the Bread and Wine, all their ſubſtance did not vaniſh, being changed into the Body and Blood of Chriſt? and, Whether the natural Body of Chriſt was not corporally preſent in the Euchariſt, either by the Tranſubſtantiation of the Elements into his Body and Blood, or by the Conjunction of Concomitance, as ſome expreſſed it? The Houſe was adjourned till the 20*th*, on which day every Man was appointed to give in his Anſwer to theſe Queſtions. All anſwered and ſubſcribed in the affirmative, except the ſix before mentioned. *Philpot* ſaid, whereas it was given out that the Catechiſm was not approved by the Convocation, though it was printed in their name; it was a miſtake: for the Convocation had authoriſed a number of Perſons to ſet forth Eccleſiaſtical Laws, to whom they had committed their Synodal Authority; So that they might well ſet out ſuch Books in the name of the Convocation. He alſo ſaid, that it was againſt all order, to move Men to ſubſcribe in ſuch points, before they were examined: and ſince the number of theſe on the one ſide, was ſo unequal to thoſe on the other ſide; he deſired that Dr. *Ridley*, Mr. *Rogers*, and two or three more, might be allowed to come to the Convocation. This ſeemed very reaſonable. So the lower Houſe propoſed it to the Biſhops. They anſwered, that theſe perſons being Priſoners, they could not bring them: but they ſhould move the Council about it. A Meſſage alſo was ſent from ſome great Lords, that they intended to hear the Diſputation; ſo the Houſe adjourned till the 23*d*. 1553.

There was then a great appearance of Noblemen and others. The Prolocutor began with a Proteſtation, that by this Diſpute they did not intend to call the Truth in doubt, to which they had all ſubſcribed; but they did it only to ſatisfie the objections of thoſe few who refuſed to concur with them. But it was denyed to let any Priſoners or others aſſiſt them, for it was ſaid, that that being a Diſpute among thoſe of the Convocation, none but Members were to be heard in it. *Haddon*, and *Ailmer*, foreſeeing they ſhould be run down with clamour and noiſe, refuſed to diſpute: *Young* went away: *Cheyney* being next ſpoke to, did propoſe his Objections: that St. *Paul* calls the Sacrament *Bread* after the Conſecration: that *Origen* ſaid, it went into the Excrement: and *Theodoret* ſaid, the Bread and Wine did not in the Sacrament depart from their former *Subſtance*, *Form*, and *Shape*. *Moreman* was called on to anſwer him: He ſaid, that St. *Paul* calling it Bread, was to be underſtood thus, *the Sacrament or Form of Bread*. To *Origens* Authority

1553. ty he answered nothing; but to *Theodoret* he said, the word they render *Substance* stood in a more general signification, and so might signifie *accidental Substance*. Upon this, *Ailmer*, who had resolved not to Dispute, could not contain himself, but said the *Greek* Word, &c. could not be so understood, for the following words of *Form* and *Shape* belonged to the Accidents, but that only belonged to the Substance of the Elements. Upon this there followed a Contest about the signification of that word. Then *Philpot* struck in, and said, the occasion of *Theodoret*'s writing, plainly shewed, that was a vain Cavil; for the Dispute was with the *Eutychians*, whether the Body and humane Nature of Christ had yet an Existence distinct from the Divine Nature? The *Eutychians* said, it was swallowed up by his Godhead; and argued from some expressions used concerning the Sacrament, as if the presence of Christ in it had swallowed up the Elements: against which, *Theodoret*, according to the Orthodox Doctrine, argued to prove that there was in Christ a humane Nature, not swallowed up; and said, that as in the Sacrament, notwithstanding the union of Christ with the Elements, they did not depart from their *Substance, Form, and Shape*; So the humane Nature of Christ, was not absorbed by its Union to the Godhead. So it plainly appeared, this word *Substance* stood for the Nature of the Elements. *Moreman* being straitned in answering this, *Philpot* said, if he had not an Answer ready, he would desire him to think on one against their next Meeting; upon this the Prolocutor checked him, as if he were bragging too soon. He insisted on his Argument, but was commanded to be silent. *Haddon* upon that proposed another Argument, from these Words of our Saviour, *The Poor you have always with you, but Me you have not always:* That therefore his Body was not in the Sacrament. To this the Prolocutor answered, that Christ was not to be always with us so as to receive our Alms; which is all that was intended by that place: But *Haddon* brought a copious Citation out of St. *Austin*, applying that very Place to prove that Christ's natural Presence was no more on Earth, after his Ascension into Heaven. To this Dr. *Watson* opposed another place of St. *Austin*, and some dispute was about those Places: After that, *Haddon* read more Authorities of Fathers, asserting that Christ was in Heaven and not on Earth; the Words of the Institution did plainly express it: both because the Sacrament was to be in *remembrance of Christ, and because it was to continue until his coming again*. But to this they said, he was not on Earth in a bodily manner; and they endeavoured to take away the Force of the Argument from the Words, *until his coming again*, by some other Acceptions of the Word [*until.*] But *Haddon* asked them, whether they thought Christ did eat his own natural Body, when he instituted and took the Sacrament? they said he did. Upon that he answered, that that was so absurd, that he thought it needless to argue more with those who could yield it, and so he sate down. *Philpot* argued, that Christ could not receive his own Body in the Sacrament, since it was given for the Remission of Sins, of which he was not capable, having no Sin; *Weston* answered, he might receive it, as well as he Baptized: But *Philpot* answered, he was baptized, as he said himself, to be an example to others. So ended this days Dispute.

On the 25 *Philpot*, who was ordered to begin that Day, had pre-
pared

pared a long Diſcourſe in *Latin*: But *Weſton* interrupted him, and ſaid, He muſt make no Speech, he was only to propoſe his Arguments, and that in *Engliſh*; though it had been before ordered that the Diſpute ſhould be in *Latin*. Then *Philpot* went to explain what ſort of Preſence he would diſpute againſt, and what he allowed. Here *Weſton* again interrupted him, and bid him form his Argument. Upon that he fell down on his Knees, and begged of the Lords, and Privy-Counſellors that were preſent, That he might have leave to ſpeak his Mind: Which they granted him; ſo, he ſaid, For their Sacrifice of the Maſs, he would prove that it was no Sacrament at all, and that Chriſt was no way preſent in it; which if he ſhould not do, before the Queen and her Council, againſt any ſix that would maintain the contrary, he ſhould be willing to be burnt before the Court Gates. Upon this there was great out-crying, that he was mad, and talkt idely; and *Weſton* threatned to ſend him to Priſon. But this noiſe being laid, and he claiming the priviledg of the Houſe for the freedom of Speech, was required to go on to an Argument. Then he proved that Chriſt was in Heaven; for himſelf ſaid, *I leave the World, and go to my Father*: and to prove there was no ambiguity in theſe words, he obſerved, that his Diſciples ſaid upon this, *Now thou ſpeakeſt plainly, without any Parable.* It was anſwered by Dr. *Chedſey*, That thoſe words were only meant of his viſible Aſcenſion, but did not exclude his inviſible preſence; and he cited ſome words of *Chryſoſtom*'s, That Chriſt took his Fleſh with him, and alſo left his Fleſh behind him. *Weſton* and the reſt ſaid, That Authority was unanſwerable; and for a while would not hear his Anſwer. But *Philpot* ſhewed him, that *Chryſoſtom*'s words muſt be underſtood in a large ſenſe, as Believers are ſaid to be Fleſh of his Fleſh; for that Father applies that alſo to Baptiſm, from theſe words, *As many as are baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt*; ſo the Fleſh that Chriſt left on Earth, according to him, is not the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament. Upon this, *Pye*, Dean of *Chicheſter*, whiſpered ſomewhat to the Prolocutor; who thereupon ſaid to *Philpot*, That he had diſputed enough. He anſwered, That he had a dozen of Arguments, and they were enjoyning him ſilence, before he had got through one of them. They threatned to ſend him to Priſon if he ſpoke more. He ſaid, That was far from the Promiſe they had made of hearing them fully; and from what was preached laſt *Sunday* at *Pauls*, That all things ſhould be anſwered in this Diſputation. But *Pye* ſaid, He ſhould be anſwered another way. *Philpot* replyed, There was a Company of them now got together, who had heretofore diſſembled with God and the World; and were now met to ſuppreſs God's Truth, and to ſet forth falſe Devices, which they were not able to maintain. After this *Ailmer* ſtood up, and brought many Authorities out of Greek Authors, to prove that ἔσται in *Theodoret*, could only be underſtood of the *ſubſtance* of Bread and Wine: and *Moreman* deſired a days time to conſider of them. Then *Pern*, though he had ſubſcribed with the reſt, brought ſome Arguments againſt Tranſubſtantiation; for which the Prolocutor chid him, ſince he had before ſubſcribed. *Ailmer* anſwered, That it was againſt the freedom of the Houſe, for any to be ſo chid for delivering his Conſcience. It was now become late, ſo they adjourned to the 27*th.* 1553.

1553. Then they again disputed about *Theodorets* words, where *Haddon* shewed that he said the Symboles retained the same *Substance* that they had before. After that *Cheyney* fell to argue about those words; he acknowledged a real Presence, but denied Transubstantiation, and pressed *Theodoret*'s Authority so close, that *Watson* said he was a *Nestorian*; and if *Theodoret*, who was but one, was of their side, there was above a hundred Fathers against them. Upon this *Cheyney* quoted *Irneus*, who had said, that our flesh was nourished by the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament. He also cited *Hesychius*, who said that in the Church of *Jerusalem*, the Symboles that were not consumed in the Communion, were burnt afterwards; he desired to know whether the Ashes were the Body of Christ, or what it was that was burnt. To all this *Horsfield* made a long Answer concerning Gods Omnipotence, and the weakness of mens understandings, that could not comprehend Divine Mysteries. But *Cheyney* still asked what it was that was burnt? *Horsfield* replied, it was either the Substanee of Bread, or the Body of Christ; and afterwards said it was a Miracle: At that *Cheyney* smiled, and said, then he could say no more. *Weston* asked, whether there was not enough said in answer to these mens Objections? Many of the Clergy cried out, *Yes, Yes:* but the Multitude with repeated cries said, *No, No: Weston* said, he spake to those of the House, and not to the rude Multitude. Then he asked those Divines, whether they would now for three days answer the Arguments that should be put to them? *Haddon, Cheyney*, and *Ailmer*, said they would not: But *Philpot* offered to do it: *Weston* said he was a mad man, and fitter to be sent to *Bedlam*. *Philpot* said, he that had carried himself with so much Passion, and so little Indifferency, deserved a Room there much better. *Weston* neglecting him, turned to the Assembly, and said, they might see what sort of men these were, whom they had now answered three days; but though they had promised it, and the Order of Disputation did require it, that they should answer in their turn three days, they now declined it. Upon that, *Ailmer* stood up and answered, that they had made no such Promise, nor undertaken any such Disputation; but being required to give their Reasons, why they would not subscribe with the rest, they had done it, but had received no Answer to them, and therefore would enter into no further Disputation before such Judges, who had already determined and subscribed those Questions. So the House was adjourned to the 30*th.* and then *Philpot* appeared to answer, but desired first leave to prosecute his former Argument, and urged that since Christ as man is like us in all things without sin, therefore as we are restrained to one place at a time, so is Christ but in one place, and that is *Heaven*; for St. *Peter* says, the *Heavens must contain him till the Restitution of all things*. To this it was answered, That Christ being God, his Omnipotence was above our understanding: and that to shut him in one place, was to put him in Prison. *Philpot* said, he was not speaking of his Divine Nature, but that as he was man he was like us: And for their saying that Christ was not to be imprisoned in Heaven, he left to all men to judge whether that was a good answer or not. Much discourse following upon this, the Prolocutor commanded him to come no more into the House. He answered, he thought himself happy to be out of their company. Others suggesting to the Prolocutor, that it would be said

ſaid the meeting was not free, if men were put out of the Houſe for ſpeaking their minds: He ſaid to him he might come, ſo he were decently Habited, and did not ſpeak but when he commanded him. To this he anſwered, that he had rather be abſent altogether. *Weſton* concluded all, by ſaying, you have the *Word*, but we have the *Sword*: Truly pointing out wherein the ſtrength of both Cauſes lay.

This was the Iſſue of that Diſputation, which was ſoon after Printed in *Engliſh*: and in *Latin* by *Volerandus Polanus*, and is inſerted at large in *Fox's Acts and Monuments*. What account the other ſide gave of it, I do not find. But upon all ſuch occaſions, the prevailing party, when the inequality was ſo diſproportioned, uſed to carry things with ſo much noiſe and diſorder, that it was no wonder the Reformers had no mind to engage in this Diſpute. And thoſe who reflected on the way of proceeding in King *Edwards* time, could not but confeſs things had been managed with much more Candor and Equality. For in this very Point, there had been, as was formerly ſhewn, Diſputes for a Year together, before there was any Determination made: ſo that all men were free at that time to deliver their Opinions without any fear, and then the Diſputes were in the Univerſities, where as there were a great Silence, and Collection of Books, ſo the Auditors were more capable of being inſtructed by them: But here the Point was firſt determined, and then diſputed: And this was in the midſt of the diſorder of the Town, where the Privy Council gave all poſſible encouragement to the prevailing Party.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

The laſt thing I find done this year, was, the reſtoring *Veiſey* to be Biſhop of *Exeter*, which was done on the 28*th.* of *December*. In his Warrant for it under the great Seal, it is ſaid, that he, for ſome juſt troubles both in Body and Mind, had reſign'd his Biſhoprick to King *Edward*, to which the Queen now reſtored him. And thus ended this year. Foreign Affairs did not ſo much concern Religion, as they had done in the former Reign, which as it made me give ſome account of them then, ſo it cauſes me now not to proſecute them ſo fully.

1554.

In the beginning of the next year, the Emperour ſent over the Count of *Egmont* and ſome other Ambaſſadours to make the Propoſition and Treaty of Marriage, betwixt his Son and the Queen. In the managing of this Treaty, *Gardiner* had the chief hand: for he was now the Oracle at the Council-board: He had thirty years Experience in Affairs, a great Knowledge of the Courts of Chriſtendome, and of the State of *England*, and had great Sagacity, with a marvelous Cunning, which was not always regulated by the Rules of Candor and Honeſty. He in drawing the Articles of the Marriage had a double deſign: the one was, to have them ſo framed that they might eaſily paſs in Parliament; And the other was, to exclude the *Spaniards* from having any ſhare in the Government of *England*, which he intended to hold in his own hands. So the Terms on which it was agreed were theſe.

Ambaſſadors ſent from the Emperour for the marriage.

The Queen ſhould have the whole Government of *England*, with the giving of Offices and Benefices, in her own hands: ſo that though *Philip* was to be called King, and his Name was to be on the Coin, and the Seals, and in Writs, yet her hand was to give force to every thing without his. *Spaniards* ſhould not be admitted into the Government,

The Articles agreed.

1553. nor to any Offices at Court. The Laws ſhould not be altered, nor the Pleadings put into any other Tongue. The Queen ſhould not be made to go out of *England*, but upon her own deſire. The Children born in the Marriage ſhould not go out of *England*, but by the conſent of the Nobility. If the Queen out-lived the Prince, She ſhould have 60000*l.* a year out of his Eſtate, 40000 out of *Spain*, and 20000 of it out of the *Netherlands*. If the Queen had Sons by him, they ſhould ſucceed, both to her own Crowns, and the *Netherlands*, and *Burgundy*: and if the Arch-Duke *Charles*, *Philip*'s only Son died, they ſhould ſucceed to all Her and His Dominions: If ſhe had only Daughters, they ſhould ſucceed to her Crowns, and the *Netherlands*, if they married by their Brothers conſent: or otherwiſe, they ſhould have ſuch Portions, as was ordinarily given to thoſe of their Rank: But if the Queen had no Iſſue, the King was not to pretend to any part of the Government after her death; but the Crown was to deſcend, according to the Laws of *England*, to her Heirs. There was to be a perpetual League betwixt *England* and *Spain*; but this was not to be in prejudice of their League with *France*, which was ſtill to continue in force.

Theſe were the Conditions agreed on, and afterwards confirmed in Parliament; by which it appears the *Spaniards* were reſolved to have the Marriage on any Terms; reckoning that if Prince *Philip* were once in *England*, he could eaſily enlarge his Authority, which was hereby ſo much reſtrained.

The Match generally diſliked.

It was now apparent, the Queen was to marry the Prince of *Spain*; which gave an univerſal diſcontent to the whole Nation. All that loved the Reformation ſaw, that not only their Religion would be changed, but a Spaniſh Government and Inquiſition would be ſet up in its ſtead. Thoſe who conſidered the Civil Liberties of the Kingdom, without great regard to Religion, concluded that *England* would become a Province to *Spain*; and they ſaw how they governed the *Netherlands*, and heard how they ruled *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*: but above all, they heard the moſt inhumane things that ever any Age produced, had been acted by them in their new Conqueſt in the *Weſt-Indies*.

It was ſaid, what might they expect, but to lie at the mercy of ſuch tyrannical Maſters, who would not be long kept within the Limits that were now preſcribed? All the great Conditions now talked of, were but the gilding the Pill, but its operation would be fatal, if they once ſwallowed it down. Theſe things had Influence on many; but the chief

Plots to oppoſe it.

Conſpirators were the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Wiat*, and Sir *Peter Carew*: The one was to raiſe the Mid-land Counties, the other to raiſe *Cornwall*, and *Wiat* was to raiſe *Kent*; hoping by riſing in ſuch remote places, ſo to diſtract the Government, that they ſhould be able to engage the Commons who were now as much diſtaſted with the Queen, as they had been formerly fond of her.

Are diſcovered.

But as *Carew* was carrying on his Deſign in the Weſt, it came to be diſcovered; and one that he had truſted much in it, was taken: upon that *Carew* fled over into *France*. *Wiat* was in *Kent* when he heard this; but had not yet laid his Buſineſs as he intended. Therefore fearing to be undone by the Diſcovery that was made, he gathered ſome

Wiat breaks out.

Men about him, and on the 25*th* of *January*, went to *Maidſtone*: There he made Proclamation, that he intended nothing, but to preſerve

ſerve the Liberty of the Nation, and keep it from coming under the Yoke of Strangers; which, he ſaid, all the Council, one or two excepted, were againſt: and aſſured the People, that all the Nobility, and chief Men of *England*, would concur with them. He ſaid nothing of Religion, but in private aſſured thoſe that were for the Reformation, that he would declare for them. One *Roper* came and declared him and his Company Traitors; but he took him, with ſome Gentlemen that were gathering to oppoſe him. From thence he went to *Rocheſter*, and writ to the Sheriff of *Kent*, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt the Strangers, for there were already, as he ſaid, an hundred Armed *Spaniards* landed at *Dover*. The Sheriff ſent him word, That if he and thoſe with him, had any Suits, they were to make them to the Queen on their knees, but not with Swords in their hands; and required them to diſperſe, under pain of Treaſon. *Wiat* kept his Men in good order, ſo that they did no hurt, but only took all the Arms they could find. 1554

At the ſame time, one *Iſley* and *Knevet* gathered People together about *Tunbridg*, and went to joyn with *Wiat*. The Queen ſent down a Herald to him with a Pardon, if he would diſperſe his Company in 24 hours; but *Wiat* made him deliver his Meſſage at the end of *Rocheſter* Bridg, and ſo ſent him away. The High Sheriff gathered together as many as he could, and ſhewed them how they were abuſed by Lyes; there was no *Spaniards* landed at all: and thoſe that were to come, were to be their Friends and Confederates againſt their Enemies. Thoſe that he brought together, went to *Graveſend* to meet the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sir *Hen. Jerningham*, who were come thither with 600 Men from *London*; and they hearing that *Knevet* was in his way to *Rocheſter*, went, and intercepted, and routed him; ſixty of his Men were killed, the reſt ſaved themſelves in the Woods.

The News of this diſheartned *Wiat* much; who was ſeen to weep, and called for a Coat, which he ſtuffed with Angels, deſigning to have eſcaped. But the Duke of *Norfolk* marching to *Rocheſter* with 200 Horſe, and 600 Foot, commanded by one *Bret*; they were wrought on, by a pretended Deſertor, *Harper*, who ſeemed to come over from *Wiat*: he perſwaded the *Londoners*, that it was only the preſervation of the Nation from the *Spaniards* that they deſigned; and it was certain none would ſuffer under that Yoke more then they. This had ſuch an effect on them, that they all cried out, *We are all Engliſh Men*; and went over to *Wiat*. So the Duke of *Norfolk* was forced to march back. And now *Kent* was all open to *Wiat*, who thereupon ſent one to the Duke of *Suffolk*, preſſing him to make haſte and raiſe his Country: but the Bearer was intercepted. Upon that, the Earl of *Huntington* was ſent down with ſome Horſe to ſeize on him. The Duke was at all times a mean-ſpirited Man, but it never appeared more than now: For after a faint endeavour to raiſe the Country, he gave it over, and concealed himſelf in a private Houſe; but was betrayed by him to whom he had truſted himſelf, into the hands of the Earl of *Huntington*, and ſo was brought to the *Tower*. *The Londoners revolt.*

Wiat's Party encreaſing, they turned towards *London*. As they came to *Debtford*, Sir *Edward Haſtings*, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, came to them, in the Queen's Name, to ask what would content them? *Wiat* deſired

1554. *Wiat's Demands.* deſired that he might have the Command of the *Tower*, that the Queen might ſtay under his Guard; and that the Council might be changed. Upon theſe extravagant Propoſitions, there paſſed high words, and the Privy Counſellors returned to the Queen. After this ſhe went into *Guild-hall*, and there gave an account of her Meſſage to *Wiat*, and his Anſwer. And for her Marriage, ſhe ſaid, ſhe did nothing in it but by advice of her Council, and ſpoke very tenderly of the love ſhe bore to her People, and to that City. On the 31, *Wiat* was become 4000 ſtrong, and came near *Southwark*. On the 2*d* of *February* he fell into *Southwark*. Some of his Company had a mind to have broken into *Winchester-Houſe*, and robb'd it; but he threatned to hang any that ſhould do it. He was put in hope, that upon his coming to *Southwark*, *London* would have declared for him; but in that he was deceived. The Bridg was fortified, ſo that he found it was not poſſible to force it. Here he held a Council of War with his Officers; ſome were for turning back into *Kent*, to diſperſe a Body of Men that the Lord *Abergavenny* had gathered together: but he ſaid, That was a ſmall Game. The ſtrength of their Party was in *London*, and therefore it was neceſſary for him to be there as ſoon as he could: for though they could not open the Bridg to him, yet he was aſſured, if he were on the other ſide, many would come out to him. Some were for croſſing over to *Eſſex*, where they heard the People were well-affected to them; but they had not Boats enough, ſo he marched to get over at *Kingſton*-Bridg.

He came to Southwark.

He croſſed the Thames at Kingſton. On the 4*th* they came to *Kingſton*, where the Queen had ordered the Bridg to be cut; but his Men repairing it, he croſſed the River that Night; and though he loſt much time by the mending of one of his Carriages that broke by the way, he was at *Hide-Park* by nine of the Clock next Morning, it being *Aſh-wedneſday*.

But is defeated The Earl of *Pembroke* had gathered a good Body of Men to have fallen on him, for his Men were now in great diſorder; but they look'd on, to let him caſt himſelf into their hands. He did not march by *Holborn*, as ſome adviſed, but came down to *Charing-Croſs*. There the Lord *Clinton* fell in between the ſeveral Bodies of his Men, and diſperſed them ſo, that he had not 500 left about him: But with thoſe that remained, he paſſed through the *Strand*, and *Fleetſtreet*, to *Ludgate*, where he ſtopped, in hope to have found the Gates opened to him. That hope failing, he returned back; and being now out of all heart, was taken at *Temple-Bar* by a Herald. All this while the Queen ſhewed great Courage, ſhe would not ſtir out of *Whitehall*, nor go by Water to the *Tower*, as ſome adviſed her, but went with her Women and Prieſts to her Devotions.

And taken.

This was a Rebellion, both raiſed and diſperſed, in as ſtrange a manner as could have been imagined. *Wiat* was a popular and ſtout Man, but had not a Head for ſuch an Undertaking, otherwiſe the Government was ſo feeble, that it had not been a difficult thing to have driven the Queen to great ſtraits. It was not at all raiſed upon pretence of Religion; which, according to the printed Account ſet out by the Queen's Order, was not ſo much as once named. And yet ſome of our own Writers ſay, That *Poinet*, the late Biſhop of *Winchester*, was in it. But this is certainly falſe, for ſo many Priſoners being taken, it is not to be imagined but this would have been found out, and publiſhed,

Poinet was not in that Rebellion.

liſhed, to make that Religion more odious: and we cannot think but *Gardiner* would have taken care that he ſhould have been attainted in the following Parliament. 1554.

Chriſtophorſon ſoon after writ a Book againſt Rebellion, in which he ſtudies to faſten this Riſing on the Preachers of the New Religion, as he calls it; and gives ſome preſumptions, that amount to no more, but little flouriſhes of his Wit, but never names this, which had been a deciſive proof. So that it is but a groundleſs fiction, made by thoſe who have either been the Authors, or at leaſt have laid down the Principles of all the Rebellions in the Chriſtian World, and yet would caſt that blame on others, and exempt themſelves from it; as if they were the ſureſt Friends of Princes, while they deſign to enſlave them to a Foreign Power, and will neither allow them to Reign, nor to Live, but at the mercy of the Head of that Principality, to which all other Powers muſt bend; or break, if they meet with an Age that is ſo credulous and ſuperſtitious, as to receive their Dictates.

This raw, and ſoon-broken Rebellion, was as lucky to *Gardiner*, and thoſe who ſet on the Marriage, as if they had projected it; for now the People were much diſheartned, and their own deſigns as much fortified: ſince, as ſome Fevers are Critical, and caſt out thoſe latent Diſtempers, which no Medicines could effectually purge away; and yet if they were not removed, muſt in the end corrupt the whole Maſs of Blood; ſo in a weak Government, to which the People are ill-affected, ill-digeſted, Rebellions raiſe the Prince higher, and add as much ſpirit to his Friends, as they take from the Faction againſt him, and give a Handle to do ſome things, for which otherwiſe it were not eaſy, either to find Colours or Inſtruments.

The L. *Jane* and her Huſband executed.

One effect of this was, the proceeding ſeverely againſt the Lady *Jane* and her Husband, the Lord *Guilford*, who both ſuffered on the 12. of *February*. The Lady *Jane* was not much diſordered at it; for ſhe knew, upon the firſt Jealouſie, ſhe muſt be the Sacrifice; and therefore had now lived ſix months in the continual meditations of Death. *Feckham*, afterwards Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was ſent to her by the Queen, three days before, to prepare her to die. He had a long converſation with her: but ſhe anſwered him with that calmneſs of Mind, and clearneſs of Reaſon, that it was an aſtoniſhing thing to hear ſo young a Perſon, of her Sex and Quality, look on Death, ſo near her, with ſo little diſorder, and talk ſo ſenſibly, both of Faith and Holineſs, of the Sacrament, the Scriptures, and the Authority of the Church. *Feckham* left her, ſeeing he could work nothing on her: but procured, as is ſaid, the continuance of her Life three days longer, and waited on her on the Scaffold. She writ to her Father to moderate his Grief for her Death, (which muſt needs have been great, ſince his Folly had occaſioned it.) She expreſſed her ſenſe of her Sin, in aſſuming the Royal Dignity, though he knew how unwillingly ſhe was drawn to it; and that in her Royal Eſtate, her enforced Honour had never defiled her innocent Heart. She rejoyced at her approaching End, ſince nothing could be to her more welcome, than to be delivered from that Valley of Miſery, into that Heavenly Throne, to which ſhe was to be advanced, where ſhe prayed that they might meet at laſt.

Her preparation for Death.

There

1554. There was one *Harding* that had been her Father's Chaplain, and that was a zealous Preacher in King *Edward*'s Days; before whose Death he had animated the People much to prepare for Perſecution and never to depart from the Truth of the Goſpel; but he had now fallen away himſelf. To him ſhe writ a Letter full of ſevere expoſtulations and threatnings for his Apoſtacy; but it had no effect on him. It is of an extraordinary ſtrain, full of Life in the Thoughts, and of Zeal, if there is not too much, in the Expreſſions. The Night before her Execution, ſhe ſent her *Greek Teſtament*, which ſhe had always uſed, to her Siſter; with a Letter in the ſame Language, in which, in moſt pathetick Expreſſions, ſhe ſets out the value that ſhe had of it, and recommended the ſtudy and practice of it earneſtly to her. She had alſo compoſed a very devout Prayer for her Retirements; and this had ſhe ſpent the laſt moments of her life. She expreſſed great tenderneſs, when ſhe ſaw her Husband led out firſt; but ſoon overcame it, when ſhe conſidered how cloſely ſhe was to follow him. He had deſired to take leave of her before he died, but ſhe declined it, ſince it would be rather an encreaſe of Grief, than any addition of Comfort to them. She ſaid, ſhe hoped they would ſhortly meet, and be united in a happier State; and with a ſetled Countenance ſhe ſaw them bring back the beheaded Body to the Chappel, where it was to be buried. When ſhe was brought to the Scaffold, which was raiſed for her within the *Tower*, to prevent the compaſſion, which her dying more publickly might have raiſed; ſhe confeſſed, ſhe had ſinned in taking the Queen's Honour, when it was given her; ſhe acknowledged the Act was unlawful, as was alſo her conſenting to it; but, ſhe ſaid, it was neither procured nor deſired by her. She declared, that ſhe died a true Chriſtian, and hoped to be ſaved only by the Mercy of God in the Blood of Chriſt. She acknowledged that ſhe had too much neglected the Word of God, and had loved her ſelf and the World too much, for which that punishment had come juſtly to her from God: but ſhe bleſſed him that had made it a means to lead her to repentance. Then, having deſired the Peoples Prayers, ſhe kneeled down, and repeated the 51 *Pſalm*: Then ſhe undreſſed her ſelf, and ſtretched out her Head on the Block, and cried out, *Lord into thy hands I recommend my Spirit*; and ſo her Head was cut off.

All People lamented her ſad and untimely end, which was not even conſented to, even by the Queen her ſelf. Her Death had a moſt violent operation on Judg *Morgan*, that had pronounced the Sentence; ſoon after he fell mad, and in all his ravings, ſtill called to take away the Lady *Jane* from him. Indeed the blame of her death was generally caſt on her Father, rather than on the Queen, ſince the Rivalry of a Crown is a point of ſuch niceneſs, that even thoſe who bemoaned her Death moſt, could not but excuſe the Queen, who ſeemed to be driven to it, rather from Conſiderations of State, then any Reſentment of her own. On the 17 of *February* was the Duke of *Suffolk* tried by his Peers and condemned: He ſuffered on the 21. He would have died more pitied for his Weakneſs, if his Practices had not brought his Daughter to her end. Next, *Wiat* was brought to his Trial, where in moſt abject words he beg'd his Life, and offered to promote the Queen's Marriage, if they would ſpare him; but for all that he was

Her Father's Execution.

Beheaded

nted for Richd Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St. Pauls Church yard.

Beheaded. *Bret* was hanged in Chains at *Rocheſter*. In all fifty eight were Executed in ſeveral places, whoſe Attainders were confirmed by an Act of the following Parliament, 600 of the Rabble were appointed to come before the Queen with Halters about their Necks, and to beg their Lives which ſhe granted them; and ſo was this Storm diſſipated? only the Effuſion of Blood after it, was thought too liberal, and this Exceſs of Puniſhment was generally caſt on *Gardiner*, and made him become very hateful to the Nation; which has been alwayes much moved at a Repetition of ſuch ſad ſpectacles. 1554.

The Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, came to be ſuſpected of the Plot, as if the riſing in the Weſt had been ſet on by the Earl, with deſign, if it had ſucceeded, to have married the Lady *Elizabeth*, and put her in the Queen's Room. *Wiat* did at his death clear them of any occaſion to his Confederacies. Yet the Queen who was much alienated from her Siſter upon old Scores, was not unwilling to find a pretence for uſing her ill; ſo ſhe was made a Priſoner. And the Earl of *Devonſhire* had, upon the account formerly mentioned, offended the Queen, who thought her kindneſs ill requited, when ſhe ſaw he neglected her, and preferred her Siſter; ſo he was again put into priſon. Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton* was alſo charged with that ſame Guilt, and brought to his Tryal, which laſted Ten hours; but was acquitted by the Jury: Upon which they were caſt into Priſon, and ſeverely Fined, ſome in 2000 *l.* and ſome in a 1000 Marks. This was fatal to his Brother Sir *John*, who was caſt by the Jury, upon the ſame Evidence that his Brother had been acquitted, but he proteſted his innocence to the laſt. Sir *John Cheek* had got beyond Sea, finding he was alſo ſuſpected and ſought after; and both Sir *Peter Carew*, and he hoping that *Philip* would be glad, at his firſt admiſſion to the Crown of *England*, to ſhew acts of favour, went into *Flanders*; where, upon aſſurances given of Pardon and Mercy, they rendered themſelves. But upon their coming into *England*, they were both put into the Tower. *Carew* made his eſcape, and was afterwards employed by Queen *Elizabeth* in her affairs in *Ireland*. *Cheek* was at this time diſcharged, but upon ſome new Offence, he was taken again in *Flanders*, in *May*, 1556. and was prevailed upon to renounce his Religion, and then he was ſet at liberty; but was ſo ſadly affected at the unworthineſs of that Action, that it was believed to have caſt him into a Languiſhing, of which he ſoon after dyed. There was a baſe Impoſture ſet up at this time, of one that ſeemed to ſpeak from a Wall with a ſtrange ſort of voice. Many ſeditious things were uttered by that voice, which was judged of variouſly. Some called it the *Spirit of the Wall*. Some ſaid it was an Angel that ſpake: And many marvellous things were reported of it; But the matter being narrowly enquired into, it was found to be one *Elizabeth Croſts*, a Girle, who from a private hole in the Wall, with the help of a Wiſtle, had uttered thoſe words. She was made to do Pennance openly at *Pauls* for it: But by the account then printed of it, I do not find any Complices were found; except one *Drake*, to whom no particular Character is added. So it ſeems it was a Trick laid Betwixt theſe two; for what purpoſe I cannot find. Sure enough in thoſe Times, it was not laid to the charge of the Preachers of the Reformation. Which I the rather take notice of, becauſe of the Malignity of one of our Hiſtorians, who has laid this to the charge

The Lady *Elizabeth* unjuſtly ſuſpected for plotting

Many ſevere proceedings.

The Impoſture of the Spirit in the Wall.

1554. of the *Zuinglian Gospellers*, though all the proof he offers for casting it on them, is in these words; *For I cannot consider this but as a Plot of them*: And sets it up in opposition to the notorious Imposture of the *Maid of Kent*, mentioned in the former Volume, and sayes, *Let not the Papists be more charged with that, since these were now as faulty.*

The instructions to the Bishops. Col. Number 10.

The Nation being now settled, the Queen did next give Instructions to the Bishops to proceed to visit the Clergy, according to some Articles which she sent them, which will be found in the *Collections*. In those, after a long and invidious Preamble of the disorders that had been in the time of King *Edward*, she commanded them, to execute all such Ecclesiastical Laws as had been in force in her Fathers Reign: That the Bishops should in their Courts proceed no more in the Queens Name: That the Oath of Supremacy should be no more Exacted of any of the Clergy: That none suspect of Heresie should be admitted to Orders: That they should endeavour to repress Heresie, and punish Hereticks: That they should suppress all naughty Books, and Ballads: That they should remove all married Clergy men, and separate them from their Wives; but for those that renounced their Wives, they might put them into some other Cure, or reserve a Pension out of their Benefice for them: That no religious Man who had professed Chastity, should be suffered to live with his Wife: That care should be taken of vacant Churches: That till they were provided, the People should go to the Neighbouring Churches: That all the Ceremonies, Holy-days and Fasts, used in King *Henry's* time, should be again observed: That those who were ordained by the new Book in King *Edward's* time, not being ordained in very deed, The Bishop, if they were otherwise sufficient, should supply what was wanting before, and so admit them to Ministry: That the Bishops should set forth an uniform Doctrine of Homilies; and compel the people to come to Church, and hear Divine Service: That they should carefully look to all School-masters and Teachers of Children: And that the Bishops should take care to set forth the Premisses, with all kind of Vertue, godly Living, and good Example; and endeavour to keep down all sort of Vice.

Proceedings against the Bishops that adhered to the Reformation.

These were Sign'd on the 4*th.* of *March*, and Printed, and sent over the Kingdom. But to make the Married Bishops Examples of the severity of their proceedings; the Queen gave a special Commission to *Gardiner Tonstall*, *Bonner*, *Parsew*, Bishop of St. *Asaph*, *Day*, and *Kitchin* of *Landaffe*, making mention, that with great grief of heart 'she had heard, that the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of St. *David's*, '*Chester* and *Bristol*, had broken their Vows, and defiled their Function, by contracting Marriage; therefore those, or any three of them, 'are empowered to call them before them; and if the Premisses be found Col. Number 11, 12. 'to be true, to deprive, and turn them out of their Bishopricks. This I have put into the Collection, with another Commission to the same 'Persons, to call the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Gloucester* and *Hereford*, before 'them; in whose Patents it was provided that they should hold their 'Bishopricks so long as they behaved themselves well: and since they 'by preaching Erroneous Doctrine, and by inordinate Life and Conversation, as she credibly understood, had carried themselves contrary to 'the Laws of God, and the Practice of the universal Church, these or 'any two of them, should proceed against them, either according to 'Ecclesiastical Canons, or the Laws of the Land, and declare their Bishop-

pricks void, as they were indeed already void: Thus were Seven Biſhops all at a daſh turned out. It was much cenſured, that there having been Laws made, allowing Marriage to the Clergy, the Queen ſhould by her own Authority, upon the repealing theſe Laws, turn out Biſhops for things that had been ſo well warranted by Law: for the Repeal was only an Annulling of the Law for the Future, but did not void it from the beginning: ſo that, however it might have juſtified proceedings againſt them for the Future, if they had lived with their Wives; yet it could not warrant the puniſhing them for what was paſt: And even the ſevereſt Popes, or their Legates, who had preſſed the Cœlibate moſt, had alwayes before they proceeded to deprive any Prieſts for Marriage, left it to their choice, whether they would quit their Wives, or their Benefices: but had never ſummarily turned them out for being married: And for the other Biſhops, it was an unheard of way of procedure, for the Queen before any proceſs was made, to empower Delegates to declare their Sees void, as they were indeed already void. This was to give Sentence before hearing. And all this was done by vertue of the Queens Supremacy; for though ſhe thought that, a ſinful and Schiſmatical Power, yet ſhe was eaſily perſwaded to uſe it againſt the Reformed Clergy, and to turn them out of their Benefices upon ſuch unjuſt and Illegal pretences. So that now the proceedings againſt *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, in which were the greateſt Stretches made that had been in the laſt Reign, were far outdone by thoſe new Delegates. For the Archbiſhop of *York*, though he was now turned out, yet he was ſtill kept Priſoner; till King *Philip*, among the Acts of Grace he did at his coming over, procured his Liberty. But his See was not filled till *February* next; for then *Heath* had his *Conge d'elire*. On or before the 18*th* of *March* this Year, were thoſe other Sees declared Vacant. For that day did the *Conge d'elire* go out to the Deans and Chapters of St. *Davids*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Cheſter*, *Gloceſter*, and *Briſtol*: for *Morgan*, *White*, *Parſew*, *Coates*, *Brookes*, and *Holyman*. *Goodrick* of *Ely* died in *April* this Year. He ſeems to have complied with the time, as he had done often before: for he was not at all caſt into any trouble, which it cannot be imagined he could have eſcaped, ſince he had put the great Seal to the Patents for the Lady *Jane*, if he had not Redeemed it by a ready conſenting to the changes that were to be made. He was a buſie ſecular ſpirited Man, and had given himſelf up wholly to Factions and Intrigues of State: ſo that, though his opinion had always leaned to the Reformation, it is no wonder if a man ſo tempered would prefer the keeping of his Biſhoprick before the Diſcharge of his Conſcience. *Thirleby* of *Norwich* was Tranſlated to *Ely*, and *Hopton* was made Biſhop of *Norwich*. But *Scory*, that had been Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, though upon *Day's* being reſtored, he was turned out of his Biſhoprick, did comply meerly: He came before *Bonner*, and Renounced his Wife, and did Penance for it, and had his Abſolution under his Seal, the 14*th* of *July* this Year: which is in the Collection. But it ſeems this was out of fear; for he ſoon after fled out of *England*, and lived beyond Sea until Queen *Elizabeth's* days: and then he came over; But it was judged indecent to reſtore him to his former See, where it is likely this Scandal he had given, was known; and ſo he was made Biſhop of *Hereford*. The Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Barlow*, was alſo

1554.

Number 13.

1554. made to Reſign, as appears by the *Conge d'elire* for *Bourn* to ſucceed him, dated the 19*th.* of *March.* Therein it is ſaid that the See was Vacant by the Reſignation of the former Biſhop; though in the Election, that was made on the 28*th.* of *March*, it is ſaid the See was vacant by the Removal or Deprivation of their former Biſhop. But I incline to believe it truer, that he did reſign; ſince he is not mentioned in the Commiſſions formerly ſpoken of. But that was not all; for at this time a Book was ſet out in his Name, whether written by him, or Forged and laid on his Name, I cannot judge: in which he retracts his former errours, and ſpeaks of *Luther* and *Oecolampadius*, and many others, with whom he ſays he had familiarly converſed: with great bitterneſs. He alſo accuſes the Goſpellers in *England*, of Gluttony, Hypocriſie, Pride, and ill Nature: And indeed it is one of the moſt Virulent Invectives againſt the Reformation, that was written at that time: But it is not likely, if he had turned ſo heartily as the Strain of that Book runs, that he would have been quite thrown out; eſpecially, ſince he had never Married; ſo I rather look on it as a Forgery caſt on his Name, to diſgrace the Reformation. He fled beyond Sea, where he lived till the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's Reign*; and then it ſeems there was ſome offence taken at his former behaviour; for he was not reſtored to *Bath* and *Wells*, but put into *Chicheſter*, that was a much meaner Biſhoprick. Thus I have given a clear account, and free of all Partiality or Reſervation, of the changes made in the moſt of the Sees in *England.* The two Archbiſhops, *Cranmer* and *Holgate*; the Biſhops, *Ridley*, *Poinet*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, *Taylor*, *Harvey*, *Bird*, *Buſh*, *Hooper*, *Ferrar*, and *Barlow* were all removed; *Rocheſter* was void, and *Griffins* was put into it this *April.* *Goodrick* dying now, *Thirleby* ſucceeded him; and *Scory* ſon of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* dying ſoon after, *Bayn* ſucceeded him. So here were ſixteen new Biſhops brought in, which made no ſmall change in the Church.

The Maſs every where ſet up. When this done, the Biſhops went about the executing of the Queen's Injunctions. The New Service was every-where caſt out, and the old Ceremonies and Service were again ſet up. In this Buſineſs none was ſo hot as *Bonner*; for the Act that repealed King *Edward's* Laws, being agreed to by the Commons, to whom the Lords had ſent it; he, without ſtaying for the Royal Aſſent, did that very Night ſet up the Old Worſhip at *Pauls*, on St. *Katherines* day; and it being the cuſtom, that on ſome Holy Days, the Quire went up to the Steeple to ſing the Anthems, that fell to be on that Night; which was an ancient way of beginning a form of Worſhip, to which the People had been long diſuſed: And the next Day, being St. *Andrew's*, he did officiate himſelf, and had a ſolemn Proceſſion.

The moſt eminent Preachers in *London*, were either put in Priſon or under Confinement; and as all their Mouths had been ſtopt, by the prohibiting of Sermons, unleſs a Licenſe were obtained; ſo they were now to be fallen on for their Marriages. *Parker* eſtimates it, that there were now about 16000 Clergy-Men in *England*: and of theſe 1200 were turned out upon this account; ſome, he ſays, were deprived without Conviction, upon common Fame; ſome were never cited to appear, and yet turned out: Many that were in Priſon, were cited and turned out for not appearing; though it was not in their Power

Some were induced to ſubmit, and quit their Wives for their Livings: They were all ſummarily deprived. Nor was this all; but after they were deprived, they were alſo forced to leave their Wives; which piece of ſeverity was grounded on the Vow, that (as was pretended) they had made: though the falſhood of this Charge was formerly demonſtrated. 1554

To juſtify this ſeverity of Procedure, many were ſet to write againſt the Marriage of the Clergy. *Smith*, of whom I made mention in the former Book, that had then ſo humbly recanted and ſubmitted, did now appear very boldly, and reprinted his Book, with many Additions. But the moſt ſtudied Work was ſet out by *Martin*, a Doctor of the Laws. It was certainly, for moſt part *Gardiner*'s Work, and I have ſeen the Proof Sheets of a great part of it, daſht and altered in many places, by *Gardiner*'s hand. This *Martin* had made his Court to *Cranmer* in former times. He had ſtudied the Law at *Bourges*, where *Francis Balduin*, one of the celebrated Lawyers of that time, had publickly noted him for his lewdneſs, as being not only over-run himſelf with the French Pox; but as being a Corrupter of all the Univerſity, which *Balduin* certified in a Letter to one in *England*, that took care to print it. Books againſt the marriage of the Clergy.

It was alſo printed, that *Bonner* had many Baſtards: and himſelf was believed to be the Baſtard of one *Savage*, a Prieſt in *Leiceſterſhire*, that had been Baſtard to Sir *John Savage* of *Cheſhire*. Which Prieſt, by *Elizabeth Frodſham*, the Wife of one *Edmond Bonner*, had this *Edmond* now Biſhop of *London*; and it ſeems his Mother did not ſoon give over thoſe her lewd Courſes, for *Wymſly*, Arch-Deacon of *London*, was another of her Baſtards. That Kennel of the uncleanneſs of the Prieſts and Religious Houſes, was again, on this occaſion, raked, and expoſed, with too much indecency: for the married Prieſts, being openly accuſed, for the impurity and ſenſuality of their Lives, thought it was a juſt piece of ſelf defence, to turn theſe Imputations back on thoſe who pretended to Chaſtity, and yet led moſt irregular Lives, under that appearance of greater ſtrictneſs.

This was the ſtate in which things were, when the New Parliament met on the 2*d*. of *April*. *Gardiner* had before-hand prepared the Commons, by giving the moſt conſiderable of them Penſions; ſome had 200, and ſome 100 *l*. a Year, for giving their Voices to the Marriage. The firſt Act that paſſed, ſeemed of an odd nature, and has a great Secret under it. The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons brought in a Bill, declaring, That whereas the Queen had of right ſucceeded to the Crown; but, becauſe all the Laws of *England* had been made by Kings, and declared the Prerogatives to be in the King's Perſon; from thence ſome might pretend that the Queen had no right to them; it was therefore declared to have been the Law, that theſe Prerogatives did belong to the Crown, whether it were in the hands of Male or Female: and whatſoever the Law did limit and appoint for the King, was of right alſo due to the Queen, who is declared to have as much Authority as any other her Progenitors. A New Parliament. The Regal Power aſſerted to be in a Queen, as well as a King.

Many in the Houſe of Commons wondered what was the intention of ſuch a Law; and as People were at this time full of jealouſie, one *Skinner*, a Member of the Houſe, (who in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time took Orders, The Secret Reaſons for that Act.

1554. Ex M. SS. D. *Gul. Petyt.*

Orders, and was made Dean of *Durefm*) ſaid, he could not imagine why ſuch a frivolous Law was deſired, ſince the thing was without diſpute: and that, that which was pretended, of ſatisfying the People, was too ſlight: he was afraid there was a trick in theſe words, That the Queen had as great Authority as any of her Progenitors; on which perhaps it might be afterwards ſaid, She had the ſame Power that *William* the Conqueror exerciſed, in ſeizing the Lands of the *Engliſh*, and giving them to Strangers; which alſo *Edward* the Firſt did upon the conqueſt of *Wales*. He did not know what relation this might have to the intended Marriage, therefore he warned the Houſe to look well to it; ſo a Committee being appointed to correct it, ſuch words were added, as brought the Queen's Prerogative under the ſame Limitation, as well as it exalted it to the height of her Progenitors. But one *Fleetwood*, afterwards Recorder of *London*, told the Earl of *Leiceſter* the ſecret of this, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, who writ down his Diſcourſe, and from thence I have copied it. There was one that had been *Cromwell*'s Servant, and much employed by him in the ſuppreſſion of Monaſteries: he was a Man of great Notions, but very buſy and factious; ſo having been a great ſtickler for the Lady *Jane*, he was put in the *Fleet*, upon the Queen's firſt coming to the Crown: yet within a month he was diſcharged; but upon the laſt Riſing, was again put up, and indicted of High Treaſon: He had great Friends, and made application to one of the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, that was then the Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and by his means he obtained his Liberty. Being brought to him, he ſhewed him a new Plat-form of Government, which he had contrived for the Queen. She was to declare her ſelf a Conqueror; or that ſhe having ſucceeded to the Crown by Common Law, was not at all to be limited by the Statute Laws, ſince thoſe were only reſtrictions upon the Kings, but not on the Queens of *England*; and that therefore all thoſe Limitations of the Prerogative, were only binding in the Perſons of Kings, but ſhe was free from them: Upon this, he ſhewed how ſhe might eſtabliſh Religion, ſet up the Monaſteries, raiſe her Friends, and ruine her Enemies, and Rule according to her Pleaſure. The Ambaſſador carried this to the Queen, and ſeemed much pleaſed with it, but deſired her to read it carefully, and keep it as a great Secret.

As ſhe read it, ſhe diſliked it, and judged it contrary to the Oath ſhe had made at her Coronation: and thereupon ſent for *Gardiner*, and charged him, as he would anſwer before the Judgment-Seat of God, at the general Day of the Holy Doom, that he would conſider the Book carefully, and bring her his opinion of it next day, which fell to be *Maundy Thurſday*. So, as the Queen came from her *Maundy*, he waited on her into her Cloſet, and ſaid theſe words; *My good and moſt gracious Lady, I intend not to pray your Highneſs, with any humble Petitions, to name the Deviſers of this new invented Plat-form: but boldly I ſay, That it is pity that ſo noble and vertuous a Lady, ſhould be endangered with the pernicious Devices of ſuch lewd and ſubtil Sycophants; for the Book is naught, and moſt horrible to be thought on.* Upon this the Queen thanked him, and threw the Book into the Fire; and charged the Ambaſſador, that neither he, nor any of his Company, ſhould receive more ſuch Projects from any of her People. This made *Gar-*

ner apprehended, that if the *Spaniards* began ſo ſoon to put ſuch Notions into the Queen's Head, they might afterwards, when ſhe was in their Hands, make ſomewhat of them; and therefore, to prevent ſuch Deſigns for the future, he drew the Act; in which, though he ſeemed to do it as an Advantage to the Queen, for the putting of her Title beyond diſpute; yet he really intended nothing by it, but that ſhe ſhould be reſtrained by all thoſe Laws, that the former Kings of *England* had conſented to: And becauſe King *Henry* the Seventh, though his beſt right to the Crown flowed from his Marriage to the Heir of the Houſe of *York*, had yet taken the Government wholly into his own hands; he, fearing leſt the *Spaniards* ſhould pretend to ſuch a Power by the Authority, which Marriage gives the Husband over the Wife, got the Articles of the Marriage to be ratified in Parliament; by which they not only confirmed thoſe agreed on, but made a more full explanation of that part of them, which declared the entire Government of the Kingdom to belong only to the Queen. 1554.

To this the *Spaniards* gave too great an occaſion, by publiſhing King *Philip*'s Pedigree, whom they derived from *John of Gaunt*. They ſaid, this was only done to conciliate the favour of the Nation, by repreſenting him not a ſtranger, but a Native: But this gave great offence; concerning which I have ſeen a little Book that was then printed; It was there ſaid, That King *Henry* the Seventh came in, pretending only to marry the Heir of the Houſe of *York*: but he was no ſooner on the Throne, then he declared his own Title, and kept it his whole Life. So it was ſaid, the *Spaniard* would call himſelf Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and upon that Pretenſion, would eaſily wreſt the Power out of the Queen's hands, who ſeemed to mind nothing but her Devotions. This made *Gardiner* look the better to the ſecuring of the Liberties of the Crown and Nation; ſo that it muſt be acknowledged, that the preſerving of *England* out of the hands of the *Spaniards* at that time, ſeems to be almoſt wholly owing to him. Great Jealouſies of the Spaniſh Power.

In this Parliament, the Marqueſs of *Northampton* was reſtored in Blood. And the Act for reſtoring the Biſhoprick of *Dureſm* not having gone through the laſt Parliament when it was diſſolved, was now brought in again. The Town of *Newcaſtle* oppoſed it much, when it came down to the Commons. But the Biſhop of *Dureſm* came to them on the 18*th*. of *April*, and gave them a long account of all his Troubles, from the Duke of *Northumberland*, and deſired that they would diſpatch his Bill. There were many Proviſo's put into it, for ſome that were concerned in *Gateſide*; but it was carried in the Houſe, That, inſtead of theſe Proviſo's, they ſhould ſend a Deſire to him, recommending thoſe Perſons to his Favour: So upon a Diviſion, there were 120 againſt it, and 201 for it. After this, came the Bill confirming the Attainders of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and fifty eight more, who were attainted for the late Rebellion. The Lords put in a Proviſo, excepting Entailed Lands out of their Forfeitures; but the Commons rejected the Proviſo, and paſſed the Bill. Then did the Commons ſend up a Bill for reviving the Statutes made againſt *Lollardy*: which being read twice by the Lords, was laid aſide. The Commons intended next to have revived the Statute of the ſix Articles: but it did not agree with the Deſign at Court, to take any notice of King *Henry*'s The Biſhoprick of *Duriſm* reſtored.

1554. *Henry's* Acts; ſo this was let fall. Then they brought in another Bill to extirpate Erroneous Opinions and Books; but that was at the third reading laid aſide. After that they paſſed a particular Bill againſt *Lollardy* in ſome Points, as the eating of fleſh in Lent; but that alſo being ſent up to the Lords, was at the third reading laid aſide, by the major part of the Houſe; ſo forward were the Commons to pleaſe the Queen: or ſuch Operation had the Spaniſh Gold on them, that they contrived four Bills in one Seſſion, for the proſecution of thoſe they called Heretical Hicks. But to give ſome content on the other hand, they paſſed a Bill that neither the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor any other, ſhould have any Power to Convene, or trouble any, for poſſeſſing Abbey Lands: This was ſent up to the Lords, but laid aſide at that time, aſſurance being given, that the Owners of thoſe Lands ſhould be fully ſecured. The Reaſon of laying this aſide, was that ſince by Law the Biſhop of *Rome* had no Authority at all in *England*, it was needleſs to paſs an Act againſt his Power in that particular, for that ſeemed to aſſert his Power in other things: and ſince they were reſolved to reconcile the Nation to him, it was ſaid, that it would be indecent to paſs an Act that ſhould call him only Biſhop of *Rome*, which was the Compellation given him during the Schiſm; and it was prepoſterous to begin with a Limitation of his Power, before they had acknowledged his Authority: So this was laid aſide, and the Parliament ended on the 25*th.* of *May*.

But the Matters of the Convocation are next to be related. The Men of the Reformation complained every-where, that the Diſputes of the laſt Convocation had not been fairly carried; that the moſt eminent Men of their perſwaſion were detained in Priſon, and not admitted to it: that only a few of them, that had a right to be in the Houſe were admitted to ſpeak, and that theſe were much interrupted. So they was now reſolved to adjourn the Convocation for ſome time, and to ſend the Prolocutor with ſome of their number to *Oxford*, that the Diſputations might be, in the preſence of that whole Univerſity. And ſince *Cranmer* and *Ridley* were eſteemed the moſt Learned Men of that Perſwaſion, they were, by a Warrant from the Queen, removed from the *Tower* of *London*, to the Priſons at *Oxford*. And though *Latimer* was never accounted very Learned, and was then about eighty Years of Age, yet he having been a celebrated Preacher, who had done the Reformation no leſs Service by his Labours in the Pulpit, than others had done by their abler Pens; he was alſo ſent thither to bear his part in the Debates.

Some ſent to *Oxford* to diſpute with Reformed Biſhops.

Thoſe who were ſent from the Convocation, came to *Oxford* on the 13*th.* of *April*, being *Friday*. They ſent for thoſe Biſhops on *Saturday*, and aſſigned them *Munday*, *Tueſday*, and *Wedneſday*, every one of them his day, for the defending of their Doctrine: but ordered them to be kept apart. And that all Books and Notes ſhould be taken from them. Three Queſtions were to be diſputed.

1. *Whether the natural Body of Chriſt was really in the Sacrament?*
2. *Whether any other Subſtance did remain, but the Body and Blood of Chriſt?*
3. *Whether in the Maſs there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the Dead and Living?*

Where

When *Cranmer* was first brought before them, the Prolocutor made an Exhortation to him, to return to the Unity of the Church. To which he answered, with such gravity and modesty, that many were observed to weep: He said, He was as much for Unity as any, but it must be an Unity in Christ, and according to the Truth. The Articles being shewed him, he asked, Whether by the Body of Christ they meant an *Organical Body*: They answering, It was the Body that was born of the Virgin: Then he said, he would maintain the *Negative* of these Questions. 1554.

On the 16*th*. when the Dispute with *Cranmer* was to begin, *Weston*, that was Prolocutor, made a stumble in the beginning of his Speech; for, he said, *Ye are this day assembled to confound the detestable Heresie of the Verity of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament.* This Mistake set the whole Assembly a laughing; but he recovered himself, and went on: he said, it was not lawful to call these things in doubt, since Christ had so expressly affirmed them, that to doubt of them, was to deny the Truth and Power of God. Then *Chedsey* urged *Cranmer* with the words, *This is my Body*: To which he answered, That the Sacrament was effectually Christ's Body, as broken on the Cross; that is, His Passion effectually applyed. For the explanation of this, he offered a large Paper containing his Opinion: of which I need say nothing, since it is a short abstract of what he writ on that Head formerly; and of that a full account was given in the former Book. There followed a long debate about these words. *Oglethorp*, *Weston*, and others, urged him much, that Christ making his Testament, must be supposed to speak Truth, and plain Truth; and they run out largely on that. *Cranmer* answered, That figurative Speeches are true; and when the Figures are clearly understood, they are then plain likewise. Many of *Chrysostom*'s high expressions about the Sacrament were also cited; which *Cranmer* said, were to be understood of the Spiritual Presence received by Faith. Upon this much time was spent, the Prolocutor carrying himself very indecently towards him, calling him, an *unlearned*, *unskilful*, and *impudent man*: There were also many in the Assembly that often hissed him down, so that he could not be heard at all; which he seemed to take no notice of, but went on as often as the noise ceased. Then they cited *Tertullian*'s words, *the Flesh is fed by the Body and Blood of Christ, that so the Soul may be nourished by God.* But he turned this against them, and said, hereby it was plain, the Body as well as the Soul received Food in the Sacrament; therefore the Substance of Bread and Wine must remain, since the Body could not be fed by that Spiritual Presence of the Body of Christ. *Tresham* put this Argument to him, Christ said, as he lived by the Father, so they that eat his Flesh should live by him; but he is by his Substance united to his Father, therefore Christians must be united to his Substance: To this *Cranmer* answered, That the similitude did not import an equality, but a likeness of some sort; Christ is essentially united to his Father; but Believers are united to him by Grace; and that in Baptism, as well as in the Eucharist. Then they talked long of some words of *Hilary*'s *Ambrose*'s, and *Justin*'s. Then they charged him, as having mistranslated some of the Passages of the Fathers in his Book; from which he vindicated himself, saying, that he had all his Life, in all manner of things, hated falshood. *Cranmer* Disputes.

1554. After the Diſpute had laſted from the Morning till two of the Clock it was broke up: and there was no ſmall Triumph, as if *Cranmer* had been confounded in the Opinion of all the Hearers, which they had expreſſed by their Laughter and Hiſſing. There were Notaries that took every thing that was ſaid; from whoſe Books *Fox* did afterwards print the account of it, that is in his great Volume.

And *Ridley*. The next day *Ridley* was brought out; and *Smith*, who was ſpoken of in the former Book, was now very zealous to redeem the prejudice which that compliance was like to be to him in his Preferment: So he undertook to diſpute this day. *Ridley* began with a Proteſtation, declaring, That whereas he had been formerly of another mind from what he was then to maintain, he had changed upon no worldly conſideration, but meerly for love of the Truth, which he had gathered out of the Word of God, and the Holy Fathers: but becauſe it was God's Cauſe he was then to maintain, he proteſted that he might have leave afterwards to add, or to change, as upon better conſideration he ſhould ſee cauſe for it. He alſo deſired he might have leave to ſpeak his mind without interruption; which though it was promiſed him, yet he was often ſtopt, as he went on explaining his Doctrine. He argued againſt the Corporal Preſence, as being contrary to the Scriptures that ſpoke of Chriſt's leaving the World; as being against the Article of his ſitting at the right hand of God; and againſt the nature of the Sacrament, which is a Remembrance; he ſhewed, that in it the Wicked receive Chriſt no leſs than the Godly; That it is against nature to ſwallow down a living Man; that this Doctrine introduced many extraordinary Miracles, without any neceſſity; and muſt have given advantage to the Hereticks, who denyed Chriſt had a real Body or a true humane Nature; and that it was contrary to the Doctrine of the Fathers: He acknowledged that it was truly the Communion of his Body, that is, of Chriſt's Death, and of the Heavenly Life given by him: and did, in a ſtrong nervous Diſcourſe, as any I ever ſaw on that Subject, gather together the chief Arguments for his Opinion.

Smith argued, That notwithſtanding Chriſt's being at the right Hand of God, he was ſeen on Earth: *Ridley* ſaid, he did not deny but he might come and appear on Earth, but that was for a moment, to convince ſome, and comfort others, as St. *Paul*, and St. *Stephen*; though he ſaid, it might be they ſaw him in Heaven; but he could not be, at the ſame time, both in Heaven and on Earth. They returned on *Chryſoſtom*'s words, and preſſed him with ſome of *Bernard*'s: but he anſwered the Sayings of the former, that they were Rhetorical and Figurative; ſo he excepted againſt the judgment of the latter, as living in an Age when their Opinion was generally received. The Diſpute held till *Weſton* grew weary, and ſtopt all; ſaying, *You ſee the obſtinate vain-glorious, crafty, and inconſtant mind of this Man; but you ſee alſo the force of Truth cannot be ſhaken; therefore cry out with me, Truth has the Victory.* This being ecchoed again by the Audience, they went away with great Triumph; and now they reckoned the hardeſt part of the Work was over, ſince *Latimer* only remained.

Lati

Latimer being next day brought forth, told them, he had not uſed *Latin* much theſe twenty Years, and was not able to Diſpute, but he would declare his Faith, and then they might do as they pleaſed. He declared, That he thought the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament to be only Spiritual, ſince it is that by which we obtain Eternal Life, which flows only from Chriſt's abiding in us by Faith; therefore it is not a bare naked ſign: but for the Corporal Preſence, he looked on it as the Root of all the other Errors in their Church: He enlarged much againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs: and lamented that they had changed the Communion into a private Maſs: that they had taken the Cup away from the People; and inſtead of Service in a known Tongue, were bringing the Nation to a Worſhip that they did not underſtand. He perceived they laughed at him; but he told them, they were to conſider his great Age, and to think what they might be when they came to it. They preſſed him much to Anſwer their Arguments: He ſaid, his Memory was gone, but his Faith was grounded on the Word of God; he was fully convinced by the Book which Dr. *Cranmer* had written on that Subject. 1554. And Latimer.

In this whole Diſputation, as *Ridley* wrote of it, there was great diſorder, perpetual Shoutings, Tauntings, and Reproaches; ſo that it looked liker a Stage, than a School of Divines; and the noiſe and Confuſions, with which he had been much offended when he was in the *Sorbone*, were modeſt, compared to this. Cenſures paſt upon it.

On *April* 28, they were again brought to St. *Maries*; where *Weſton* told them, They were over-come in the Diſputation, therefore he required them to ſubſcribe with the reſt. *Cranmer* objected againſt their way of *Diſputing*; he ſaid, they would not hear any one argue againſt their Errors, or defend the Truth; that often-times four or five of them were ſpeaking at once, ſo that it was impoſſible for any to hear, or to anſwer all theſe: In concluſion, he refuſed to ſubſcribe. *Ridley* and *Latimer* made the ſame Anſwers. So they were all judged Hereticks, and the Fautors of Hereſy. Then they were asked, Whether they intended to turn? They anſwered, That they would not turn: ſo they were judged obſtinate Hereticks, and declared to be no more Members of the Church.

Upon which *Cranmer* anſwered; 'From this your Judgment and Sentence, I appeal to the juſt judgment of Almighty God, truſting to be preſent with him in Heaven, for whoſe Preſence on the Altar I am thus condemned.

Ridley anſwered; 'Although I be not of your Company, yet I doubt not but my Name is written in another Place, whither this Sentence will ſend us ſooner than we ſhould by the courſe of Nature have come.

Latimer anſwered; I 'I thank God moſt heartily that he hath prolonged my Life to this end, that I may in this caſe glorify God with this kind of Death.

To them *Weſton* anſwered; 'if you go to Heaven with this Faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus perſwaded.

After this, there was a ſolemn Proceſſion in *Oxford*, the Hoſt being carried by *Weſton* the Prolocutor; who had been (as himſelf ſaid in his Diſputation) ſix years in Priſon in King *Edward*'s Time. This

1554. gave him now great repute, though he was known to be a constant Drunkard. *Ridley* wrote to him, desiring to see what the Notaries had written, and that he might have leave to add in any part, as had been promised him; but he had no Answer. On the 23*d.* of *April* the Commissioners sent from the Convocation, returned to *London*. *Cranmer* sent a Petition sealed, by *Weston*, to be delivered to the Council; in which he earnestly begged their favour with the Queen, that he might be pardoned for his Treason, since they knew how unwillingly he consented to the Patents for excluding her. He also complained of the disorder in the Disputes lately had; saying, that he was not heard nor suffered to propose his Arguments; but all was shuffled up in a day, though he had Matter on that Subject for twenty days work; that it look'd like a Design to shut up all things in haste, and make a Triumph, and so to condemn them of Heresy: He left it to their Wisdom to consider, if this was an indifferent way of handling such a Matter. *Weston* carried this Petition half way, and then opening it, and finding what it contained, he sent it back, and said, he would deliver no such Petition. *Cranmer* was so kept, that though *Ridley* and *Latimer* could send to one another, yet it was not easy for them to send to him, without giving Mony to their Keepers. In one of *Ridley's* Letters to *Cranmer*, he said, he heard they intended to carry down *Rogers*, *Crome*, and *Bradford*, to *Cambridg*, and to make such a Triumph there, as he had lately made of them at *Oxford*: He trusted, the day of their deliverance out of all their Miseries, and of their entrance into perpetual Rest, and perpetual Joy and Felicity drew nigh: He prayed God to strengthen them with the mighty Spirit of his Grace. He desired *Cranmer* to pray for him, as he also did for *Cranmer*. As for the Letters which these and the other Prisoners writ in their Imprisonment, *Fox* gathered the Originals from all People that had them: and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, the Founder of *Emannel* Colledge, procured them from him, and put them into the Library of that Colledge, where I saw them: but they are all printed by *Fox*, so that the Reader, who desires to see them, may find them in his *Acts* and *Monuments*. Of them all, *Ridley* writ with the greatest connexion and force, both in the Matter, and in the way of Expression.

The Prisoners in *London* set out in writing their Reasons against disputing by word of mouth.

This being now over, there was great boasting among all the Popish Party, as if the Champions of the Reformation had been foiled. The Prisoners in *London* hearing they intended to insult over them, as they had done over those at *Oxford*, set out a Paper, to which the late Bishops of *Exeter*, St. *Davids*, and *Glocester*, with *Taylor*, *Philpot*, *Bradford*, *Crome*, *Sanders*, *Rogers*, and *Lawrence*, set their Hands, on the 8th of *May*.

The substance of it was; 'That they, being Prisoners, neither as 'Rebels, Traitors, nor Transgressors of any Law, but meerly for their 'Conscience to God and his Truth, hearing it was intended to carry 'them to *Cambridg* to dispute, declared they would not dispute, but 'in Writing, except it were before the Queen and her Council, or be- 'fore either of the Houses of Parliament: and that for these Rea- 'sons.

1. 'It was clear, that the Determinations of the Universities were 'already made; they were their open Enemies, and had already con- 'demned

'demned their Cauſe before they had heard it, which was contrary 1554
'both to the Word of God, and the determinations they had made in
'King *Edward*'s Time.

2. 'They ſaw the Prelates and Clergy were ſeeking neither to find out
'the Truth, nor to do them good, otherwiſe they would have heard
'them, when they might have declared their Conſciences without ha-
'zard; but that they ſought only their deſtruction, and their own
'glory.

3. 'They ſaw that thoſe who were to be the Judges of theſe Diſputes,
'were their inveterate Enemies; and by what paſſed in the Convocation
'Houſe laſt Year, and lately at *Oxford*, they ſaw how they muſt expect
'to be uſed.

4. 'They had been kept long Priſoners, ſome nine or ten months,
'without Books, or Papers, or convenient places of ſtudy.

5. 'They knew they ſhould not be heard to ſpeak their minds fully,
'but ſhould be ſtopt, as their Judges pleaſed.

6. 'They could not have the nomination of their Notaries, who would
'be ſo choſen, that they would write and publiſh what their Enemies had
'a mind to. Therefore they would not engage in publick Diſputes, ex-
'cept by Writing: but they would give a Summary of their Faith, for
'which they would be ready to offer up their Lives to the Halter, or the
'Fire, as God ſhould appoint.

'They declared, That they believed the Scriptures to be the true
'Word of God, and the Judg of all Controverſies in the Matters of
'Religion; and that the Church is to be obeyed, as long as ſhe follows
'this Word. That they believed the Apoſtles Creed; and thoſe Creeds
'ſet out by the Councils of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, and *Chalce-*
'*don*, and by the firſt and fourth Councils of *Toledo*; and the Sym-
'boles of *Athanaſius*, *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, and *Damaſus*. That they be-
'lieved Juſtification by Faith; which Faith was not only an Opinion,
'but a certain perſwaſion wrought by the Holy Ghoſt, which did illu-
'minate the Mind, and ſuppled the Heart to ſubmit it ſelf unfeignedly
'to God. That they acknowledged an Inherent Righteouſneſs, yet
'Juſtification, and the Pardon of Sins, they believed came only by
'Chriſt's Righteouſneſs imputed to them. They thought the Worſhip
'of God ought to be in a Tongue underſtood by the People; That
'Chriſt only, and not the Saints, were to be prayed to; that immedi-
'ately after Death, the Souls paſs either to the State of the Bleſſed, or
'of the Damned, without any Purgatory between; that Baptiſm and
'the Lords Supper are the Sacraments of Chriſt, which ought to be
'adminiſtred according to his Inſtitution: and therefore they condem-
'ned the denying the Chalice, Tranſubſtantiation, the Adoration, or
'the Sacrifice of the Maſs; and aſſerted the lawfulneſs of Marriage to
'every Rank of Men. Theſe things they declared they were ready
'to defend, as they often had before offered: and concluded, charging
'all people to enter into no Rebellion againſt the Queen, but to obey
'her in all Points, except where her Commands were contrary to the Law
'of God.

In the end of this Month, the Lady *Elizabeth* was taken out of the *Tower*, and put into the Cuſtody of the Lord *Williams*; who waited on her to *Woodſtock*, and treated her with great civility, and all the reſpect

1554. respect due to her Quality: but this not being so acceptable to those who governed, she was put under the Charge of Sir *Hen. Benefield*, by whom she was more roughly handled.

Prince *Philip* Lands. On the 20*th.* of *July*, Prince *Philip* landed at *Southampton*. When he set foot to Land first, he presently drew his Sword, and carried it a good way naked in his Hand. Whether this was one of the Forms of his Country, I know not: but it was interpreted as an Omen, that he intended to Rule *England* with the Sword: though others said, it shewed, he intended to draw his Sword in defence of the Nation. The Mayor of *Southampton* brought him the Keys of the Town, an expression of Duty always payd to our Princes; he took them from him, and gave them back without speaking a word, or expressing by any sign that he was pleased with it. His stiffness amazed the English, who use to be treated by their Kings with great sweetness on such occasions: and so much gravity in so young a Man was not understood, but was look'd on as

And is married to the Queen. sign of vast pride and morosenes. The Queen met him at *Winchester*; where, on the 25*th.* of *July*, *Gardiner* married them in the Cathedral, the King being then in the 27*th.* and the Queen in the 38*th.* Year of her Age. They were presented from the Emperor by his Ambassador, with a resignation of his Titular Kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and his more valuable one of *Naples*, which were Pledges of that total resignation that followed not long after.

So on the 27*th.* of *July* they were proclaimed by their new Titles; '*Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Jerusalem*, 'and *Ireland*; Princes of *Spain* and *Sicily*, Defenders of the Faith; Arch-'Dukes of *Austria*; Dukes of *Milan*, *Burgundy*, and *Brabant*; Counts of *Habspurg*, *Flanders*, and *Tirol*: *Spain* having always delighted in a long enumeration of pompous Titles.

It was observed, how happy Marriages had been to the *Austrian* Family; who, from no extraordinary Beginnings, had now, in eighty Years time, been raised by two Marriages; first, with the Heir of *Burgundy*, and the *Netherlands*, and then with the Heir of *Spain*, to be the greatest Family in Christendome: and the Collateral Family by the Marriage of the Heir of *Bohem* and *Hungary*, was now the greatest in the Empire. And surely if Issue had followed this Marriage, the most extraordinary success possible would have seemed to be entailed on them. But there was no great appearance of that; for as the Queen was now far advanced in Years, so she was in no good state of Health: a long course of Discontent, had corrupted both the health of her Body and the temper of her Mind: Nor did the Matter alter much by the Marriage, except for the worse. The King's wonderful Gravity and Silence, gained nothing upon the English; but his magnificence and Bounty was very acceptable. He brought after him a vast Mass of

He brings a great Treasure with him to *England*. Wealth; seven and twenty Chests of Bullion, every Chest being a Yard and some Inches long; which were drawn in twenty Carts to the *Tower*; after which came ninety nine Horse, and two Carts, loaded with coined Gold and Silver. This great Wealth was perhaps the Sum that was formerly mentioned, which was to be distributed among the English; for it is not improbable, that though he empowred his Ambassadors, and *Gardiner*, to promise great Sums to such as should promote his Marriage, yet that he would not part with so much Money

it was made ſure; and therefore he ordered this Treaſure to be brought after him; (I mention it here, yet it came not into *England* till *October* and *January* following) He made his entry into *London* with great ſtate. 1554

At his firſt ſetling in *England*, he obtained of the Queen, that many Priſoners ſhould be ſet at Liberty; among whom the chief were, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and ten Knights, with many other Perſons of Quality. Theſe, I ſuppoſe, had been committed, either for *Wiat*'s Rebellion, or the Buſineſs of the Lady *Jane*; for I do not believe, any were diſcharged that were impriſoned on the account of Religion. As for this Arch-Biſhop, though he went along in the Reformation, yet I find nothing that gives any great Character of him. I never ſaw any Letter of his, nor do I remember to have ſeen any honourable mention made of him any where; ſo that he ſeems to have been a ſoft and weak man; and except thoſe little Fragments of his Opinions in ſome Points about the Maſs, (which are in the *Collection*) I know no remains of his Pen. It ſeems he did at this time comply in Matters of Religion, for without that, it is not probable that either *Philip* would have moved for him, or that the Queen would have been eaſily entreated. Act of Favour done by him.

The Interceſſions that *Philip* made for the Lady *Elizabeth*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire*, did gain him the Hearts of the Nation, more than any thing elſe that he ever did. *Gardiner* was much ſet againſt them, and ſtudied to bear down the declaration that *Wiat* had made of their Innocency all that he could; but it was made ſo openly on the Scaffold, that it was not poſſible to ſuppreſs it. Before, in his Examinations, *Wiat* had accuſed them, hoping to have ſaved himſelf by ſo baſe an Action; but he redeemed it all he could at his Death. This had broken *Gardiner*'s Deſign, who thought all they did about Religion, was but half work, unleſs the Lady *Elizabeth* were deſtroyed. For he knew, that though ſhe complyed in many things, yet her Education had been wholly under the Reformed: and which was more to him, who judged all People by their Intereſt, he reckoned that Intereſt muſt make her declare againſt the Papacy, (ſince otherwiſe ſhe was a Baſtard) if ever ſhe ſhould out-live her Siſter. He preſerves the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Philip oppoſed this, at firſt, upon a generous Account, to recommend himſelf, by obtaining ſuch Acts of Favour to be done by the Queen. But afterwards, when the hopes of Iſſue failed him by his Marriage, he preſerved her, out of Intereſt of State: for if ſhe had been put out of the way, the Queen of *Scotland* (that was to be married to the *Dolphin*) was to ſucceed; which would have made too great an Acceſſion to the French Crown: and beſides, as it afterwards appeared, he was not without hopes of perſwading her to marry himſelf, if her Siſter ſhould dye without Iſſue. For the Earl of *Devonſhire*, he more eaſily obtained his freedom, though not till ſome Months had paſſed. That Earl being ſet at liberty, finding he was to lye under perpetual Diſtruſts, and that he might be, perhaps upon the firſt Diſorder, again put into the *Tower*, to which his Stars ſeemed to condemn him, reſolved to go beyond Sea; but dyed within a Year after, as ſome ſay, of Poyſon.

All

1554. All this I have laid together, (though it fell not out all at once) that I might give a full account of all the Acts of Grace that *Philip* did in *England*; But for the rest of his Behaviour, it was no way acceptable to the People, for as he engaged the Nation in all his Interests, so that henceforth, during this Reign, *England* had no share in the Consultations of *Europe*, but was blindly led by him, which proved fatal to them in the conclusion, by the ignominious loss of *Calais*; So his temper and way of deportment seemed most ridiculous, and extravagantly formal to the English Genius, which naturally loves the mean, between the excessive jollity and talkativeness of the French, and the sullen staidness of the Spaniard; rather enclining more to the briskness of the one, than the supercilliousness of the other: And indeed his Carriage was such here, that the acting him and his Spaniards, was one of the great Diversions of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Court. The Hall of the Court was almost continually shut all his Time, and none could have access, unless it were first demanded, with as much formality as Ambassadors use in asking Audience: So that most of the Nobility left the Court, few staying but the Officers of the Household.

He was little beloved by the English.

Gardiner magnifies him much in a Sermon.

Gardiner had now the Government put entirely in his Hands; And he, to make his Court the better with the new King, preached at St. *Paul's* the 30*th.* of *September*, where, after he had inveighed long against the Preachers in King *Edward*'s Time, which was the common Subject of all their Sermons, he run out much in commendation of the King; affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate, as any Prince that ever was in *England*; and if he did not prove so, he was content that all his Hearers should esteem him an impudent Lyar. The state of the Court continued in this posture till the next Parliament.

But great Discontents did now appear every-where. The severe Executions after the last rising, the Marriage with *Spain*, and the overturning of Religion, concurred to alienate the Nation from the Government. This appeared no where more confidently than in *Norfolk*, where the People reflecting on their Services, thought they might have the more leave to speak.

There were some malicious Rumours spread, that the Queen was with Child before the King came over. This was so much resented at Court, that the Queen writ a Letter to the Justices there, (which is in the *Collection*) to enquire into those false Reports, and to look to all that spread false News in the County. The Earl of *Sussex*, upon this, examined a great many, but could make nothing out of it. It flowed from the officiousness of *Hopton*, the new Bishop of *Norwich*; who thought to express his Zeal to the Queen, whose Chaplain he had long been, by sending up the Tales of the Country to the Council Table; not considering how much it was below the Dignity of the Government, to look after all vain Reports.

Col. Numb. 14.

Bonner's Carriage in his Visitation.

This Summer the Bishops went their Visitations, to see every thing executed according to the Queen's Injunctions. *Bonner* went his with the rest. He had ordered his Chaplains to draw a Book of *Homilies*, with an exposition of the Christian Religion. He says, in his Preface to it, that he and his Chaplains had compiled it; but it is likely he had only the Name of it, and that his Chaplains composed it. Yet the greatest, and indeed, the best part of it was made to their hands, for

it was taken out of *the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, ſet out by King *Henry*; only varied in thoſe Points, in which it differed from what they were now about to ſet up: So that concerning the Pope's Power, ſince it was not yet eſtabliſhed, he ſays nothing, for, or againſt it. 1554.

The Articles upon which he made his Viſitation, will be found in the *Collection*, and by theſe we may judge of all the other Viſitations over *England*. 'In the Preface, he proteſts he had not made his Arti- *Col.* Numb. 15. 'cles out of any ſecret grudg or diſpleaſure to any; but meerly for the 'diſcharge of his Conſcience towards God and the World. The Ar- 'ticles were; Whether the Clergy did ſo behave themſelves in Living, 'Teaching, and Doing, that in the judgment of indifferent Men, they 'ſeemed to ſeek the Honour of God, of the Church, and of the King 'and Queen? Whether they had been Married, or were taken for 'Married? and whether they were Divorced, and did no more come 'at their Wives? or whether they did defend their Marriages? Whe- 'ther they did reſide, keep Hoſpitality, provide a Curate in their ab- 'ſence? And whether they did devoutly celebrate the Service, and uſe 'Proceſſions? Whether they were ſuſpect of Hereſy? Whether they 'did haunt Ale-houſes and Taverns, Bowling-Allies, or ſuſpect Houſes? 'Whether they favoured, or kept company with any ſuſpect of Hereſy? 'Whether any Prieſt lived in the Pariſh, that abſented himſelf from 'Church? Whether theſe kept any private Conventicles? Whether 'any of the Clergy was Vicious, blaſphemed God or his Saints, or was 'guilty of Simony? Whether they exhorted the People to Peace and 'Obedience? Whether they admitted any to the Sacrament, that was 'ſuſpect of Hereſy, or was of an ill Converſation, an Oppreſſor, or 'Evil Doer? Whether they admitted any to preach that were not 'licenſed, or refuſed ſuch as were? Whether they did officiate in 'Engliſh? Whether they did uſe the Sacraments aright? Whether 'they viſited the Sick, and adminiſtred the Sacraments to them? 'Whether they did marry any, without asking the Banes three *Sundays*? 'Whether they obſerved the Faſts and Holy-Days? Whether they went 'in their Habits and Tonſures? Whether thoſe that were ordained 'ſchiſmatically, did officiate without being admitted by the Ordinary? 'Whether they ſet Leaſes, for many Years, of their Benefices? Whether 'they followed Merchandiſe or Uſury? Whether they carried Swords 'or Daggers, in Times or Places not convenient? Whether they did 'once every quarter expound to the People in the Vulgar Tongue, 'the Apoſtles Creed, Ten Commandments; the two Commandments 'of Chriſt for loving God and our Neighbour, the Seven Works of 'Mercy, Seven deadly Sins, Seven principal Vertues, and the Seven 'Sacraments? Theſe were the moſt conſiderable Heads on which he viſited.

One thing is remarkable, that it appears, both by theſe, and the Queen's Injunctions, that they did not pretend to re-ordain thoſe that had been ordained by the New Book in King *Edward*'s Time; but to reconcile them, and add thoſe things that were wanting; which were, the Anointing, and giving the Prieſtly Veſtments, with other Rites of the Roman Pontifical. In this Point of re-ordaining ſuch as were ordained in Hereſy or Schiſm, the Church of *Rome* has not gone by any

No Reordination of thoſe ordained in King *Edward*'s Time.

1554. steady Rule: For though they account the Greek Church to be guilty both of Heresy and Schism, they receive their Priests without a New Ordination. Yet after the time of the Contests between Pope Nicolas and *Photius*, and much more after the outragious heats at *Rome*, between *Sergius* and *Formosus*, in which the dead Bodies of the former Popes were raised and dragged about the Streets by their Successors, they annulled the Ordinations, which they pretended were made irregularly.

Afterwards again, upon the great Schism between the Popes of Rome and *Avignon*, they did neither annul nor renew the Orders that had been given: But now, in *England*, though they only supplyed at this time the defects, which they said were in their former Ordinations, yet afterwards, when they proceeded to burn them that were in Orders, they went upon the old Maxim; That Orders given in Schism were not valid; so they did not esteem *Hooper* nor *Ridley* Bishops, and therefore only degraded them from Priesthood; though they had been ordained by their own Forms, saving only the Oath to the Pope; but for those who were ordained by the new Book, they did not at all degrade them, supposing now they had no true Orders by it.

Bonner, in his Visitation, took great care to see all things were every where done according to the old Rules, which was the main thing intended; other Points being put in for form. When he came to *Hadham*, he prevented the Doctor, who did not expect him so soon by two hours, so that there was no ringing of Bells, which put him in a small disorder: And that was much encreased, when he went into the Church, and found neither the Sacrament hanging up, nor a Rood set up: thereupon he fell a railing, swearing most intemperately, calling the Priest an Heretick, a Knave, with many other such goodly words. The Priest said, all these things should be amended speedily; and knowing that a good Dinner was the best way to temper Bishop *Bonner*, he desired him to go and dine at his House: but *Bonner* took it so ill, that *Hadham*, which was one of his own Churches, was an ill Example to them about it, that he lost all patience; and reaching at Dr. *Bricket* (that was the Parson's Name) to beat him, he misguided the stroke, which fell on Sir *Thomas Josselin*'s Ear with great force. *Fecknam*, then Dean of *Pauls* in Dr. *May*'s room studied to appease *Josselin*, and said to him, That the Bishop's being so long in the *Marshalsea*, had so disordered him, that in his Passion he knew not what he did; but when he came to himself, he would be sorry for what he had done. *Josselin* answered, he thought now that he was taken out of the *Marshalsea*, he should be carried to *Bedlam*. But *Bonner* continued in his Fury; and though he had purposed to stay at his House there some days, and had ordered Provisions to be made, yet he would needs be gone, though it disordered the rest of his Visitation, for he came to every place sooner than he intended, or had given notice.

Bonner's rage.

The Carvers, and makers of Statues, had now a quick Trade, for Roods and other Images, which were to be provided, for all Places. *Bonner* had observed, that in most Churches the Walls were painted with places of Scripture; and in many places there were passages written, that either favoured the Marriage of the Clergy, or were against the Corporal Presence, and the Sacrifice of the Mass, and the multiplicity

multiplicity of the Ceremonies of the Church: So he did, at his return, send out Episcopal Letters, on the 24*th.* of *October*, to raze all those Paintings. Upon this it was generally said, That the Scriptures must be dasht out to make way for the Images, since they were so contrary one to another, that they could not decently stand together. There were many ludicrous things every where done in derision of the old Forms, and of the Images; Many Poems were printed, with other ridiculous Representations of the Latin Service, and the Pageantry of their Worship. But none occasioned more laughter, than what fell out at *Pauls* the *Easter* before; the custom being to lay the Sacrament into the Sepulchre, at the Even Song on *Good-Friday*, and to take it out by break of day on *Easter* Morning: At the time of the taking of it out, the Quire sung these words, *Surrexit, non est hic, He is risen, he is not here*: But then the Priest looking for the Host, found it was not there indeed, for one had stollen it out; which put them all in no small disorder, but another was presently brought in its stead. Upon this a Ballad followed, that their God was stollen and lost, but a new one was made in his room. This Railery was so salt, that it provoked the Clergy much. They offered large Rewards to discover him that had stollen the Host, or had made the Ballad, but could not come to the knowledge of it. But they resolved e're long, to turn that mirth and pleasantness of the Hereticks, into severe mourning. 1554. The Sacrament stollen.

And thus Matters went on to the 11*th.* of *November*, when the third Parliament was summoned. In the Writ of Summons, the Title of *Supream Head of the Church* was left out, though it was still by Law united to the other Royal Titles: And therefore this was urged, in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, as a good Reason for annulling that Parliament, since it was not called by a lawful Writ. Now was Cardinal *Pool* allowed to come into *England*. The Emperor had this Summer brought him to *Flanders*, where, to make amends for the rudeness of stopping him on his way, he desired him to mediate a Peace between *France* and him; but that had no effect. It soon appeared, that all things were so well prepared by *Gardiner's* Policy, and the Spanish Gold, that it would be an easy Matter to carry every thing in this Session. The Lord *Paget*, and the Lord *Hastings*, were sent from the King and Queen to bring the Cardinal over. At the opening of the Parliament, it was an unusual sight, to see both King and Queen ride in State, and come into it with two Swords of State, and two Caps of Maintenance carried before them: The Swords were carried, one by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the other by the Earl of *Westmoreland*; and the Caps, by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Shrewsbury*. The first Bill put into the Lords House, was the Repeal of the Attainder of Cardinal *Pool*: it began on the 17*th.* and was sent down to the Commons on the 19*th.* who read it three times in one day, and sent it up. This Bill being to be passed before he could come into *England*, it was questioned, in the House of Commons, Whether the Bill could be passed without making a Session, which would necessitate a Prorogation? It was resolved it might be done; so on the 22*d.* the King and Queen came, and passed it. It set forth, that the only Reason of his Attainder, was, because he would not consent to the unlawful Separation and Divorce between King *Henry*, and his most godly, vertuous, and lawful Wife, A New Parliament. The Attainder of Cardinal *Pool* repealed.

1554. Queen *Katherine*: Therefore they considering the true and sincere Conscience of the Cardinal in that Point, and his other many godly Vertues and Qualities, did repeal that Act.

He comes to *London*.

On the 24*th*. he came to *London*, but without the Solemnities of a Legates Entry, because the Pope's Authority was not yet set up by Law. What Cardinal *Pools* Instructions were, I do not know; nor is it fully understood, by Learned Men, what was the Power of a Legate a *Latere* in those Days. But I found, in the King's Paper Office, the Original Bull of Cardinal *Beaton*'s Legatine Power in *Scotland*, which it seems was intercepted by some of the King's Ships, in the passage by Sea thither; or was sent up to *London* by those who killed him, and possessed themselves of his Castle and Goods. And I having mentioned this Bull to those Learned Men, by whose direction I have governed myself in this Work, I did, by their advice, give it a room in the *Collection*, though it be large; since, no doubt, Cardinal *Pool*'s Bull was in the same form. In it the Reader will clearly perceive what Authority was lodged in the Legates, to overthrow and dispense with almost all the Rules and Canons of the Church; only some peculiar things, (which were more conspicuously scandalous) were still reserved to the Apostolick See it self; whose singular Priviledge it has been always esteemed to dispense with the best things, and allow of the worst; so the Pretenders to those Graces, payed proportionably for them; this Authority was too Sacred to be trusted, even to a Legate, it being the Prerogative of the Popes themselves, to be the most eminent Transgressors of all Canons and Constitutions.

Col. Number 17.

The Cardinal first declared what his Designs and Powers were to the King and Queen; and then on the 27*th*. a Message was sent to the Parliament to come and hear him deliver his Legation; which they did. He made them a long Speech, inviting them to a Reconciliation with the Apostolick See, from whence he was sent by the common Pastor of Christendom, to reduce them, who had long strayed from the Inclosure of the Church. This made some emotion in the Queen, which she soon thought was a Child quickned in her Belly: this redoubled the Joy; some not sparing to say, that as *John Baptist* leaped in his Mothers Womb at the Salutation of the Virgin, so here a happy Omen followed on the Salutation from Christs Vicar. In this, her Women, seeing that she firmly believed her self with Child, flattered her so far, that they half perswaded her of it. Notice was given of it to the Council, who that night writ a Letter to *Bonner* about it, ordering a *Te Deum* to be sung at St. *Pauls*, and the other Churches of *London*, and that Collects should be constantly used for bringing this to a happy perfection. All that night, and next day, there was great joy about the Court and City.

And makes a Speech to the Parliament.

The Queen is believed to be with Child.

On the 29*th*. the Speaker reported to the Commons the Substance of the Cardinal's Speech; and a Message coming from the Lords for a Conference of some of their House, with the Lord Chancellor, four Earls, four Bishops, and four Lords, to prepare a Supplication for their being reconciled to the See of *Rome*; it was consented to: and the Petition being agreed on at the Committee, was reported, and approved of by both Houses. It contained an Address to the King and Queen.

'The

Natus Anno 1500. Maij. 6 c Cardinalis. S. Mariæ in Cosmedin 1536. Maij 22.

Consecr: Archiepisc: Cantuariensis, 1555. Mar: 22. Obijt 1558. Nov: 17.

Printed for Rich: Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in S.t Pauls Church yard.

'That whereas they had been guilty of a moſt horrible Defection 1554.
'and Schiſm from the Apoſtolick See, they did now ſincerely repent of
'it; and in ſign of their Repentance, were ready to repeal all the
'Laws made in prejudice of that See: therefore ſince the King and Queen
'had been no way defiled by their Schiſm, they pray them to be Interceſ-
'ſors with the Legate to grant them Abſolution, and to receive them a-
'gain into the Boſom of the Church,

The Parliaments Petition to be reconciled to the See of *Rome*.

So this being preſented by both Houſes on their Knees to the King and Queen, they made their Interceſſion with the Cardinal, who thereupon delivered himſelf in a long Speech.

'He thanked the Parliament for repealing the Act againſt him, and
'making him a Member of the Nation, from which he was by that Act
'cut off: In recompence of which, he was now to reconcile them to
'the Body of the Church. He told them, The Apoſtolick See cheriſhed
'*Britain* moſt tenderly, as the firſt Nation that had publickly received
'the Chriſtain Faith. The *Saxons* were alſo afterwards converted by
'the means of that See; and ſome of their Kings had been ſo devoted
'to it, that *Offa*, and others, had gone to viſit the Threſholds of the
'Apoſtles. That *Adrian* the fourth, an Engliſh Pope, had given *Ire-*
'*land* to the Crown of *England*: and that many mutual Marks of reci-
'procal kindneſs had paſſed between that common Father of Chriſten-
'dom, and our Kings, their moſt beloved Sons: but none more emi-
'nent than the beſtowing on the late King, the Title of *Defender of*
'*the Faith*. He told them, That in the Unity with that See, conſiſted
'the happineſs and ſtrength of all Churches: that ſince the *Greeks* had
'ſeparated from them, they had been abondoned by God, and were
'now under the Yoke of *Mahometans*. That the Diſtractions of *Ger-*
'*many* did further demonſtrate this; but moſt of all, the Confuſions
'themſelves had felt, ever ſince they had broken that Bond of Perfe-
'ction. That it was the Ambition and Craft of ſome, who for their
'private Ends began it, to which the reſt did too ſubmiſſively comply;
'and that the Apoſtolick See might have proceeded againſt them for it,
'by the aſſiſtance of other Princes; but had ſtayed looking for that Day,
'and for the Hand of Heaven. He run out much on the commendation
'of the Queen, and ſaid, God had ſignally preſerved her, to procure this
'great Bleſſing to the Church. At laſt he enjoyned them for Penance to
'repeal the Laws they had made; and ſo, in the Pope's Name, he granted
'them a full Abſolution, which they received on their Knees; and he alſo
'abſolved the whole Realm from all Cenſures.

The Cardinal makes a long Speech.

And grants them Abſolution.

The reſt of the day was ſpent with great Solemnity and Triumph; all that had been done, was publiſhed next *Sunday* at *Pauls*. There was a Committee appointed, by both Houſes, to prepare the Statute of Repeal, which was not finiſhed before the 25*th*. of *December*; and then, the Biſhop of *London* only proteſting againſt it, becauſe of a *Proviſo* put in for the Lands which the Lord *Wentworth* had out of his Biſhoprick, it was agreed to, and ſent to the Commons. They made more haſte with it, for they ſent it back the 4*th*. of *January*, with a deſire that twenty Lines in it, which concerned the See of *London*, and the Lord *Wentworth*, might be put out, and two new *Proviſo's* added. One of their *Proviſo's* was not liked by the Lords, who drew a new one; to which the Viſcount *Montacute*, and the Biſhops of *London*

1554. *London* and *Coventry*, dissented. The twenty Lines of the Lord *Wentworth's Proviso* were not put out; but the Lord Chancellor took a Knife, and cut them out of the Parchment, and said, Now I do truly the Office of a *Chancellor*; the word being ignorantly derived by some from *Cancelling*. It is not mentioned in the *Journal*, that this was done by the Order of the House; but that must be supposed, otherwise it cannot be thought the Parliament would have consented to so unlimited a Power in the Lord Chancellor, as to raze or cut out *Proviso's* at his pleasure.

The Act of Repealing all Laws against that See.

'By the Act is set forth, their former Schism from the See of *Rome*, 'and their Reconciliation to it now; upon which, all Acts passed 'since the 20*th.* of *Henry* the Eighth, against that See, were specially 'enumerated and repealed: There it is said, that for the removing 'of all Grudges that might arise, they desired that the following Articles 'might through the Cardinal's Intercession, be established by the Pope's 'Authority.

1. 'That all Bishopricks, Cathedrals, or Colledges, now established, 'might be confirmed for ever.

2. 'That Marriages, made within such degrees as are not contrary to 'the Law of God, but only to the Laws of the Church, might be con- 'firmed, and the Issue by them declared legitimate.

3. 'That all Institutions into Benefices might be confirmed.

4 'That all Judicial Processes might be also confirmed.

A *Proviso* for Church-Lands.

And finally, 'That all the Settlements of the Lands, of any Bisho- 'pricks, Monasteries, or other Religious Houses, might continue as 'they were, without any trouble by the Ecclesiastical Censures or 'Laws.

A Petition from the Convocation about it.

'And to make this pass the better, a Petition was procured from the 'Convocation of *Canterbury*, setting forth, That whereas they, being 'the Defenders and Guardians of the Church, ought to endeavour 'with all their strength, to recover those Goods to the Church, which 'in the time of the late Schism had been alienated; yet having consi- 'dered well of it, they saw how difficult, and indeed impossible, that 'would prove, and how much it would endanger the publick Peace 'of the Realm, and the Unity of the Church; therefore they prefer- 'ring the publick Welfare, and the Salvation of Souls, to their own 'private Interests, did humbly pray the King and Queen to intercede 'with the Legate, that according to the Powers given him by the Pope, 'he would settle and confirm all that had been done in the alienation of 'the Church and Abbey Lands, to which they, for their Interests, did 'consent: and they added an humble Desire, That those things which 'concerned the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Liberty, might be re- 'establish'd, that so they might be able to discharge the Pastoral Care 'committed to them. Upon this, the Cardinal granted a full confir- 'mation of those things: ending it, with a heavy charge on those who 'had the Goods of the Church in their hands, that they would consi- 'der the Judgments of God that fell on *Belshazar*, for his profane 'using the Holy Vessels, though they had not been taken away by 'himself, but by his Father. And he most earnestly exhorted them 'that at least they would take care, that out of the Tythes of Parso- 'nages, or Vicarages, those who served the Cures, might be sufficiently 'maintain-

maintain'd and encouraged. This was confirmed in Parliament, where also it was declared, That all Suits about these Lands, were only to be in the Queen's Courts, and not in the Ecclesiastical Courts: and if any should, upon the pretence of any Ecclesiastical Authority, disturb the Subjects in their possession, they were to fall into a Premunire. It was also declared, that the Title of *Supream Head*, never of right belonged to the Crown; yet all Writings, wherein it was used, were still to continue in force; but that hereafter, all Writings should be of force, in which, either since the Queen's coming to the Crown, or afterwards, that Title should be, or had been omitted. It was also declared, that Bulls from *Rome* might be executed; that all Exemptions that had belonged to Religious Houses, and had been continued by the Grants given of them, were repealed, and these Places were made subject to the Episcopal Jurisdiction, excepting only the Priviledges of the two Universities, the Churches of *Westminster* and *Windsor*, and the *Tower* of *London*. But for encouraging any to bestow what they pleased on the Church, the Statutes of *Mortmain* were repealed for twenty Years to come; provided always, that nothing in this Act should be contrary to any of the Rights of the Crown, or the Ancient Laws of *England*: but that all things should be brought to the State they were in at the 20*th*. Year of her Father's Reign and to continue in that condition, 1554.

An Address made by the Inferior Clergy.

For understanding this Act more perfectly, I shall next set down the Heads of the Address which the Lower House of Convocation made to the Upper; for most of the Branches of this Act had their first rise from it; I have put in the Collection, having found it among Arch-Bishop *Parker*'s Papers. 'In it they petitioned the Lords of the Upper House of Convocation, to take care, that by their consent to the settlement of the Church Lands, nothing might be done in prejudice of any just Title they had in Law to them: as also, it being said, in the Grant of Chantries to King *Edward*, that Schools and Hospitals were to be erected in several parts of the Kingdom; they desired that some regard might be had to that: Likewise, that the Statutes of *Mortmain* might be repealed: and whereas Tithes had been at all times appointed for the Ecclesiastical Ministry, therefore they prayed that all Impropriations might be dissolved, and the Tithes be restored to the Church. They also proposed 27 Articles of things meet to be considered for the Reformation of the Church. Namely, That all who had preached any Heretical Doctrine, should be made openly to recant it: that *Cranmer*'s Book of the Sacrament, the late Service Books, with all Heretical Books, should be burnt; and all that had them, should be required to bring them in; otherwise they should be esteemed the favourers of Heresy: That great care should be had of the Books that were either printed or sold. That the Statutes made against *Lollards*, might be revived, and the Church restored to its former Jurisdiction. That all Statutes for Pluralities, and Non-residence, might be repealed, that so Beneficed Men might attend on their Cures: That Simoniacal Pactions might be punished; not only in the Clergy that made them, but in the Patrons, and in those that mediated in them; that the Liberties of the Church might be restored according to the *Magna Charta*; and the Clergy be delivered from the heavy Burdens of First-Fruits, Tenths, *Col.* Numb. 16.

'and

1554. 'and Subsidies: That there might be a clear explanation made of a 'the Articles of the *Premunire*; and that none should be brought u- 'der it, till there were first a Prohibition issued out by the Queen i 'that Particular; and that disobedience to it, should only bring them 'within that Guilt: That all Exemptions should be taken away; a 'Usury be forbid; all Clergy Men obliged to go in their Habits. The 'last was, That all who had spoiled Churches without any Warrant 'might be obliged to make restitution.

The Laws against Hereticks revived.

The next Act that was brought in, was for the reviving the Statutes made by *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Henry* the fifth, against Hereticks; of which an account was given in the first Book of the former Part. The Act began in the House of Commons; who, as was observed in the former Parliament, were much set on Severities. It was brought in on the *12th.* of *December*, and sent up to the Lords on the *15th.* who passed it on the *18th.* of that month. The Commons put in also another Bill, for voiding all Leases made by married Priests. It was much argued among them; and the first Draught being rejected, a new one was drawn, and sent up to the Lords, on the *19th.* of *December*: but they finding it would shake a great part of the Rights of the Church Lands, that were made by Married Priests, as Bishops, laid it aside. Thus did the servile and corrupted House of Commons run so fast, that the Bishops themselves were forced to moderate their Heats. They all understood how much the Queen was set upon having the Church raised as high as could be, and saw there was nothing so effectual to recommend any to her Favour, as to move high in these Matters: And though their Motions were thought too violent, and rejected, yet their Affections were thereby discovered: so that they knew they should be looked on as Men deeply engaged in these Interests.

An Act declaring Treasons.

After this, the Bill of Treasons was brought in. This was also argued for some days in the House of Commons, but at last agreed to. By it, any who denyed the King's Right to the Title of the Crown with the Queen's, or endeavoured to put him from it, together with them that did several other Offences, were to forfeit all their Goods and to be imprisoned during Life; and Clergy Men were to be deprived by their Ordinaries: In these cases, the second Offence was to be Treason. But if any should compass the King's Death, and utter it by any overt Deed, during his Marriage to the Queen, the first offence of this kind should be Treason. It was also enacted, that the Parliament having petitioned the King, that if the Queen dyed without Issue, he would take on him the Government of them, till they came of Age; to which he had assented; therefore, if the Queen dyed before her Children came to be of Age, the Government of the Kingdom should be in the King's Hands; if it were a Son, till he were eighteen; or if a Daughter, till she was fifteen Years of Age: And in all that time, the conspiring his Death was to be Treason. The Witnesses were to be brought before the Parties; and none was to be tryed for any words, but within six months after they were spoken.

Another against seditious words.

Another Act passed, upon a Report made of some Heretical Preachers, who had, as was informed, prayed in their Conventicles, that God would turn the Queen's Heart from Idolatry to the true Faith, &c.

elſe ſhorten her days, and take her quickly out of the way: All therefore that ſo prayed for taking away the Queen's Life, were to be judged Traytors; but if they ſhewed themſelves penitent for ſuch Prayers, they were not to be condemned of Treaſon, but put to any corporal Puniſhment, other than Death, at the Judges Diſcretion. This was paſſed in great haſte, for it was thrice read in the Houſe of Lords, and paſſed on the *16th.* of *January*, in which the Parliament was Diſſolved. 1554.

There was another Act paſt, againſt thoſe that ſpread Lying Reports of any Noblemen, Judges, or great Officers; that ſuch as ſpread them, ſhould be impriſoned till they brought their Authors, according to former Acts. If any ſpread ſuch Reports of the King and Queen, they were to be ſet on a Pillory, and pay 100 *l.* or have their Ears cut off, and be three months Priſoners: and they were to pay 100 Marks, and ſuffer one months Impriſonment, though they had Authors for them, if they reported them maliciouſly: But if their Reports tended to the ſtirring of any Inſurrection, they were to loſe their right Hands; and upon a ſecond Offence to ſuffer Impriſonment during their Lives; but they were to be proceeded againſt within three months after the words ſo ſpoken.

All the Bills being ended, the Parliament was diſſolved on the *16th.* of *January*, to *Gardiner's* no ſmall joy. He had now performed all that he had undertaken to the Queen, or the Emperor: Upon which he had the Reputation that he was formerly in, of a great Stateſman, and a dextrous manager of Affairs, much confirmed and raiſed; ſince he had brought about, in ſo ſmall a time, ſo great a change, where the Intereſts of thoſe who conſented to it, ſeemed to lead them another way. To thoſe who had apprehended the Tyranny of *Rome*, he had ſaid, That as our former Kings had always kept it under in a great meaſure; ſo there was leſs danger of that now, ſince they ſaw that all Princes had agreed to preſerve their own Rights entire, againſt the Pope's Pretenſions. He ſhewed them, that therefore all the old Laws againſt Proviſions from *Rome*, were ſtill kept in force. And ſo upon Cardinal *Pool's* being called over, there was a Commiſſion ſent him, under the Great Seal, bearing date the *10th.* of *November*, authoriſing him to exerciſe his Legatine Power in *England*. By this he ſhewed them that no Legate ſhould ever come into *England* to execute any Power, till his Faculties were ſeen and approved by the Queen. Others thought this was but a vain imagination; for if the Papacy were once fully eſtabliſhed and People again brought under the old Superſtition, of eſteeming the Popes Chriſt's Vicars, and the infallible Heads of the Church, it would not be poſſible to retain the People in their Obedience, ſince all the aſſiſtance that the Princes of Chriſtendome of this time had from their Subjects in their Wars with the Popes, flowed chiefly from this, that they generally did no more ſubmit implicitly to their Prieſts. But if once that blind Obedience were reſtored, it would be eaſy for the Prieſts, by their private dealings in Confeſſion, to overturn Governments as they pleaſed.

Gardiner is in great eſteem.

But that which ſtuck moſt, was, That the Church Lands were, by the Cannon Law, ſo indiſſolubly annexed to the Church, that they could not be ſeparated from it. To this it was anſwered, that they

Great fear about the Church Lands.

1554. should secure it by a Law at *Rome*, and should confirm all the Alienations that had been made, both by consent of the Clergy, and by the Pope's Authority committed to the Legate. Yet even that did not satisfy many who found some Laws in the Canon, so strict, that the Pope himself could not dispence with them: If the Legate did it, the Pope might refuse to confirm it, and then it was nothing: and what one Pope did, another often recalled. So it was said, that this Confirmation was but an Artifice, to make it pass the more easily. Besides, all observed, that in the Cardinal's Confirmation of those Lands there was a charge given to all, to be afraid of the Judgments of God that fell on *Belshazar* for using the Holy Vessels; which was, to pardon the thing, and yet to call it a Sacriledge, for which they might look for the Vengeance of God. So that the Cardinal did at the same time both bind and loose; and it was plain, both by that Clause, and the Repeal of the Statute of *Mortmain*, that it was designed to possess People with the Opinion of the Sin of retaining Church-Lands. It was thought this Confirmation, was rather an Indemnity and Permission to keep them, than a declaring the Possessors had any lawful Title to them. So that when Men were near Death, and could no longer enjoy those Lands themselves, it was not to be doubted, but the Terrors of Sacriledge, and the Punishments due to it, with the hope of that relief and comfort that Soul-Masses might bring them in Purgatory, would prevail with many of them, to make at least great, if not entire, Restitutions.

This Point being carried by those who did not understand what future danger their Estates were in, but considered the present Confirmation, and the other Advantages which they were to have for consenting to this Act; all the rest passed with no opposition. The Act about the proceeding against Hereticks, passed more easily than anything that had been proposed: So it seems the opposition that was made to other Acts, came not from any that favoured the Reformation, otherwise this would have found some resistance. But now it was the only way to the Queen's Favour, and to Preferment, to run down that which was called *Heresy*.

Consultations about the way of dealing with Hereticks

After the Dissolution of the Parliament, the first thing taken into consideration was, what way to proceed against the Hereticks. Cardinal *Pool* had been suspected to favour the Protestants, but seemed now to be much alienated from them: and therefore when *Tremellius* who had declared himself a Protestant, came to him at *Brussels*, he would not see him, though he was his God-father. He came over into *England*, much changed from that freedom of Conversation he had formerly practised: he was in reserves to all People, spoke little, and had put on an *Italian* Temper, as well as behaviour: he brought over two *Italians*, *Priuli* and *Ormaneto*, who were his only Confidents. He was a Man of a generous and good disposition; but knew how jealous the Court of *Rome* would be of him, if he seemed to favour Hereticks; therefore he expressed great detestation of them. Nor did he converse much with any that had been of that Party, but the late Secretary *Cecil*, who, though he lived for the most part privately at his House near *Stamford*, where he afterwards built a most sumptuous House; and was known to favour the Reformation still in his Heart

Heart; yet in many things he complyed with the Time, and came to have more of his confidence than any Engliſh Man. 1554.

The Cardinal profeſſed himſelf an Enemy to extream Proceedings. He ſaid, Paſtors ought to have Bowels, even to their ſtraying ſheep: Biſhops were Fathers, and ought to look on thoſe that erred as their ſick Children, and not for that, to kill them: He had ſeen, that ſevere Proceedings did rather inflame than cure that Diſeaſe: There was a great difference to be made between a Nation uninfected, where ſome few Teachers came to ſpread Errors; and a Nation that had been overrun with them, both Clergy and Laity. The People were not ſo violently to be drawn back, but were to have time given them to recover out of thoſe Errors, into which they had been led by the Complyance and Writings of their Prelates. Therefore he propoſed, that there ſhould be a ſtrict Reformation of the manners of the Clergy, carryed on. He had obſerved, in every Country of Chriſtendom, that all the beſt and wiſeſt Men acknowledged, that the Scandals and Ignorance of the Clergy, had given the entrance to Hereſy: So he moved, that there might be a reviving of the Rules of the Primitive Church; and then, within a little time, Men might by degrees be brought over. I have not found that he propoſed the receiving the Council of *Trent*; which is the more ſtrange, ſince he had been himſelf one of the Legates at the firſt Seſſion of it: but it ſeems, it was not thought ſeaſonable to propoſe it, till the Council were firſt ended and diſſolved. The Cardinal is for moderate Courſes.

On the other hand, *Gardiner*, who had no great ſenſe of Eccleſiaſtical Matters, but as they ſerved Intrigues of State; and being himſelf of ſuch a temper, that ſevere Proceedings wrought much on him? judged that the executing the Laws againſt the *Lollards*, was that in which they were chiefly to truſt. He was confident, the Preachers then in Priſon, were Men of ſuch tempers, that, if they ſaw they were to be burnt, they would comply; or if they ſtood out, and were burnt, that would ſo terrify the reſt, that the whole Nation would ſoon change. He remembred well how the *Lollards* grew in *England*, only upon Cardinal *Wolſey*'s ſlackning the execution of the Laws againſt them: And upon the paſſing of the Statute of the ſix Articles, many ſubmitted; ſo that if King *Henry* had not diſcouraged the vigorous execution of that Act, all had turned. He did not deny, but a Reformation of the Clergy was a good and fit mean; but ſaid, that all Times could not bear ſuch things; and if they went to reform their Manners, the Hereticks would from thence take advantage of raiſing clamours againſt a ſcandalous Clergy; which would encreaſe, rather then leſſen the averſion the People had to their Paſtors. So *Gardiner* complained, that *Pool*, by his intention of coming over too haſtily, had almoſt precipitated all things; and now, by his gentle proceedings, would as much prejudice them another way. All theſe Reaſonings, were ſuch as became a Man of *Gardiner*'s temper, which being ſervile, and abject, made him meaſure others by himſelf. But *Gardiner* is for violent ones.

He was alſo at this time highly provoked, by the reprinting of his Books of *True Obedience*, which he had writ in the Time of King *Henry*, and to which *Bonner* had made the Preface. In theſe Books, *Gardiner* had not only argued againſt the Pope's Supremacy, and for the Kings, but had condemned the King's Marriage with Queen *Katherine*, calling

'it often *incestuous*, and *unlawful*; and had justified the King's Divorcing 'her, and marrying his most godly and vertuous Wife, Queen Ann. This being reprinted in *Strasburg*, was now conveighed into *England*, and it was acknowledged to be a handsome piece of Spite in the Reformed, thus to expose him to the World. But though this netled him much, yet he was confident enough, and excused himself, that he had erred through fear and weakness, as St. *Peter* had done; though it was an unreasonable thing, to compare an Error of near thirty Years continuance, to the sudden denyal of St. *Peter*, that was presently expiated with so true and sincere a Repentance.

To which the Queen inclined.

Between these two Councils, the Queen would have a mean way taken, to follow both in part. She encouraged *Pool* to go on in the correcting the Manners of the Clergy; and likewise pressed *Gardiner* to proceed against the Hereticks.

She also sent Ambassadors to *Rome*; who were the Viscount *Montecute*; the Bishop of *Ely*, and Sir *Edward Carn*, one to represent every State of the Kingdom; to make her Obedience to the Pope, and to obtain a Confirmation of all those Graces Cardinal *Pool* had granted in his Name.

1555. On the 23*d.* of *January*, all the Bishops went to *Lambeth*, to receive the Cardinal's Blessing and Directions. He wished them to return to their Cures, and treat their Flocks with all gentleness, and to endeavour rather to gain them that way, than to use Extremity and Rigour. And on the 25*th.* there was a solemn Procession through *London*; there went first 160 Priests, all in their Copes, eight Bishops next, and last of all came *Bonner* himself, carrying the Host; to thank God for reconciling them again to his Church, and Bonfires were burning all the Night. And to keep up a constant remembrance of it, it was ordered, that St. *Andrew*'s day should be still observed as the Anniversary of it, and be called *The Feast of the Reconciliation*; and Procession, with all the highest Solemnities they at any time use, were to be on that day.

They begin with *Rogers*, and others.

But now they turned wholly to the Prosecution of the Hereticks. There had been thirty of them taken at a Meeting near *Bow* Church, where one *Rose*, a Minister, gave them the Communion according to the English Book of Service; so they were all put in Prison. On the 22*d.* of *January*, *Rogers*, with others, were brought before the Council; He had been a Prebendary of *Pauls*, and in a Sermon, after the Queen was come to *London*, had zealously asserted the Doctrine, he had formerly preached; and as it has been shewn, was confined to his House, upon the Tumult that had been at *Pauls*. He was was much pressed to fly over into *Germany*, but he would not hearken to it, though the Necessities of ten Children were great Temptations. He was esteemed one of the most Learned of the Reformers, so that when those of the Convocation were required to Dispute; they desired that *Ridley* and he might be suffered to come and joyn with them. It was resolved to begin with him, and some others, at the Council-Board, to see if they could be easily brought over.

He was accordingly brought before the Council; where being asked by *Gardiner*, Whether he would knit himself to the Catholick Church, and

and receive the Pope as the Supream Head? He ſaid, He knew no other Head of the Church but Chriſt; and for the Pope he had no more Authority in *England*, than any other Biſhop, either by the Word of God, or the Authority of the Church, for 400 Years after Chriſt. But they objecting, that he had acknowledged King *Henry* to be Supream Head: He anſwered, He never acknowledged him ſo to be Supream, as to forgive Sins, beſtow the Holy Ghoſt, or be a Judge above the Word of God. But as he was going to explain himſelf, *Gardiner* preſſed him to anſwer plainly. He objected to *Gardiner*, That all the Biſhops had for many Years preached againſt the Pope. *Gardiner* ſaid, They were forced to it, by the Cruelty of the Times; but they would Argue no more with him: Now Mercy was offered, if he rejected it, Juſtice muſt come next. *Rogers* ſaid, if they had been preſſed to deny the Pope's Power by Cruelty, would they now by the ſame Motives force others to acknowledge it? for his part he would never do it. Other ten were called in, one after another; and only one of them, by the Lord *Effingham's* Favour, was let go upon a general Queſtion, if he would be an Honeſt Man; but all the reſt anſwering reſolutely, were ſent back to Priſon, and were kept much ſtricter than formerly; none being ſuffered to come near them. 1555. Who refuſing to comply.

On the 28*th.* of *January*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Dureſm*, *Salisbury*, *Norwich*, and *Carliſle*, ſate in St. *Mary Overies* in *Southwark*; where *Hooper* was firſt brought before them. It needs not to be doubted, but *Bonner* remembred that he had informed againſt him, when he was deprived in King *Edward's* Time. He had been ſummoned to appear before the Queen, ſoon after ſhe came to the Crown: and it was pretended, he owed her great Sums of Mony: Many adviſed him not to appear, for that it was but a pretence to put him, and a great many more in Priſon, where they would be kept till Laws were made to bring them out to a Stake. But he would not withdraw; ſo now he and Mr. *Rogers* were ſingled out and begun with. They were asked, Whether they would ſubmit, or not? they both refuſed to ſubmit, *Rogers* being much preſſed, and continuing firm in his Reſolutions; *Gardiner* ſaid, It was vain-glory in him to ſtand out againſt the whole Church. He proteſted it was his Conſcience, and not Vain-glory, that wayed him; for his part, he would have nothing to do with the Antichriſtian Church of *Rome*. *Gardiner* ſaid, by that he condemned the Queen, and the whole Realm, to be of the Church of Antichriſt: *Rogers* ſaid, The Queen would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counſel. *Gardiner* ſaid, the Queen went before them in thoſe Counſels, which proceeded of her own motion. *Rogers* ſaid, He would never believe that. The Biſhop of *Carliſle* ſaid, they could all bear him witneſs to it. *Rogers* ſaid, they would all witneſs for one another. Upon that, the Comptroller, and Secretary *Bourn*, being there, ſtood up in Court and atteſted it. Then they asked *Rogers*, What he thought of the Sacrament? He ſaid, It was known he had never meddled in that Matter, and was ſuſpected by ſome to be of a contrary Opinion to many of his Brethren, but yet he did not allow of their Corporal Preſence. He complained, that after he had been confined half a Year in his Houſe, they had kept him a Year in *Newgate*, without any Fault; for they could not ſay he had broken Were judged:

any

1555. any of their Laws, since he had been a Prisoner all the while; so that meerly for his Opinion they were now proceeding against him. They gave *Hooper* and him time till next morning, to consider what they would do: but they continuing in their former Resolution; were declared obstinate Hereticks, and appointed to be degraded and so to be delivered into the Sheriffs hands. *Hooper* was only degraded from the Order of Priesthood. Then *Rogers* desired he might be suffered to speak with his Wife, concerning his ten Children: They answered, she was not his Wife, and so denyed it. Upon this they were led away to *Newgate*.

And condemned.

On the 4*th*. of *February*, early in the morning, *Rogers* was called upon to make ready for *Smithfield*: He was so fast asleep, that he was not easily awakened; he put on his Cloaths carelesly, being, as he said, so soon to lay them off. When he was brought to *Bonner* to be degraded, he again renewed his desire to see his Wife, but could not obtain it. He was led to *Smithfield*, where he was not suffered to make any Speech to the People: so, in a few words, he desired them to continue in that Doctrine which he had taught them, and for which he had not only patiently suffered all the bitterness and cruelty that had been exercised on him, but did now most gladly resign up his Life, and give his Flesh to the consuming Fire, for a Testimony to it. He repeated the 51 *Psalm*, and so fitted himself for the Stake. A Pardon was brought, if he would recant: but he chose to submit to that severe, but short punishment, rather than put himself in danger of Everlasting Burning, by such an Apostacy: So the Fire was set to him, which consumed him to Ashes.

Rogers Martyrdom.

For *Hooper*, after they had degraded him, they resolved to send him to *Gloceſter*: At which he much rejoyced, hoping by his Death to confirm their Faith, over whom he had been formerly placed. He was carryed thither in three dayes. After he came, he had one days interval given him, which he spent in Fasting and Prayer. Some came to perswade him to accept of the Queen's Mercy, since Life was sweet, and Death was bitter. He Answered, The Death that was to come after was more bitter, and the Life that was to follow was more sweet. As some of his Friends parted with him, he shed some Tears, and told them, All his Imprisonment had not made him do so much.

Hooper burnt at *Gloceſter*.

On the 9*th*. he was led out to his Execution; where, being denyed leave to speak, but only to pray, in the strain of a Prayer, he declared his belief. Then the Queen's Pardon being shewed him, he desired them to take it away. He prayed earnestly for strength from God, to endure his Torment patiently; and undressed himself, and embraced the Reeds. When he was tyed to the Stake with Iron Chains, he desired them to spare their pains, for he was confident he should not tremble them. The Fire was put to him, but the Wood being green, burnt ill, and the Wind blew away the flame of the Reeds: He prayed oft, *O Jesus, thou Son of* David, *have mercy on me, and receive my Soul*; and called to the People, for the Love of God, to bring him more Fire, for the Fire was burning his neather Parts, but did not reach his Vitals. The Fire was renewed, but the Wind still blew it away from rising up to stifle him, so that he was long in the Torment. The last words he was heard to say, were, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*. Once

his Hands dropped off before he died; with the other he Continued to knock on his Breaſt ſome time after; and was in all near three quarters of an hour a burning. 1555.

Next theſe, was *Sanders* condemned, and ſent to *Coventry* to be burnt, where he ſuffered on the 8th of *February*. He had been made a Priſoner for Preaching, notwithſtanding the Queen's Prohibition, and was condemned for refuſing to conform to the New Laws. When he was led out to the Stake, a Pardon was likewiſe offered him: But he ſaid, He held no Hereſies, but the bleſſed Goſpel of Chriſt; and that he would never recant. When he came to the Stake, he embraced it, and ſaid, *Wellcome the Croſs of Chriſt, wellcome Everlaſting Life? and* ſo he was burnt. *Sanders* burnt at *Coventry*.

Dr. *Taylor* followed next, who was Parſon of *Hadley*. Some of his neighbouring Prieſts came to *Hadley*, and reſolved to ſay Maſs in his Church. He went thither, and openly declared againſt it, but was by violence thruſt out of the Church. *Gardiner*, being informed of this, writ for him to come up. Many of his Friends wiſhed him to go out of the way: He ſaid, He muſt follow Chriſt, the good Shepherd, who not only fed his Flock, but died for it. He was old, and thought he ſhould never be able, at any other time, to do his good God ſuch Service as he was then called to; ſo he went with much chearfulneſs. *Gardiner* received him with his ordinary Civilities, of *Traitor*, *Villain*, *Heretick*, and *Knave*. He anſwered, He was none of theſe; and put *Gardiner* in mind of the Oaths he had ſworn, both to King *Henry* and King *Edward*. *Gardiner* ſaid, An unlawful Oath was not to be kept; and charged him for hindring Maſs to be ſaid at his Church. He ſaid, He was by Law Parſon of *Hadley*, and no man had a right to come thither, and defile his Church and People with Idolatry. After ſome Diſcourſe on that Head, he was ſent to the *Kings Bench* Priſon; and being carried before the Council on the 22*d*. of *January*, he refuſed to turn. After that he was condemned, and degraded: And it was reſolved to ſend him to *Hadley* to be burnt there. All the way he expreſſed great chearfulneſs. When he was brought to the Stake, he ſaid to the People, he had taught them nothing but God's Holy Word, and was now to Seal it with his Blood: But one of the Guard ſtruck him over the Head, and made him give over ſpeaking. Then he went to his Prayers, and ſo to the Stake, where he was put in a Pitch Barrel. As the Faggots were laying about him, one flung a Faggot at his Head, which broke it, and fetch'd a great deal of Blood; but all he ſaid, was, *Oh Friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?* He repeated the 51 *Pſalm* in Engliſh; at which one of the Guard ſtruck him over the Mouth, and bid him ſpeak Latin. He continued in his Ejaculations to God, till the Fire was kindled; and one of the Guard cut him in the Head with his Halbert, ſo that his Brains fell out. This was done on the 9*th*. of *February*. And *Taylor* at *Hadley*.

Bradford was alſo at the ſame time condemned, but his Execution was reſpited.

Soon after the Condemnation of theſe Men, ſix others were apprehended on the account of Hereſy.

By

1555. *Gardiner* is disappointed.

By this *Gardiner* saw, that what he had expected did not follow; for he thought a few severe instances would have turned the whole Nation: but finding he was disappointed, he would meddle no more in the condemning of them; but left the whole matter wholly to *Bonner*, who undertook it chearfully, being naturally savage and brutal, and retaining deep resentments for what had befallen himself in King *Edwards time*.

These Cruelties are much censured.

The whole Nation stood amazed at these Proceedings, and the burning of such Men, only for their Consciences, without the mixture of any other thing, so much as pretended against them. And it was look't upon as a horrible cruelty, because those Men had acted nothing contrary to the Laws; for they were put in Prison, at first for smaller matters, and there kept, till those Laws were past, by which they were now burnt. So that, remembring *Gardiners* Plea for himself in his imprisonment, when he desired to be first Tried, and discharged in the particular for which he was committed, before new matter was brought against him; all Men saw now, how much more justly those men might have demanded the like at his hands. But now the Spirit of the two Religions shewed it self. In King *Edwards* time, Papists were only turned out of their Benefices, and at most imprisoned; and of those there were but very few: but now, that could not serve turn, but barbarous Cruelties must be executed on innocent Men, only for their Opinions. One piece of Severity was taken notice of among the rest: The Council sent for those who were to be burnt in the Country, and required of them a promise to make no Speeches; otherwise they threatned to cut out their Tongues immediately: so they to avoid that butchery, promised to obey those cruel Orders.

Reflections made on *Hooper's* Death.

The manner of *Hooper's* death, made those who judged too critically of Divine Providences, reflect on the dissension that had been raised by him about the Vestments; as if he, who had kindled that fire, had suffered now more than ordinary for that reason. But all that difference was at an end before this; for *Ridley* and he, between whom there had been the greatest animosity, becoming Partners in the same suffering, were perfectly reconciled to each other. He writ twice to *Ridley*, who writ him an Answer, as soon as he could convey it; in which he declared, how intirely he was knit to him, though in some circumstances of Religion they had formerly jarred a little: it was *Hoopers* wisdom, and his own simplicity, that had divided them; every one following the abundance of his own sence; but now he assured him, that in the Bowels of Christ he loved him in the Truth and for the Truth. He encouraged him to prepare for the day of his dissolution; after which they should triumph together in eternal Glory: he expressed great Joy for what he "heard of *Cranmers* godly and fatherly constancy, whose integrity, and "uprightness, gravity, and innocence, was known to the whole Nation: "and he blessed God that had given, in his reverend old Age, such a Man "to be the witness of his Truth: for miserable and hard-hearted was he, "whom the Godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, "and so innocent a man, would not move to acknowledge and confess the "Truth.

It had been happy if the fires that consumed those good Men, had put an end to these Contests: and if those that have been since engaged in the like, will reflect more on the sense they had of them when they

they were now preparing for Eternity, than on the heats they were put in concerning them, when perhaps eaſe and plenty made their paſſions keener, they may from thence be reduced to have more moderate thoughts of ſuch matters. 1555.

If the Engliſh Nation was diſſatisfied with what was done ſince the beginning of this Reign, it cannot be imagined but their diſcontent received a great encreaſe by what was now acted. Thoſe that favoured the Reformation, were awakened to have more ſerious thoughts about it; ſince they ſaw thoſe that had preached it, died ſo patiently and reſolutely, rather than they would deny it. It begot in them greater tenderneſs to their memories, and a more violent averſion to their Perſecutors. The reſt of the Nation that neither knew nor valued Religion much, yet were ſtartled at the ſeverity and ſtrangeneſs of theſe Proceedings; and being naturally of relenting and compaſſionate Tempers, were highly diſaffected to the King, from whom they believed that this flowed. They Queen had before declared, ſhe would force no body in theſe points; ſo they thought it not reaſonable nor decent to charge her with it. *Gardiner*, with the other Biſhops and Privy Councellors had openly in Court purged themſelves of it; and laid it on the Queen, being therein more careful of their own credit, than of her honour; ſo now, it could fall no where but on the King; the ſowerneſs of whoſe temper, together with his bigotry for that Religion, made it reaſonable enough to impute it to him: beſides, he had been bred in *Spain*, where the Inquiſition was let looſe on all that were ſuſpected of Hereſie without any reſtraint: and his Father had, during his whole Reign, been always, as far as he ſafely could be, a Proſecutor of Proteſtants. *Philip* could not but ſee that all was caſt on him; and underſtanding that thereby he ſhould become unacceptable to the Nation, and ſo not be able to carry on his Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of *England*, he was ſomething concerned to clear himſelf of theſe Imputations. Therefore *Alphonſus* a Franciſcan Friar that was his Confeſſor, in a Sermon before him on the 10*th.* of *February* preached largely againſt the taking away of Peoples lives for Religion; and in plain terms, inveighed againſt the Biſhops for doing it: he ſaid, they had not learned it in Scripture, which taught Biſhops in the ſpirit of meekneſs to inſtruct thoſe that oppoſed them; and not to burn them for their Conſciences. This ſtartled the Biſhops; ſince it was now plain, that the Spaniards diſowned theſe extream courſes; and hereupon there was a ſtop for ſeveral weeks put to any further ſeverities. But the Popiſh Clergy, being once engaged in blood, have been always obſerved to become the moſt brutally cruel of any ſort of men; ſo that it was not eaſie to reſtrain them; and therefore they reſolved, rather than the Hereticks ſhould not be proſecuted any further, to take the blame of it avowedly on themſelves.

Theſe Burnings were diſliked by the Nation.

The King purges himſelf of them.

But they are proſecuted by the Clergy.

There was at this time a Petition Printed, and ſent over from ſome beyond Sea, to the Queen, in which they ſet before her the danger of her being carried away by a blind zeal, to perſecute the members of Chriſt, as St. *Paul* was before his converſion: They put her in mind how *Cranmer* had preſerved her in her Fathers time; ſo that ſhe had more reaſon to believe he loved her, and would ſpeak truth to her, than all the reſt of her Clergy; whom they compared to *Jezabel's*

A Petition againſt Perſecution.

1555. Prophets. They gathered many Passages out of *Gardiner's Bonner's* and *Tonstal's* Writings, against the Pope's Supremacy, and her Mothers Marriage; and shewed that they were Men that, by their own confession, had no conscience in them, but measured their Actions and Professions by their Fears, and Interests; and averred that it was known that many of that Faction did openly profess, that if they lived in *Turkey*, they would comply with the Religion of the Country. They said, that the *Turks* did tolerate Christians, and the Christians did in most places suffer *Jews*; but the Persecution now set on foot, was like that which the Scribes and Pharisees raised against the Apostles; for they then pretended that they had been once of their Religion, and so were Apostates, and Hereticks. They also said, (but by a common mistake) That the first Law for Burning in *England*, was made by *Henry* the Fourth; who to gratifie the Bishops that had helped him to depose King *Richard* the second, and to advance himself to the Throne, as it were, in recompence of that Service, had granted them that Law; which was both against all huanmity, and more particularly against the mercifulness of the Christian Religion.

They remembred her, that in King *Edward's* time, none of the Papists had been so used: and in conclusion they told her, she was trusted by God with the Sword, for the protection of her People, as long as they did well; and was to answer to him for their Blood, if she should delivered them to the mercy of such Wolves.

From the Queen, the Address is turned to the Nobility, warning them of the Danger, of not only losing their Abbey Lands, but also their Liberties; and being brought under a Spanish Yoke, which had ruined many of the best Countries in the World: They are told, they must resolve to come under heavy Taxes, and a general Excise, such as was in the *Netherlands*; and that all this would come justly on them who had joyned in the Reformation, for base ends, to get the Church Lands; and now, thinking those were secured to them, forsook it: but for all these things they were to answer heartily to God.

From them, it turns to the People, and exhorts them to repent of their great sins, which had brought such Judgments on them: and in the end, begs the Queen will at least be as favourable to her own People, as she had been to the Strangers, to whom she allowed a free passage to Forreign Parts.

This Discourse is writ in a strong and good Style, much beyond the rate of the other Books of that time. Upon this, some were set on work to write in defence of such Proceedings; so a Book was set out about it, with divers Arguments, of which the substance follows.

Arguments for persecuting Hereticks.

They said, The Jews were commanded to put Blasphemers to death; and those Hereticks were such, for they blasphemed the Sacrament of the Altar, which was the Body of Christ, and called it a piece of Bread. They noted also, that the Heathens had persecuted Christians; and if they had that Zeal for their false Religion, it became Christians to be much more zealous for theirs: they made use of that Expression in the Parable, *Compel them to enter in*; and of St. *Paul's*, *I would they were cut off that trouble you.* They alledged, that St. *Peter* had, by Divine Power, struck *Ananias* and *Saphira* dead; which seemed a good Warrant for the Magistrate to put such persons to Death. They said

that the Heretics themſelves were for Burning, when they had Power; and that thoſe that died then by their hands, had expreſſed as much Courage in their Deaths, and Innocence in their Lives, as they had ever done: they cited St. *Auſtin*, who was for proſecuting the *Donatiſts*; and though he had been once of another mind, yet finding Severities had a good effect on them, he changed, and was for fining or baniſhing of them. Theſe were the Arguments for and againſt thoſe Proceedings. 1555.

But leaving them to the Reader's Judgment, I proceed in the Hiſtory. I intend not to write a pompous Martyrology, and therefore hereafter I ſhall only name the Perſons that ſuffered, with the reaſons for which they were condemned: but except in a very few Inſtances, I ſhall not enlarge on the manner of their Trial and Sufferings; which being ſo copiouſly done by *Fox*, there is nothing left for any that comes after him. In ſome private Paſſages, which were brought to him upon flying Reports, he made a few Miſtakes, being too credulous; but in the Account he gives from Records, or Papers, he is a moſt exact and faithful Writer; ſo that I could never find him in any prevarication, or ſo much as a deſigned concealment. He tells the Good and the Bad, the Weakneſs and Paſſion, as well as the Conſtancy and Patience of thoſe good Men, who ſealed their Faith with their Blood; who were not all equal in Parts, nor in Diſcretion; but the weaker any of them were, it argued the more cruelty in their Proſecutors, to proceed ſo ſeverely againſt ſuch inconſiderable Perſons.

The firſt Intermiſſion being over, on the 16*th.* of *March*, *Thomas Thomkins*, a Weaver in *Shoreditch*, was burnt in *Smithfield*, only for denying the corporal Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament. *Bonner* kept him many months in his Houſe, hoping to have wrought on him by fair means; but thoſe having no effect, one day he tore out a great deal of the Hair of his Beard, but to conceal that, made his Beard be clean ſhaved: And another time he held his hand in the Flame of the Candle, ſo long, till the Sinews and Veins ſhrunk and burſt, and ſpurted in *Harpſfield*'s Face that was ſtanding by, who, interpoſing with *Bonner*, got him to give over any further cruelty at that time. They proceed to burn more.

The next that ſuffered, was one *William Hunter* of *Brentwood*, an Apprentice of nineteen Years old; who had been drawn on in diſcourſe by a Prieſt, till he brought him to deny the Preſence in the Sacrament; and then was accuſed by him. His own Father was made to ſearch for him to bring him to Juſtice; but he, to ſave his Father from trouble, endred himſelf. *Bonner* offered him 40 pound if he would change, ſo mercenary a thing did he think Conſcience to be: But he anſwered, if they would let him alone, he would keep his Conſcience to himſelf, but he would not change; ſo he was condemned and ſent to be burnt near to where he ſuffered on the 20*th.* of *March*.

On the ſame day, *Cauſton* and *Higbed*, two Gentlemen of good Estates and great Eſteem, were burnt near their own Houſes in *Eſſex*.

On the 28*th.* of *March*, *William Pigot* was burnt at *Braintree*, and *Stephen Knight* at *Malden*; and on the 29*th*, *John Lawrence*, a Prieſt, at his own Houſe, was burnt at *Colcheſter*.

In all their Proceſſes, the Biſhops brought no Witneſſes againſt them; but did only exhibit Articles to them, according to the way of thoſe

1555. Courts, called *Ex Officio*; and required them to make Answers; and upon their Answers, which were judged Heretical, they condemned them; so that all this was singly for their Consciences, without the pretence of any other Matter.

Ferrar, Bishop of St. *Davids*, condemned and burnt.

Ferrar, that had been Bishop of St. *Davids*, being dealt with by *Gardiner* to turn, and refusing to do it, was sent down to *Carmarthen*; where his Successor *Morgan* sat upon him; and gave him Articles about the Marriage of Priests, the Mass, and some other things: To which his Answers being found Heretical, he was condemned. He put in an Appeal to Cardinal *Pool*, but it was not received: Yet it seems, that delayed the Execution till they heard from him; for though he was condemned on the 13*th*. he was not burnt before the 30*th* of *March*.

About that time was *Rawlins White*, an honest poor Fisher-man, burnt at *Cardiff*; it was in *March*, but the day is not mentioned: He was very ancient, and was put in prison, only because he had put his Son to School, that he might hear the Bible read by him. After a Year's Imprisonment, the Bishop of *Landaff* condemned him, upon Articles to which he answered as an Heretick.

On the 24*th* of *April*, *George March*, a Priest, was burnt at *Chester*, being judged, as the others had been; only at his death there was a new Invention of Cruelty, a Firkin of Pitch was hung over his Head, that the Fire melting it, it might scald his Head as it dropt on it.

One wounds a Priest at the Altar, and is burnt for Heresie himself, condemning his former Act.

After this, one *Flower*, that had been in Orders, but was a rash indiscreet Man, went on *Easter*-day into St. *Margarets* Church in *Westminster*, and there with a Knife, struck at, and wounded the Priest, as he was officiating. He for some time justified what he had done, as flowing from Zeal; but afterwards he sincerely condemned it. *Bonner* upon this proceeding against him as an Heretick, condemned him to the Fire; and he was burnt on the 24*th*. of *April* in *Westminster* Church-Yard. This Fact was condemned by all the Reformed, who knew that the Wrath of Man was not the way to accomplish the Righteousness of God. In the Jewish Government, some extraordinary Persons did execute Vengeance on notorious Offenders; but that Constitution was in all its Policy regulated by the Laws given by *Moses*; in which such Instances were proposed as Examples, whereby they became a part of the Law of that Land; so that in such Cases, it was certainly lawful to execute Punishment in that way; so in some Kingdoms, any Man that finds an out-lawed Person, may kill him: but where there is no Law warranting such things, it is certainly against both Religion, and the Laws of all Society and Government, for private persons to pretend to the Magistrates right, and to execute Justice upon any account whatsoever.

There was at this time a second stop put to the Execution of Hereticks, for till the end of *May* more fires were not kindled; People grew generally so enraged upon it, that they could not bear it. I shall therefore now turn my self to other things, that will give the Reader a more pleasing entertainment.

The Queen resolves to surrender up all the Church Lands that were in her hands.

On the 28*th* of *March*, the Queen called for the Lord Treasurer Sir *Robert Rochester* Comptroller, Sir *William Petre* Secretary of State, and Sir *Francis Inglefield* Master of the Wards. She said, she had sent for them, to declare her Conscience to them concerning the Church-Lands

Lands that continued ſtill in the Crown: ſhe thought they were taken away in the time of the Schiſm, and by unlawful means, therefore ſhe could not keep them with a good Conſcience; ſo ſhe did ſurrender and relinquiſh them. If they ſhould tell her, That her Crown was ſo poor, that ſhe could not well maintain her Dignity, if ſhe parted with them; ſhe muſt tell them, She valued the Salvation of her Soul more than ten Kingdoms; and thanked God, her Husband was of the ſame mind: and therefore ſhe was reſolved to have them diſpoſed, as the Pope, or his Legat ſhould think fit; ſo ſhe ordered them to go with the Lord Chancellor, to whom ſhe had ſpoken of it before, and wait on the Legat, and ſignifie it to him, together with the value of thoſe Lands. This flowed from the ſtrictneſs of the Queens Conſcience, who then thought her ſelf near the time of her delivery, and therefore would not have ſuch a load lie on her; of which ſhe was the more ſenſible, by reaſon of a Bull which Pope *Julius* had made, excommunicating all that kept any Abby or Church-Lands; and all Princes, Prelates and Magiſtrates, that did not aſſiſt in the execution of ſuch Bulls. Some ſaid, this related to the Buſineſs of *England*; but *Gardiner* ſaid, it was only made for *Germany*; and that Bulls had no Authority, unleſs they were received in *England*. This did not ſatisfie the People much; for if it was ſuch a ſin in *Germany*, they could not ſee, but it was as bad in *England*: And if the Pope had his Authority from Chriſt and St. *Peter*, his Bulls ought to take place every-where. 1555.

Pope *Julius* died ſoon after this, on the 20*th.* of *March*; and on the 6*th.* of *April* after, Cardinal *Marcellus Cervinus* was choſen Pope; a Man of great gravity and innocence of Life. He continued to keep his former Name, which had not been done a great while, except by *Adrian* the 6*th.* between whoſe temper, and this Man, there was a great reſemblance. He preſently turned all his Thoughts (as *Adrian* had done) to a Reformation of the Corruptions of that See; and blamed his Predeceſſors much who had always put it off: he thought nothing could make the Papacy more reverenced, than to cut off their exceſſive and ſuperfluous Pomp; whereby they would be the more eſteemed all the World over, and might, on ſure grounds, expect the protection of God. He had been one of the Legats at *Trent*, and there obſerved what was repreſented as the root of all Hereſie and Diſorder, that the Clergy were generally corrupted, and had, by many Exemptions procured from *Rome*, broken all the Primitive Rules. Upon his firſt Election, he called for the Cardinal of *Mantua*, and having obſerved him to be a man of great probity, told him, he knew it was ordinary for all Popes, at their firſt coming to the Throne, to talk of Reformation; but he would talk little, being reſolved to do more; only he opened his mind to him, that if ever he went back from it, he might have this check upon him, that ſo honeſt a man as he was, would know him to be a Knave, and a Hypocrite. He would ſuffer none of his Friends that were in remote parts, to come to *Rome*; nor his Nephews, that were in *Rome*, to come within the Court: he was reſolved to have ſent all Prieſts and Biſhops home to their Benefices; and talked much of their Non-reſidence with great deteſtation: He would not change his Table, nor his Cuſtom of making one read to him when he was ſitting at it. One day, after a long muſing at Dinner, he ſaid, he remembred

Pope *Julius* dies, and *Marcellus* ſucceeds.

1555. remembred the words of *Hadrian* the Fourth, 'That the Pope was the 'most miserable of all Men; his whole Life was bitterness, his Chair 'was full of Thorns, and his way of Briars; and then leaning with his Hand on the Table, he said, *I do not see how they can be saved that hold this high Dignity.* These Thoughts did so affect him, that on the 12th. day after that he was chosen Pope, he sickned, and died ten days after. These things are reported of him by the learned *Onuphrius*, who knew him well: and they will not be thought impertinent to have a room in this Story.

The Queen recommends Card. *Pool* to the Popedom upon *Marcellus*'s death.

As soon as the News of his Death came to *England*, the Queen writ, on the 29th. day of *May*, to *Gardiner*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, who were then at *Calais*, mediating a Peace between the *French* and *Spaniard*; which they could not effect, but only procure a Truce: She desired them to deal with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Constable, and the other French Commissioners, to perswade their Master to set up Cardinal *Pool*, that he might succeed in that Chair, since he seemed every way the fittest person for it; adding, (as will appear by the Letter which is in the *Collection*) that she had done this without his knowledge or consent. This could not come in time to *Rome*, where on the 23d. of that month, *Caraffa* was chosen Pope, who was called *Paul* the Fourth; and who was as different from his Predecessor as any man could be. He had put on an appearance of great strictness before; and had set up a Religious Order of Monks, called *Theatines*: But upon his coming to the Popedom, he put on the greatest Magnificence possible, and was the highest Spirited, and bloodiest Pope, that had been since *Julius* the Second's Time.

Coll. Numb. 18.

Paul the 4th. chosen Pope.

The English Ambassadors come to *Rome*.

He took it for a great Honour, that on the day of his Election, the English Ambassadors entred *Rome*, with a great Train of 140 Horse of their own Attendants. On the 23d. of *June*, in the first Consistory after he was Crowned, they were heard. They fell prostrate at his Feet, and acknowledged the Steps and Faults of their Schism, enumerating them all; for so the Pope had ordered it; confessing they had been ungrateful for the many benefits they had received from that Church, and humbly asking pardon for them. The Pope held some Consultation, whether he should receive them, since in their Credentials, the Queen stiled her self Queen of *Ireland*: that Title being assumed by King *Henry*, in the Time of Schism. It seemed hard to use such Ambassadors ill: but on the other hand, he stood upon his Dignity, and though it belonged only to his See to erect Kingdoms: therefore he resolved so to temper the Matter, that he should not take notice of that Title, but should bestow it as a Mark of his Favour. So on the 7th. of *Jun.* he did in private erect *Ireland* into a Kingdom; and conferred that Title on the King and Queen, and told them, that otherwise he would not suffer them to use it in their Publick Audience. And it is probable, it was the Contest about this, that made the Audience be delayed almost a month after their Arrival. This being adjusted, he received the Ambassadors graciously, and pardoned the whole Nation: and said, 'That in Token of his esteem of the King and Queen, he gave 'them the Title of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, by that Supream Power 'which he had from God, who had placed him over all Kingdoms, to 'supplant the Contumatious, and to build new ones. But in his private

Discours

Diſcourſes with the Ambaſſadors, he complained that the Church-Lands were not reſtored: which, he ſaid, was by no means to be endured; for they muſt render all back to the laſt farthing; ſince they belonged to God, and could not be kept without their incurring Damnation: He ſaid, he would do any thing in his power, to gratifie the King and Queen; but in this his Authority was not ſo large, as to prophane the things dedicated to God. This would be an *Anathema*, and a Contagion on the Nation, which would bring after it many Miſeries; therefore he required them to write effectually about it: he repeated this to them every time he ſpake to them; and told them alſo, that the *Peter-pence* muſt be paid in *England*, and that he would ſend a Collector to raiſe it: he himſelf had been imployed in that office when he was young, and he ſaid, he was much edified to ſee the forwardneſs of the People, eſpecially thoſe of the meaner ſort, in paying it: and told them they muſt not expect St. *Peter* would open Heaven to them, ſo long as they uſurped his Goods on Earth. 1555.

The P. preſſes the reſtoring of the Church Lands.

History of the Council of *Trent.*

The Ambaſſadors ſeeing the Popes haughty temper, that he could endure no contradiction, anſwered him with great ſubmiſſion; and ſo gained his Favour much; but knew well that theſe things could not be eaſily effected; and the Viſcount *Montacute* was to deeply concerned in the matter himſelf, to ſollicit it hard: for almoſt his whole Eſtate conſiſted of Abby Lands. Thus was this buſineſs rather laid over, than fully ſetled.

But now to return to the Affairs in *England*. There came Complaints from all places, that the Juſtices of Peace were remiſs in the matters of Religion; and particularly in *Norfolk*, that theſe things were ill looked to: So Inſtructions were ſent thither (which will be found in the *Collections*) requiring the Juſtices to divide themſelves into ten or twelve Diſtricts; that they might more narrowly look into all particulars: that they ſhould encourage the Preachers ſent to inſtruct that County, and turn out ſuch as did not come to Church, or conform in all things, but chiefly the Preachers of Hereſie: that the Juſtices and their Families ſhould be good examples to the reſt: that they ſhould have one or two in every Pariſh to be ſecretly inſtructed, for giving information of every thing in it; and ſhould look ſtrictly to all Vagabonds that wandred about, and to ſuch as ſpread falſe reports. This was thought to have ſo much of the Inquiſition in it, that it was imputed to the Counſels of the *Spaniards*. And they ſeem'd to have taken their pattern from the baſe Practiſes of thoſe called *Delatores*, that are ſet out by *Tacitus* as the greateſt abuſe of Power that ever was practiſed by the ill Emperors that ſucceeded *Auguſtus*; who going into all companies, and complying with what might be acceptable to them, engaged Men into diſcourſes againſt the State; and then gave ſuch Informations againſt them, which without their diſcovering themſelves by being brought to prove them, were made uſe of to the ruin of the accuſed Perſons. This was certainly very contrary to the freedom of the Engliſh temper, and helpt to alienate them the more from the Spaniards. But it may be eaſily imagined that others were weary of ſeverities, when *Bonner* himſelf grew averſe to them: He complained, that the matter was turned over upon him, the reſt looking on, and leaving the execution of theſe Laws wholly to him. So when the Juſtices and Sheriffs ſent up Hereticks to him,

Inſtructions ſent to the Juſtices for ſearching after all ſuſpected of Hereſie.

Collect. Number 19.

Bonner grows unwilling to perſecute any more.

1554. But is required to proceed by the King and Queen.

him, he sent them back and refused to meddle further. Upon which the King and Queen writ to him on the 24*th.* of *May*, complaining of this, and admonished him to have from henceforth more regard to the Office of a good Pastor and Bishop; and when such Offenders were brought to him, to endeavour to remove them from their Error; or if they were obstinate, to proceed against them according to Law. This Letter he caused to be put in his Register, from whence I copied it, and have placed it in the *Collections*. Whether he procured this himself for a colour to excuse his Proceedings; or whether it was sent to him by reason of his slackness; is not certain: but the latter is more probable, for he had burnt none during five weeks; but he soon redeemed that loss of time.

Coll. Number 20.

The Queens delivery is expected, but in vain.

At this time the Nation was in expectation of the Queens Delivery. And on the third of *May*, the Bishop of *Norwich* writ a Letter to the Earl of *Sussex*, of which I have seen the Original, that news was brought him from *London*, that the Queen had brought forth a Noble Prince: for which he had *Te Deum* solemnly sung in his Cathedral, and in the other Churches thereabout. He adds in the *Postscript*, that the News was confirmed by two other Hands. But, though this was without any ground, the Queen continued still in her opinion that she was with Child: and on the 29*th.* of *May*, Letters were written by the Council to the Lord Treasurer, to have Money in readiness, that those who were appointed to carry the joyful news of the Queens happy Delivery, might be speedily dispatched. In the beginning of *June* she was believed to be in Labour, and it flew over *London* again that she had brought forth a Son. The Priests had setled all their hopes on that; so they did every where sing *Te Deum*, and were transported into no small Extasie of Joy. One more officious than the rest, made a Sermon about it, and described all the lineaments of their young Prince: but they soon found they were abused. It was said, that they had been deceived, and that the Queen had no great Belly; but *Melvin* in his Memoirs says, he was assured from some of her Women, that she did cast forth at several times some Moles and unformed pieces of flesh. So now there was final hopes of any Issue from her. This encreased the sowrness of her temper; and King *Philip*, being so much younger than she, growing out of conceit with her, did not much care for her; but left her some months after. He saw no hope of Children, and finding that it was not possible for him to get *England* in his hands without that; gave over all his Designs about it: so having lived with her about fifteen months after their first Marriage, he found it necessary to look more after his Hereditary Crown, and less after his Matrimonial one; and henceforth he considered *England* rather as a sure Ally, that was to adhere firmly to his Interests, than as a Nation which he could ever hope to add to his other Crowns. All these things concurred to increase the Queens Melancholy humours, and did cast her into an ill state of health: so that it was not probable she could live long. *Gardiner* upon that, set himself much to have the Lady *Elizabeth* put out of the way; but, as it was formerly said, King *Philip* preserved her.

Proceedings against Hereticks.

And thus Affairs went on, as to Civil matters, till the meeting of the next Parliament in *October* following. But I now return to the Proceedings against the poor men called *Hereticks*; who were again, after

a ſhort intermiſſion, brought to new Sufferings, *John Cardmaker*, that had been Divinity-Reader at S. *Pauls*, and a Prebendary at *Bath*; and *John Warne*, an Upholſter in *London*, were both burnt in *Smithfield*, on the 30*th.* of *May*, for denying the Corporal Preſence; being proceeded againſt *ex Officio*. On the 4*th.* of *June*, there was a piece of Pageantry acted on the Body of one *Tooly*; who being executed for a Robbery, did at his death ſay ſomething that ſavoured of Hereſy: upon which the Council writ to *Bonner* to enquire into it, and to proceed according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws. He thereupon form'd a Proceſs, and cited the dead Body to anſwer the Points objected to him; but he, to be ſure, neither appearing nor anſwering, was condemned and burnt. After this, on the 10*th.* of *June*, *Thomas Hawkes*, a Gentleman in *Eſſex*, who had lived much in the Court, was alſo burnt at *Coxhall*: and on the ſame day *John Simpſon*, and *John Ardeley*, two Husbandmen, were alſo burnt in *Eſſex*. *Thomas Watts*, a Linnen-Draper, was burnt at *Chelmsford*. On the 9*th.* *Nicholas Chamberlain*, a VVeaver, was burnt at *Colcheſter*; and on the 15*th.* *Thomas Oſmond*, a Fuller, was burnt at *Manning-tree*; and the ſame day *William Bamford*, a Weaver, was burnt at *Harwich*. 1555.

Theſe, with ſeveral others, had been ſent up by the Earl of *Oxford*, to *Bonner*, becauſe they had not received the Sacrament the laſt Eaſter, and were ſuſpected of Hereſy: and Articles being given to them, they were upon their Anſwers condemned, and ſent to be burnt in the places where they had lived. But upon this occaſion, the Council fearing ſome Tumult, or violent Reſcue, writ to the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Lord *Rich*, to gather the Country, and to ſee the Hereticks burnt. The Earl of *Oxford*, being ſome way indiſpoſed, could only ſend his People to the Lord *Rich*. vvho went and obeyed the Orders that had been ſent him; for vvhich, Letters of Thanks vvere vvritten to him; and the Council underſtanding that ſome Gentlemen had come to the burning at *Colcheſter*, that had not been vvrit to, but as the vvords of the Letter have it, *had honeſtly and of themſelves gone thither*, writ to the Lord *Rich* to give them the Council's thanks for their Zeal. I find in the Council Books, many Entries made of Letters vvrit to ſeveral Counties, to the Nobility and Gentry to aſſiſt at theſe Executions: and ſuch as made excuſes, were always after that looked on with an ill eye, and were ſtill under great jealouſie.

The Council writ to the Lords in *Eſſex* to gather the Gentry, and aſſiſt at theſe Burnings.

After theſe followed the Execution of *Bradford* in *July*; He had been condemned among the firſt, but was not burnt till now. He had been a Prebendary of St. *Pauls*, and a celebrated Preacher, in the end of King *Edwards* days. He had preſerved *Bourn* in the tumult at *Pauls-Croſs*; and that afternoon, preaching at *Bow-Church*, he ſeverely reproved the People for the diſorder at *Pauls*; but three dayes after, was put in Priſon, where he lay, removed from one Priſon to another, near three years; where-ever he came, he gained ſo much on the Keepers, that they ſuffered him to Preach and give the Sacrament to his Fellow Priſoners. He was one of thoſe that were carried before the Council on the 22*d.* of *January*, where *Bonner* accuſed him of the Tumult at *Pauls*; though all he pretended to prove it by, was, that his way of ſpeaking to the People ſhewed, he thought he had ſome Authority over them, and was a Preſumption that he had ſet on the Sedition. *Bradford* appealed to God that ſaw his Innocency, and how unworthily he was requited for ſaving his Enemies, who rendered him evil for good. At

Bradford's Martyrdome.

1555. last refusing to conform himself to the Laws, he was condemned with the rest on the 31. of *Jan.* where that Rescue was again laid to his Charge, together with many Letters he had written over *England*, which (as the Earl of *Darby* informed the Parliament) had done more hurt than he could have done, if he had been at liberty to Preach. He said, since he understood that they acted by a Commission which was derived from the Pope, he could not answer them, having sworn never to acknowledge that Authority: What he had done at *Pauls*, was at *Bourns* earnest desire, who prayed him for the Passion of Christ, to speak to the People; upon which he stepped up to the Pulpit, and had almost been killed with the Dagger that was thrown at *Bourn*, for it touched his Sleeve. But in the points of Religion, he professed his Faith so constantly, that for that cause he was condemned. Yet the saving of *Bourn* was so publickly known, that it was thought undecent to proceed against him so quick as they did with the rest. So both *Heath* Arch-Bishop of *York*, and *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Weston*, *Harpsfield*, and the King's Confessor, and *Alphonsus a Castro*, went to see him, and endevoured to gain him: but all to no purpose. It looks very ill in *Bourn* that he never interposed for *Bradford*, nor came once to visit him: and as when *Bradford* was before the Council, *Brurn's* Brother the Secretary was very sharp upon him; so when he was brought to his Tryal, *Bourn* himself then Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* being present, did not open his mouth for him, though he appealed to him, as to the business of the Tumult. With *Bradford* one *John Leafe*, an Apprentice of nineteen years old, was led out to be burnt, who was also condemned upon his Answers to the Articles exhibited to him. When they came to the Stake, they both fell down and Prayed. Then *Bradford* took a Fagot in his hands and kissed it; and so likewise kissed the Stake, expressing thereby the joy he had in his Sufferings: and cried, *O* England, *repent, repent, beware of Idolatry and false Antichrists!* But the Sheriff hindring him to speak any more, he embraced his Fellow Sufferer, and prayed him to be of good comfort, for they should Sup with Christ that night. His last words were, *Strait is the way and narrow is the gate that leadeth into eternal Life, and few there be that find it.*

Now the Persecution was carried on to other places, *Bonner* stopping in it again. But *Thornton* Suffragan of *Dover*, *Harpsfield* Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*, and some others, resolved likewise to shew their zeal. This *Thornton* had from the first change made by King *Henry* been the most officious and forward in every turn; and had been the first in this Reign, that had set up the Mass at *Canterbury*. He was much despised for it by Cardinal *Pool*, but *Pool* could not hinder the fury of those men, without drawing on himself the Pope's indignation. The Pope was his professed and inveterate Enemy: but knew not how to vent his hatred to him, since he had done such an eminent service to the Church, as the reconciling of *England*. *Gardiner* understanding this, sent secretly to *Rome*, to give ill Characters of *Pool*, which the ill-natured Pope was ready enough to receive. *Gardiner* designed to be made a Cardinal; and to get *Pool* recalled, and himself made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. The Pope was resolved, on the first occasion, to take the Legatine Power from *Pool*, and give it to *Gardiner*, but *Pool* was so much in the Queens favour, that this required some time

time to bring it about. This made *Gardiner* ſtudy to preſerve *Cranmer*, as long as he lived. It ſeemed more reaſonable to have begun with him, who had indeed been the chief Author of the Reformation, and promoter of that they called *Hereſie*: nor had *Gardiner* ſuch kindneſs for him, as to interpoſe on his account; but he knew, that as ſoon as he was burnt, *Pool* would be preſently inveſted in the See of *Canterbury*. Therefore he ſuggeſted, that if he could be any way brought off, it would be the moſt effectual means poſſible to extirpate Hereſie: for if he who had ſo much ſet on theſe Doctrines, did forſake them, it would confound the whole Party, and bring over at leaſt all that were weak or ſtaggering; whereas on the other hand, if he dyed reſolutely for it, his death would confirm them all very much. This was a colour good enough to preſerve him. But why the See of *Canterbury* was not declared vacant, ſince he was now pronounced an obſtinate Heretick, I do not ſo well apprehend: whether there was any thing in the Pall, or the latter inventions of the Canoniſts, that made it neceſſary not to fill his See ſo long as he lived, I know not. *Pool* being in theſe Circumſtances, durſt neither offend thoſe at *Rome*, nor openly hinder the proſecution of Hereticks: which it ſeems he would have done more ſteadily, if it had not been for fear of the Popes taking thereby advantages againſt him, who had before given out in the Conclave, that he was a favourer of Hereſie; and therefore would the more eaſily be induced to believe any thing that might be written over to *Rome*, to his prejudice. 1555.

Some burnt at *Canterbury*.

Thoſe that ſate in *Canterbury* to judge the Hereticks, had four Men brought before them, two Prieſts, *Bland*, and *Frankeſh*; and *Shiterden*, and *Midleton*, two Laymen. They were condemned upon their Anſwers to the Articles exhibited to them, and burnt at *Canterbury* the 25*th.* of *June*: and in *July*, *Margery Polley* was burnt at *Tunbridge* on the like account; who was the firſt Woman that ſuffered in this Reign. *Chriſtopher Ward* was condemned with her, and burnt in *Darford*. On the 22*d.* of *July*, *Dirick Carver* was burnt at *Lewis*; and on the 23*d.* *John Launder* was burnt at *Stoning*. They had been taken in *London*; and brought before *Bonner*; but he would not meddle with them, and deſired they might be ſent to their own Ordinaries: One of them being of *Surrey* was within *Gardiners* Juriſdiction, who reſolved to proceed no more againſt the Hereticks, ſo he procured a Letter from the Council to *Bonner*, requiring him to proceed againſt them, who thereupon preſently condemned them.

Pretended Plots, and ſome put to the Torture to make Diſcovery.

There were at this time ſeveral diſcoveries of Plottings in ſeveral Counties, eſpecially in *Dorſetſhire*, and *Eſſex*; but the nature of theſe Plots is not ſet down in the Council Books. Some were taken and put in the Tower: Two or three Privy Counſellors were ſent thither on the 9*th.* of *June*, with a Letter from the Council to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to put them to the Torture, according to their diſcretion: yet nothing following upon this, it is probable theſe were only ſurmiſes deviſed by the Clergy, to ſet on the Council more ſeverely againſt them, whoſe Ruine they were contriving by all the ways they could think on.

There was alſo an outrage committed on two Friars, *Peyto* and *Elſton*, who were *Franciſcans* of the Obſervance. They had ſpoken ſharply

1555.

The Qu. rebuilds the *Franciscan's* house at *Greenwich.*

against King *Henry* in the business of the Divorce, and had fled beyond Sea on that account: therefore the Queen had sent for them; and not only procured the Attainder that had passed against them, to be repealed in the last Parliament, but made *Peyto* her Confessor: and being resolved to raise Religious Houses in *England* again, she had begun with their Order, the *Franciscans of the Observance*, and with their House at *Greenwich*, which was the first that was suppressed; as was shewn in the former Book; and therefore she ordered that to be rebuilt this Summer. So *Elston* and *Peyto* going down by water, there were Stones flung at them by some that were a shore in *London* This the Queen resented highly; so she sent the Lord Treasurer to the Lord Mayor, requiring him to make Proclamation of a Reward to any that should discover those who had done it: but it could not be found out. She ordered all Sir *Thomas Mores's* Works to be printed together in one Volumn, which were in the Press this Year: and it was given out as an extraordinary thing, that King *Edward* had died, and she succeeded to the Crown, that very day in which he was beheaded. But in publishing his Works, one piece of Fraud has occurred to me since the former Part was printed. I have seen the Manuscript out of which his Letters were printed, where the Originals of the Letters that he writ to his Daughter, Mris *Roper*, are; with the Copies of those that he writ to *Cromwel.* But among these, there is a long Letter concerning the Nun of *Kent*, in which he speaks fully of her Hypocrisie, and other Villanies. It contains many remarkable passages concerning her, of the high opinion he at first had of her; how he was led into it, and how he was afterwards convinced, "That she was the most false dissembling Hypocrite that had "been known, and guilty of the most detestable Hypocrisie, and de-"vilish dissembled Falshood; and he believed, that she had commu-"cation with an evil Spirit. This Letter was at that time concealed but not destroyed: So I find the Conjecture I made about it, in my former Part, has proved true; though I did not then hope to come by the Letter it self, as I have done since. It seems it was resolved to raise the Credit of that Story; and since the Nun was believed to be both a Martyr and a Prophetess, it is like she might have been easily gotten to be Canoniz'd; and therefore so great a Testimony from such a Man, was not thought fit to be left in her way. The Letter I have put into the *Collections.*

Sir *Th. More's* Works Printed.

But his Letter about the Nun of *Kent* was left out.

Col. Number 21.

Rastal published his works, but did not write his Life.

Concerning this Edition of Sir *Thomas Mores's* Works, I shall recall to the Reader's mind, what was said in the former Part about his Life pretended to be writ by *Rastal*; was now the publisher of his Works, and so much encouraged in it, that the Queen promoted him soon after to be a Judge; and so it is not likely, that *Rastal* ever writ any such book, otherwise he had now prefixed it to this Edition. Nor is it probable that the stories which *Sanders* vented in his Name afterwards concerning Anne *Boleyn*, or Queen *Elizabeth's* Birth, were then so much as contrived; otherwise it is not credible, that they should not have been printed at this time; since the Lady *Elizabeth* being the only object of the fear and jealousy of the Popish Party, was now out of the Queens favour, and a Prisoner: so that we cannot doubt, but all such Stories would have been very acceptable to the Queen, and the Clergy would have taken care to have published them, for the defaming her, and blasting her Title.

An

And therefore these things seem to be afterwards contrived in revenge, when Queen *Elizabeth* began to proceed severely against that Party, after the many and repeated Conspiracies they had engaged in against her Life. 1555.

But now the Queen resolved to endow so many Religious Houses, as the Revenues of the Church that were in her hands, could maintain: and about that, and some other particulars, she writ some directions to the Council with her own hand, which will be found in the Collections. I have seen two Copies of these that differ a little, but I follow that which seemed to me to be best derived from the Original. She desired, "That those who had Commission to treat with the Cardinal, about the "goods of the Church, might wait on him once a week, to finish that "and some other matters that were to be prepared for the Parliament: "She particularly recommended the care of having good Preaching "encouraged, which she wished might be well looked to; and she ad- "vised a general Visitation both of the Universities and Churches, to "be made, by such as the Cardinal and they should think fit. As for "the punishment of Hereticks, she wished it might not be done rashly; "yet she would have Justice done, on those who by Learning studi- "ed to deceive the simple: but would have it so managed, that the "People might see, they were not condemned but upon just occasions: "and therefore ordered that some of the Council should be present at "all the burnings about *London*; and that there should be every "where good Sermons at those times: She also verily believed, that "many Benefices should not be in one mans hand; but that every "Priest ought to look to his Cure, and reside upon it. And she looked "on the Pluralities over *England*, to be a main cause of the want of "good Preachers; whose Sermons if joyned with a good Example would "do much good; and without that, she thought their Sermons would "profit little.

The Queen restores all the Church Lands that belonged to the Crown. Col. Number 22.

And now I return to the Burnings, from which I am not unwilling frequently to break off, since a continued relation of such things cannot be but an ungrateful entertainment to the Reader. In *July* one *Iuxon* was burnt at *Chichester*: On the 2*d.* of *August James Abeys* was burnt at *Bury* in *Suffolk*. On the 8*th.* of *August Denly* a Gentleman was burnt at *Uxbridge*, and *Robert Smith* at *Waybridge*. On the 26*th.* *George Tankervil* was burnt at *St. Albans*. And on the 28*th.* of *August Patrick Packingham* also was burnt there: On the 31*st* of *August* one *Newman* was burnt at *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*, and *Robert Samuel* a Preacher was burnt at *Ipswich*. There were also in *August*, six burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*. *Elizabeth Warne* burnt at *Stratford Le Bow*, *Stephen Whorwood* at *Stratford*, *Thomas Fust* at *Ware*, and *William Hall* at *Barnet*; but of their Sufferings the days are not marked. In *September* on the 6*th.* day of the month *George Catmer*, and four others were burnt at *Canterbury*. On the 20*th.* *Robert Glover* a Gentleman, and one *Cornelius Bangey* were burnt at *Coventry*: The same month, but we know not on what days, *William Allen* was burnt at *Walsingham*, *Roger Coo* at *Stanford*, *Thomas Cob* in *Thetford*. *Thomas Haywood*, and *John Garaway*, at *Lichfield* were also burnt on the same account. On the 16*th.* of *October* following, *William Woley*, and *Robert Pigot*, were burnt at *Ely*; where *Shaxton*, that had been Bishop of *Salsbury* in King *Henry*'s time, had quitted his Bishoprick on the account of the six Articles, but in the end

More Hereticks burnt.

1555. end of that Reign recanted, and was now Bishop Suffragan of Ely, condemned them. It is enough to have named all these, who were burnt meerly by the Proceedings *Ex Officio*: for being forced, either to accuse themselves, or to die however, they chose rather plainly to answer those Articles that were ministred to them, and so were condemned for their Answers.

Ridley and *Latimer* burnt at *Oxford*.

But on the 16*th*. of *October Ridley* and *Latimer* offered up their lives at *Oxford*, on which it may be expected I should enlarge a little. The Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Gloceſter*, and *Briſtol*, were sent to *Oxford* by a special Commission from the Cardinal to proceed against them. As soon as *Ridley* heard they proceeded in the name of the Pope, by Authority from the Cardinal, he put on his Cap, having stood bare headed before that, because he would express no sign of Reverence to those who acted by such a Commission. He said, he payed great respect to the Cardinal as descended from the Royal Family, and a man endued with such Learning and Vertue; that therefore he honoured and reverenced him: but for his Legatine Authority from the Bishop of *Rome*, he utterly renounced it; and therefore would shew no Reverence to that Character: and so putting off his Cap as he spoke of him on other respects, he put it on again when he named his being *Legate*; and being required to put it off, refused to do it on that account: but one of the Beadles did it for him. After that the Bishop of *Lincoln* made him a long exhortation to recant, and acknowledge the See of *Rome*; since Christ had built his Church on St. *Peter*, and the Fathers had all acknowledged the preheminence of that See, and himself had been once of that opinion. To which he answered, it was upon the Faith which St. *Peter* confessed, that Christ had founded his Church; he acknowledged, the Bishop of *Rome* had been held in great esteem, both for the dignity of the City, and the worthiness of the Bishops that had sate in it; but they were only esteemed Patriarchs of the West; and the Church had not then thought of that Power, to which they had since advanced themselves: he confessed he was once of their mind, but it was as St. *Paul* had been a Persecutor: he had seen since such spots in the Church of *Rome*, that he could never return to it. Upon this followed much discourse: In conclusion they objected to him some Articles, about those Opinions which he had maintained a year and an half before that, in the Schools; and required him to make his Answers to them. He began with a Protestation that by answering them he did not acknowledge the Popes Authority, and then answered them as he had done before. *Latimer* used the same Protestation, and Answers. So they were allowed one nights respite to consider better, whether they would recant or not; but next day they appearing, and adhering to the Answers they had made, were declared obstinate Hereticks, and ordered to be degraded, and so delivered over to the Secular Power.

After that, new attempts were made on *Ridley* to perswade him to accept of the Queens Mercy; but all being to no purpose, the Writ was sent down to burn them. The night before the Execution, *Ridley* was very joyful, and invited the Major and his Wife, in whose House he was kept, to be at his Wedding next day: at which when the Major's Wife wept, he said, he perceived she did not love him: but he told her, though their breakfast would be sharp, he was sure his Supper would be sweet: he was

glad to hear that his Sister would come, and see him dye: and was in such composure of mind, that they were all amazed at it. Next morning being the *16th.* they were led out to the place of Execution, which was before *Baliol* Colledge: they looked up to the Prison to have seen *Cranmer*; but he was then engaged in Dispute with some Friars, so that he was not in his Window; but he looked after them with great tenderness, and kneeling down prayed earnestly, that God would strengthen their Faith and Patience in that their last but painful passage. When they came to the Stake, they embraced one another with great affection, *Ridley* saying to *Latimer*, *Be of good heart, Brother, for God will either asswage the fury of the Flame, or enable us to abide it.* Doctor *Smith* was appointed to Preach, and took his Text from these words, *If I give my Body to be burnt, and have no Charity, it profiteth nothing.* He compared their dying for Heresie, to *Judas*'s hanging himself; and warned the People to beware of them, with as much bitterness as he could express. The best of it was, the Sermon lasted not above a quarter of an hour. When he had done, *Ridley* was going to answer him; and the Lord *Williams*, that was appointed by the Queen to see the Execution, was inclined to hear him: but the Vice-Chancellor said, except he intended to recant, he was not to be suffered to speak. *Ridley* answered, "He "would never deny his Lord, nor those Truths of his of which he was "perswaded; God's Will be done in him: He committed himself to "God, who would indifferently judge all. Then he addressed himself to the Lord *Williams*, and said, "Nothing troubled him so much, as that "he had received Fines of some, who took Leases of him when he was "Bishop of *London*; and these Leases were now voided: He therefore "humbly prayed, that the Queen would give order, that those might be made good to the Tenants, or that the Fines might be restored out of his Goods which he had left in his House, and were of far greater value than those Fines would amount to; and that some pity might be had of *Shipside* his Brother in Law, who was turned out of a place he had put him in, and had now attended on him with great care. Then they both prayed and fitted themselves for the Stake: *Latimer* saying to *Ridley*, "Be of good comfort, we shall this day light such a Candle in *England*, as I trust by God's Grace shall never be put out. Then Gunpowder being hanged about their Bodies in great quantities to hasten their death, the Fire was put to, and *Latimer* was with the first Flame; he Powder taking fire, put out of pain, and dyed immediately. But *Ridley* had a more lingring Torment, for they threw on the fire so much wood, that the Flame could not break through it; so that his Legs were almost consumed before this was observed, and then, one opening the passage to the Flame, it put an end to his Life.

1555.

Thus dyed these two excellent Bishops: the one for his Piety, Learning, and solid Judgement, the ablest Man of all that advanced the Reformation; and the other for the plain simplicity of his Life, esteemed truly primitive Bishop and Christian. Of his care of his Bishoprick, the Instructions he gave at his Visitation, chiefly of the Monasteries, will give a good evidence: and therefore I have put them in the *Collection*, Col. Numb. 23. they were copied from the Register of *Worcester*, by that ingenious and worthy Counsellor Mr. *Summers*; who out of his Zeal to the Reformation, searched all the Books there, that he might gather from them such

1555. ſuch things as he thought could be of uſe to this Work. *Bonner* had made an ill Retribution to *Ridley*, for the kindneſs he had ſhewed his Friends when he was in poſſeſſion at *London*: for he had made *Boner's* Mother always dine with him, when he lived in his Country-Houſe at *Fulham*, and treated her as if ſhe had been his own Mother; beſides his kindneſs to his other Friends. *Heath*, then Biſhop of *Worceſter*, had been kept Priſoner a Year and a half in *Ridley*'s Houſe, where he lived as if he had been at his own; and *Heath* uſed always to call him the beſt learned of all the Party: yet he ſo far forgot gratitude and humanity, that though he went through *Oxford* when he was a Priſoner there, he came not to ſee him. When they lay in the Tower, both *Cranmer* and they were, by reaſon of the number of Priſoners, put into one Chamber for ſome months; but after they came to *Oxford*, they could ſcarce find Meſſages to one another: and men had laid off humanity ſo much, that all the while they lay there none of the Univerſity waited on them: few that favoured their Doctrine were then left, and of the reſt it was no wonder that none came to viſit them; nor did they ſupply them with any thing they needed: for all the Charity that was ſent to them came from *London*.

This Summer there was a ſtrict ſearch made after all the Goods of the Church, that had been embezelled: and all that had been Viſiters, either in King *Henry* or King *Edward*'s time, were brought into Suits about it, and many compounded, and ſo purchaſed their quiet, by an offer to the Church of ſome large Gratuity: and according to the greatneſs thereof their affection to the Church was meaſured. Many of thoſe did favour the Reformation, which made them give the more bountifully, that ſo they might come under good Characters, and be the leſs ſuſpected.

Suits about the Spoils of Churches.

The Parliament was opened on the 21*ſt.* of *October*. The Chancellor came thither, both then, and on the 23*d.* but could come no more. It was reported, that he had ſtayed long for dinner, that day that *Ridley* and *Latimer* were to be burnt, till one ſhould bring him word, that the fire was ſet to them: but the Meſſenger coming Poſt, did not reach *London* till four a Clock in the afternoon, and that he then went out faſting to dine; but was at Dinner ſtruck with the illneſs, of which he died. It was a ſuppreſſion of Urine, which held him till the 12th of *November*, on which he died. He had great remorſe for his former and *Day* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* coming to him, and comforting him in the aſſurance of Juſtification through the Blood of Chriſt; he anſwered him, "He might ſpeak of that to him or others in his condition; "if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the People, then "well all together. He often repeated thoſe words, *Erravi cum Petro*, "*non flevi cum Petro*, I have erred with *Peter*, but I have not mourned "with him. He was of a nobler deſcent than is commonly known. For though he took the name *Gardiner* from his ſuppoſed Father, yet he was then believed to be the baſe ſon of *Richard Woodvil*, that was Brother to Queen *Elizabeth*, Wife to King *Edward* the 4*th*: ſo that he was Uncle to King *Henry* the 8*th.* in the ſecond and third degree of Conſanguinity, which might be the cauſe that he was ſo ſuddenly advanced to the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*. This is mentioned by Sir *Edward Hoby*, in a Letter he writ to one of thoſe that had fled beyond Sea, giving him an account of his Death: where he ſays of him, he was a Man of high

Gardiner's Sickneſs and Death.

H.Holbein pinxit. R.White sculp:

Natus Buriæ fit Episcopus Wintoniensis 1531. Dec. 5.

HONI. SOIT. QVI. MAL. Y. PENSE

Cancellarius Angliæ 1553. Aug. 23. Obijt 1555. Nov. 12.

...nted for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in S.t Pauls Church yard.

deſcent than he was commonly reputed; and on the Margent it is ſaid, he was Nephew to a Queen of *England*. This explains that which I find objected both to him and *Bonner* in one of the Books that were written in the defence of the married Clergy; that no wonder they were ſuch enemies to Marriage, ſince both of them were born in Adultery. He was a Man well skill'd in the Canon and Civil Laws, and moderately in Divinity. He had a good Stile in Latin, and underſtood the Greek well; but his ſtrength lay in deep diſſimulation, a quickneſs of apprehenſion, a great proſpect of affairs, a cloſe and artificial way of concealing his mind, and inſinuating himſelf into the affections and confidences of other perſons. He did comply all *Henry* the 8*th*'s time; and would willingly have done the like in King *Edwards* time, but that *Cranmer* knew him too well to be directed by him, and handled him as he deſerved. But the uſage he then met with, ſo recovered him with Queen *Mary*, that ſhe put him in the greateſt Truſts; and now, when a Cardinals Hat was like to fall on his Head, he was carried off, and all his ambitious Projects fell with him. Of his ſervile compliance in promoting King *Henries* Divorce, I have found freſh Inſtances, beſides thoſe that are mentioned in the former Volume. When he went to *Rome*, in the Year 1529. *Anne Boleyn* writ a very kind Letter to him, which I have put in the *Collection*. By it the Reader will clearly perceive that he was then in the ſecret of the Kings deſigning to marry her, as ſoon as the Divorce was obtained. There is another particular in that Letter, which corrects a Conjecture which I ſet down in the beginning of the former Book, concerning the Cramp-Rings that were bleſſed by King *Henry*; which I thought might have been done by him after he was declared *Head of the Church*. That part was printed before I ſaw this Letter; But this Letter ſhews they were uſed to be bleſſed before the Separation from *Rome*; for *Anne Boleyn* ſent them as great Preſents thither. The uſe of them had been (it ſeems) diſcontinued in King *Edwards* time; but now under Queen *Mary* it was deſigned to be revived; and the Office for it was written out in a fair Manuſcript, yet extant; of which I have put a Copy of it in the *Collection*. But the ſilence in the Writers of that time makes me think it was ſeldom, if ever practiſed. But to return to *Gardiners* officious compliance in the matter of the Divorce, I have put in the *Collection* a Letter of his to King *Henry*, written in ſuch confidence to him, that even Cardinal *Woolſey* was not to ſee it. In it he ſets out the Popes timorouſneſs ſo plainly, that he writes he ſaw nothing but the fear he was in of the Emperors Forces, kept him from granting what was deſired; therefore he adviſed the King to do the buſineſs once in *England*, and then leave it to the Emperor to complain; not doubting but he would be put off by as many Delays as were now uſed in the Kings buſineſs.

1555.

Coll. Num. 24.

Coll. Num. 25.

Coll. Num. 26.

Heath Archbiſhop of *York* had the Seals in *February* after; they having been during that interval, in the hands of Sir *Nicholas Hare*, then Maſter of the Rolls; and he was made Chancellor during the Queens pleaſure. The Queen alſo, conſidering that *Whitehall* had been taken from the See of *York*, had a ſcruple in her Conſcience againſt living in it; but *Heath* and ſhe agreed it thus: *Suffolk-Place* by the Duke's Attainder, was now in the Queens hands; ſo ſhe gave that to the See of *York*, which *Heath* ſold, and converted it to Tenements, and purchaſed another Houſe near

1555. *Charing-Cross*, which from thence forward was called *York-House*.

The temper of the Parliament is much changed.

But for the Parliament, it was now much changed; Mens minds were much alienated from the Clergy, and also from the Queen, who minded nothing else but to raise them to great wealth and power again. On the 28*th.* of *October* it was moved in the House of Commons to give a Subsidy, and two Fifteenths, for paying the Debts of the Crown, but it was opposed with great vehemence. It was said, that the Queen had profusely given away the Riches of the Crown, and then turned to the Laity to pay her Debts: why did she not rather turn it to the Spiritualty? But it was answered, that the Convocation had given her a Subsidy of six shillings in the pound; and the Queen asked now, after almost three years Reign, nothing but what she had discharged her Subjects of, at her first coming to the Crown. Yet the heats grew such that on the 1*st.* of *November* Secretary *Petre* brought a Message from her, that she thanked them that had moved for two Fifteenths for her, but she refused it: so the Subsidy was agreed on. On the 29th of *November* the Queen sent for the House of Commons. When they were come, she said to them, she could not with a good Conscience take the Tenths and First-fruits of Spiritual Benefices: It was a Tax her Father laid on the Clergy, to support his Dignity of *Supream Head*; of which since she was devested, she would also discharge that. Then the Legate made a Speech to shew that Tithes and Impropriations of Spiritual Benefices were the Patrimony of the Church; and ought to return to it. The Queen upon that, declared, that she would surrender them up likewise to the Church. Then one *Story* of the House of Commons kneeled down, and said to the Queen, That the *Speaker* did not open to her their Desire that Licences might be restrained. This was a great Affront to the *Speaker*; so he returning to the House, complained of *Story*. This Member thought he might assume more liberty; for in *Edward* the *6th*'s time, when the Bill for the first Book of the English Service passed, he spoke so freely against it, with such reflections on the King and the Protector, that he was put in the Serjeants hands, and sent to the Tower.

The Queen discharges the Clergy of Tenths and First-fruits.

Eccles. 10. 16. The words he had said, were, *Wo unto thee O* England, *when thy King is a Child*; and an Impeachment was drawn against him. But upon his Submission, the House ordered the Privy Councellors to declare to the Protector, that it was their Resolution that he should be enlarged, and the desired that they King would forgive his Offence against him and his Council: now he had indiscreetly appeared against all Licences from *Rome*, thinking he had a priviledge to talk more freely; but he confessed his fault, and the House, *knowing that he spake from a good zeal*, forgave him. He was afterwards condemned for Treason in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign.

Journ. Dom. Com.

On the 23*d.* of *November*, the Bill for suppressing the First-Fruits and Tenths, and the resigning up all Impropriations, that were yet in the Queens Gift to the Church, to be disposed of as the Legate pleased for the relief of the Clergy, was brought into the House. It was once thought fit to have the surrender of Impropriations left out: for it was said, the Queen might do that as well by Letters Patents; and if it were put into the Bill, it would raise great Jealousies; since it would be understood, that the Queen did expect that the Subjects should follow her example; but it was resolved, by all means possible, to recover the

Tithes

Tithes to the Church; ſo it was put into the Bill. It was long argued; ſome ſaid, the Clergy would rob the Crown, and the Nation both: and that the Laity muſt then ſupport the Dignity of the Realm. It was particularly committed to Sir *William Cecil* and others, to be examined by them. On the 13*th.* of *December* the Houſe divided about it, 126 were againſt it, and 193 were for it. 1555.

There was a Bill ſent down againſt the Counteſs of *Suſſex*, who had left her Husband, and gone into *France*, where ſhe lived openly in Adultery, and bare Children to others. A Bill was put in, to the ſame purpoſe, in the firſt Parliament of this Reign, to take her Jointure from her, and declare her Children Baſtards; and was then caſt out by the Commons; and had now again the ſame fate. Another Bill was put in againſt the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* and others, who had gone beyond Sea, to require them to return, under ſevere puniſhments: but though it was agreed to by the Lords, yet, upon a diviſion of the Houſe of Commons, it was carried in the Negative. The greateſt and wealthieſt of thoſe who favoured the Reformation, ſeeing in how ill a condition they muſt be in, if they ſtayed in *England*, were gone beyond Sea: ſo it was now endeavoured to force them to return, or to make them loſe their Eſtates: but the Commons thought they had already conſented to too ſevere Laws againſt them, and therefore would add no more. The Dutcheſs of *Suffolk* had been perſecuted while ſhe was in the *Netherlands*, but narrowly eſcaped. Another Bill was put in, for the incapacitating of ſeveral perſons from being Juſtices of Peace; but was caſt out by the Commons at the firſt reading. This was chiefly againſt ſuch as were ſuſpected of remiſſneſs in the proſecuting of Hereticks: but the Commons would do nothing to encourage that; nor was it neceſſary, ſince it was in the Queens power to leave out of the Commiſſion ſuch as ſhe excepted to: but it ſhewed the Zeal of ſome, who had a mind to recommend themſelves by ſuch motions.

Againſt thoſe that had fled beyond Sea, rejected.

There was a Complaint put into the Houſe of Commons, by the Wife of one *Rufford* againſt *Bennet Smith*, who had hired two Perſons to kill her Husband: and which, as the Act paſſed about it ſays, was one of the moſt deteſtable Murders that had ever been known in *England*. But *Smith* that had hired, and afterwards paid the Murderers, might by the Law claim, and have the benefit of Clergy. It is, and hath been an ancient cuſtom in this Nation, that for ſome Crimes, thoſe who can read, are not to ſuffer Death. This was at firſt done with a Declaration, that either they had vowed, or were then reſolved to enter into Orders; which was the cauſe that no *Bigami*, that is, none that had been twice married, or ſuch as married Widows, were capable of it; becauſe ſuch could not receive Orders: and the Reading was only to ſhew that they were in ſome ſort qualified for Orders: though afterwards, the Reading, without any ſuch Vow or Promiſe, was all that was required, to give one the benefit of Clergy. This was granted as an Appendix of the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity; for the Churchmen were not ſatisfied that their own Perſons ſhould be exempted from puniſhment, but would needs have all that reſolved to come among them, be likewiſe preſerved from the puniſhment due to thoſe Crimes, which they had formerly committed. So *Rufford*'s Wife petitioning, that *Smith* might by Act of Parliament be debarred that benefit; they ſent her to the Queen, to beg,

An Act debarring one from the benefit of Clergy.

1555. That she would order *Smith* to be brought from the *Tower*, where he was then kept, to the Bar of their House: which being done, the other Partners and Actors confessed all: and though he at first denied, yet he afterwards confessed. So the Bill was sent up by the Commons to the Lords, where it was much opposed by the Clergy; who would not consent that any diminution should be made of their ancient Priviledges: but the heinousness of the Fact wrought so much on the greater part, that it was passed; The Earls of *Arundel* and *Rutland*, the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Norwich*, and *Bristol*, the Lords *Abergavenny*, *Fitzwater*, and *Lumley*, protesting. *Pates* was now Bishop of *Worcester*, upon *Heath*'s translation to *York*. He was (as some say) designed to be Bishop of that See by King *Henry* upon *Latimer*'s Resignation; but being ingaged in a correspondence with the Pope and Cardinal *Pool*, he fled beyond Sea. But the truth is, that upon the Death of *Jerome de Ghinuci*, he was at *Rome* made Bishop of *Worcester* by the Pope, and was thereupon Attainted: But his Attainder had been repealed by the former Parliament, and so he was restored to that See.

Sir *Anthony Kingston* put in the Tower for his behaviour in the House of Commons *Ex Lib. Concil.*

On the *9th.* of *December* the Parliament was dissolved. And the day following Sir *Anthony Kingston*, who had been a main Stickler in it, and had one day taken the Keys of the House from the Serjeant; which (it seems) was not displeasing to the major part of the House, since they did nothing upon it; was sent to the *Tower*: and that same day, (as it is in the Council Books) the Bishop of *Ely* delivered to the Lord *Treasurer* the Popes Bull, confirming the King and Queens Title to *Ireland*; bearing date the *7th.* of *June*. *Kingston* lay in the *Tower* till the *23d.* of the month, and then he submitted, and asked pardon, and was discharged. But he was next year accused to have engaged in a Design with some others, to have robbed the Exchequer of 50000 *l.* Whereupon six of them, *Udal*, *Throgmorton*, *Petham*, *Daniel*, *Stanton*, and *White*, were executed for Felony. What Evidence was brought against them I do not know. But *Kingston* died on his way to *London*.

Card. *Pool* in Convocation makes Canons for Reforming the Clergy. *Rot. Pat.* 1*st.* Par. 3. *Reg.*

From the Parliament I turn next to the Convocation, where the Cardinal was now at more liberty, being delivered from *Gardiner*'s Jealousies and Opposition. He obtained of the Queen on the *2d.* of *November* a Warrant under the great Seal, giving him Licence to hold a Synod. The Licence he had formerly taken out, is made mention of: and to avoid all ambiguities, which might arise from the Laws or Prerogatives of the Crown, she authorised him to call that, or any other Synod after, and to decree what Canons he should think fit: she also authorised the Clergy, to meet, consent to, and obey those Canons without any danger of the Law. This was thought safe on both sides; both for preserving the Rights of the Crown, and securing the Clergy from being afterwards brought within the statute of *Premunire*, as they had been upon their acknowledging Cardinal *Woolseys* Legantine power. To this Convocation *Pool* proposed a Book he had prepared, which was afterwards printed with the Title of *The Reformation of* England *by the Decree of Cardinal* Pool; and is now put into the Volumes of the Councils.

The Heads of *Pools* Reformation.

The first Decree is, that there should be constantly a remembrance of the Reconciliation now made with *Rome*, in every Mass: besides, a Procession, with other Solemnities, on the Anniversary of it. He also confirmed

confirmed the Conſtitutions of *Otho*, and *Otho bonus*, forbidding the reading of all Heretical Books; and ſet forth the Catholick Faith, in the words of that Expoſition of it, which *P. Eugenius* ſent from the Council of *Florence* to thoſe of *Armenia*. 1555.

The 2*d.* was, for the careful adminiſtring and preſerving of the Sacraments; and for the putting away of all Feaſting in the Feſtivities of the Dedications of Churches.

The 3*d.* exhorts the Biſhops to lay aſide all ſecular Cares, and give themſelves wholly to the Paſtoral Office; and to reſide in their Dioceſs, under the higheſt pains. Their Canons are alſo required to reſide, and alſo other Clergy Men. All Pluralities of Benefices with Cure, are ſimply condemned: and thoſe who had more Benefices with Cure, were required within two months to reſign all, but one: otherwiſe it was to be declared that they had forfeited them all.

The 4*th.* is, that whereas the reſidence of Biſhops could not be of great uſe, unleſs they became truly Paſtors to their Flock; which was chiefly done by their preaching the Word of God; that had been, contrary to the Apoſtles Practice, much neglected by many: therefore he requires them to preach every Sunday or Holy day; or if they were diſabled, to find other fit Perſons to do it. And they were alſo in private to inſtruct and exhort their People; and all the other inferior Clergy; and to endeavour to perſwade them to the Catholick Faith; or if need were, to uſe threatnings. And becauſe of the great want of good Preachers, the Cardinal declared he would take care there ſhould be Homilies ſet out, for the inſtruction of the Nation. In the mean while, every Biſhop was to be ſending ſuch as were more eminent in preaching, over their Dioceſs, thereby to ſupply the defects of the reſt.

The 5*th.* is, about the lives of the Biſhops; that they ſhould be moſt ſtrict and exemplary: that they ſhould lay aſide all Pride and Pomp; ſhould not be cloathed in Silk, nor have rich Furniture; and have frugal Tables, not above three or four diſhes of Meat; and even ſo many he rather allows, conſidering the preſent time, than approves: that at their Table, the Scriptures, or other good Books, ſhould be read, mixed with pious diſcourſes: that they ſhould not have too great numbers of Servants or Horſes: but that this Parſimony might appear not to flow from Avarice, they were to lay out the reſt of their Revenues on the Poor, and for breeding young Scholars, and other works of Piety. All the ſame Rules he ſets to the inferior Clergy, with a due proportion to their Stations and Profits.

The 6*th.* is, about giving Orders; They were not to be raſhly given, but upon a ſtrict previous *Examen*. Every one that was to be Ordained, was to give in his Name a long time before, that there might be time to inquire carefully about him. The Biſhops were charged not to turn over the Examination upon others, and think their work was only to lay on their hands: but were to examine diligently themſelves, and not ſuperficially. And to call to their aſſiſtance ſuch as they knew to be pious and learned, and in whom they might confide.

The 7*th.* was, about conferring Benefices, which in ſome ſort came alſo within that charge, *Lay hands ſuddenly on no Man.* They were to lay aſide all partiality in their choice, and ſeek out the moſt deſerving: and to make ſuch as they put in Benefices bind themſelves by Oath to reſide.

The

1555. The *8th.* was, againſt giving the Advouſons of Benefices before they were vacant.

The *9th.* was about Simony.

The *10th.* againſt the Alienations of any of the Goods of the Church.

The *11th.* was, that in every Cathedral there ſhould be a Seminary for ſupplying the Dioceſs: of whom two Ranks were to be made; the one of thoſe who learned Grammar; the other, of thoſe who were grown up, and were to be ordained *Acholyths*; and theſe were to be trained up in Study and Vertue, till they were fit to ſerve in the Church. And a Tax of the fourth penny was laid on the Clergy for their maintenance.

The *12th.* was about Viſitations.

Theſe were all finiſhed, agreed to, and publiſhed by him in *February* next Year.

In theſe Decrees mention is made of Homilies, which were intended to be publiſhed: and among Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Papers, I find, the Scheme he had of them was thus laid: He deſigned four Books of Homilies. The firſt, of the controverted points, for preſerving the People from Error: *2d.* The for the Expoſition of the Creed, and ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, the Salutation of the Virgin, and the Sacraments: The *3d.* was to be for the Saints days, and the Sundays and Holy days of the year; for explaining the Epiſtles and Goſpels: and the fourth was concerning Vertues and Vices, and the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church.

Ex Manuſcr. Col. C. C. Cant.

Pool's Deſigns for Reforming the Church.

By all theſe it may appear, how well tempered this Cardinal was. He never ſet on the Clergy to perſecute Hereticks, but to reform themſelves: as well knowing, that a ſtrict exemplary Clergy can ſoon overcome all Oppoſition whatſoever, and bear down even truth it ſelf. For the common People are generally either ſo ignorant, or ſo diſtracted with other affairs, that they ſeldom enter into any exact diſcuſſion of ſpeculative points, that are Diſputed among divines: but take up things upon general notions and prejudices; and none have more influence on them, than the ſcandals or ſtrict lives of Church-men. So that *Pool* intending to correct all thoſe, laid down good Rules, to amend their lives, to throw out thoſe crying ſcandals of Pluralities and Non-reſidence; to oblige Biſhops to be exact in their Examinations before Orders, and in conferring Benefices on the moſt deſerving, and not to be biaſſed by partial affections. In this laſt thing himſelf was a great Example. For though he had an only Brother, (ſo I find him called in one of the Cardinals Commiſſions to him with ſome others, though I believe he was a Baſtard Brother) *David*, that had continued all King *Henry*'s time in his Arch-Deaconry of *Darby*; he, either to puniſh him for his former compliance, or to ſhew he had no mind to raiſe his kindred, did not advance him, till after he had been two years in *England*: and then he gave him only the Biſhoprick of *Peterborough*, one of the pooreſt of the Biſhopricks; which conſidering his nearneſs to the Crown, and high Birth, was a very ſmall preferment. But above all, that Deſign of his, to have Seminaries in every Cathedral for the planting of the Dioceſs, ſhews what a wiſe proſpect he had of the right methods of recovering a Church, which was overrun, as he judged, with Hereſie. It was the ſame that *Cranmer* had formerly deſigned; but never took effect.

Certainly

Certainly, Perſons formed from their Childhood, with others Notions, and another method of living, muſt be much better fitted for a holy Character, than thoſe that have lived in the pleaſures and follies of the world; who, unleſs a very extraordinary change is wrought in them, ſtill keep ſome of their old Cuſtoms about them, and ſo fall ſhort of that gravity and decency, that becomes ſo Spiritual a Function. 1555.

He ſhewed the weakneſs of his Spirit in one thing, that being againſt Cruel Proceedings with Hereticks, he did not more openly profeſs it: but both ſuffered the other Biſhops to go on, and even in *Canterbury*, now ſequeſtred in his hands, and ſoon after put under his care, he left thoſe poor men to the Cruelties of the brutal and fierce Popiſh Clergy. In this he was to be pitied, that he had not courage enough to contend with ſo haughty a Pope as *Paul* the 4*th*. was: who thought of no other way of bearing down Hereſie, but by ſetting up the Inquiſition every where: ſo *Pool*, it ſeems, judged it ſufficient for him, not to act himſelf, nor to ſet on any; and thought he did enough, when he diſcouraged it in private; but yet he granted Commiſſions to the other Biſhops and Arch-Deacons to proceed againſt thoſe called Hereticks. He was not only afraid of being diſcharged of his Legation, and of loſing the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, which was now ready to fall upon him; but he feared to be ſent for to *Rome*, and cruelly uſed by the Pope, who remembred all the Quarrels he formerly had with any of the Cardinals, and put Cardinal *Merone* (that was *Pool*'s great Friend) in Priſon, upon ſuſpition of Hereſie. All theſe things prevailed with *Pool* to give way to the Perſecution; and it was thought, that he himſelf haſtned the Execution of *Cranmer*, longing to be inveſted with that See; which is the only perſonal blemiſh I find laid on him.

One remarkable thing of him was, his not liſtening to the Propoſition the Jeſuits made him, of bringing them into *England*. That Order had been ſet up about twelve years before this, and was in its firſt Inſtitution chiefly deſigned for propagating the Doctrines of that Church in Heretical or Infidel Countries; to which was afterwards added, the Education of Children. It was not eaſily allowed of at *Rome*, becauſe the Biſhops did univerſally complain of the great numbers of exempted Regulars; and therefore at firſt it was limited to a ſmall number; which Reſtriction was ſoon taken off. They, beſides the Vows of other Orders took one, for a blind and univerſal Obedience to the See of *Rome*: And becauſe they were much to be imployed, they were diſpenced with, as to the hours of the Quire, which made them be called a Mungrel Order between the *Regulars* and *Seculars*. They have ſince that time, by their care in educating Youth, by their indefatigable Induſtry, and chiefly by their Accommodating Pennances, and all the other Rules of Religion, to the Humors and Inclinations of thoſe who confeſs their Sins to them, drawn almoſt all the World after them: and are raiſed now to that heighth both of Wealth and Power, that they are become the Objects of the Envy and Hatred of all the reſt of their own Church. They ſuggeſted to *Pool*, That whereas the Queen was reſtoring the Goods of the Church that were in her hands, it was but to little purpoſe to raiſe up the old Foundations; for the *Benedictine* Order was become rather a Clog than a Help to the Church: they therefore deſired that thoſe Houſes might be aſſigned to them, for maintaining Schools and Semi-

1555. Seminaries, which they should set on quickly: and they did not doubt but by their dealing with the Consciences of those who were a dying, they should soon recover the greatest part of the Goods of the Church. The *Jesuits* were out of measure offended with him, for not entertaining their Proposition; which I gather from an *Italian Manuscript* which my most worthy Friend Mr. *Crawford* found in *Venice*, when he was Chaplain there to Sir *Thomas Higgins*, His Majesties Envoy to that Republick: but how it came that this motion was laid aside, I am not able to judge.

There passed nothing else remarkable this Year, but that in the end of *November*, *John Web* a Gentleman, *George Roper*, and *Gregory Parker* were burnt all at one Stake in *Canterbury*. And on the 18*th*. of *December*, *Philpot*, that had disputed in the Convocation, was burnt in *Smithfield*. He was, at the end of that meeting, put in Prison for what he had said in it; though liberty of Speech had been promised; and the nature of the meeting did require it. He was kept long in the Stocks in the Bishop of *London*'s Coal-house, and many conferences were had with him, to perswade him to change. By what *Bonner* said in one of them it appears that he hoped they should be better used upon *Gardiner*'s death: for *Bonner* told him, he thought, because the Lord Chancellor was dead, they would burn no more; but he should soon find his Error, if he did not recant. He continued stedfast in his perswasion, and pleaded that he had never spoken nor written against their Law, since they were made, being all the while a Prisoner, except what he had said in Conference with them: yet this prevailed not with *Bonner*, who had as little Justice as Mercy in his temper. On the 16*th*. of *December* he was condemned, and delivered to the Sheriffs. He was at first laid in Irons, because he was so poor that he could not fee the Jaylour; but next day, these were by the Sheriffs order taken off. As he was led into *Smithfield* on the 18*th*. he kneeled down, and said, *I will pay my Vows in thee O Smithfield.* When he was brought to the Stake, he said, *Shall I disdain to suffer at this Stake, since my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer on the Cross for me?* He repeated the 106*th*, 107*th*, and 108*th*. *Psalms*, and then fitted himself for the Fire, which consumed him to Ashes. So this year ended, in which there were sixty seven burnt for Religion; and of those, four were Bishops, and thirteen were Priests.

Philpots Martyrdom.

Forreign Affairs. In *Germany* a Diet was held at *Ausburg*, where the Peace of *Germany* was fully setled: and it was decreed, that the Princes of the *Austrian* Confession should have the free liberty of their Religion; and that every Prince might in his own State establish what Religion he pleased; excepting only the Ecclesiastical Princes, who were to forfeit their benefices if they turned. Those of *Austria*, and *Ferdinand*'s other Hereditary Dominions, desired freedom for their Consciences: but *Ferdinand* refused it; yet he appointed the Chalice to be given in the Sacrament. The Duke of *Bavaria* did the like in his Dominions. At all this the Pope was highly offended, and talked of deposing *Ferdinand*. He had nothing so much in his mouth, as the Authority former Popes had exercised, in deposing Princes at their pleasure. He had sworn to the Cardinals, before he was chosen, that he would make but four Cardinals in two years; but he created seven within one half year, and would

would not hear the Conſiſtory argue againſt it, or remember him of his Promiſe; but ſaid, his Power was abſolute, and could not be limited. One of theſe Cardinals was *Gropper* the Dean of *Colen*, a man of great Learning and Vertues, but inconſtant and fearful, as was ſhewn in the former Book: he refuſed to accept of that Dignity ſo generally ſought after in their Church; and was more eſteemed for rejecting it, than others were that had by their Ambition aſpired to it. 1556.

Charles the 5*th*'s Reſignation.

In the end of this year, and the beginning of the next, a memorable thing fell out; of which if I give a large account, I do not fear to be much cenſured by the Reader for it; eſpecially ſince it is not impertinent to this work, the King and Queen being ſo much concerned in it. It was *Charles*, the 5*ths*. laying down, firſt, ſome of his hereditary Dominions in *October* this year; and the reſt, with the Empire, not long after. He had now enjoyed, the one, forty years, and the other thirty ſix. He was much diſabled by the Gout, which had held him, almoſt conſtantly, for ſeveral years: he had been in the greateſt Fatigues that ever any Prince had undergone, ever ſince the 17*th*. year of his age: he had gone, nine times into *Germany*, ſix times into *Spain*, ſeven times into *Italy*, four times into *France*; had been ten times in the *Netherlands*, had made two Expeditions into *Africk*, and been twice in *England*, and had croſſed the Seas eleven times. He had not only been a Conqueror in all his Wars, but had taken a *Pope*, a King of *France*, and ſome Princes of *Germany* Priſoners, beſides a vaſt acceſſion of Wealth and Empire from the *Weſt-Indies*. But he now growing out of love with the Pomp and Greatneſs of the World, began to have more ſerious thoughts of another Life; which were much encreaſed in him, by the anſwer one of his Captains gave him, when he deſired leave to retire, and being asked the reaſon, ſaid, that between the affairs of the World, and the hour of death, there ought to be ſome interval. He found his fortune turned: his Deſigns in *Germany* were blaſted: In the Siege of *Mets*, he ſaw he could no more command Triumphs to wait on him; for though his Army conſiſted of 100000 Men, yet he was forced to raiſe his Siege with the loſs of 40000 Men: and though his Wars had been this year more ſucceſsful, both in *Italy* and *Flanders*, yet he thought he was too old to deal with the King of *France*. It was thought, his Son ſet this forward; who had left *England* in diſcontent; being weary both of his Queen, and of holding a titular Crown, only in her Right, being excluded from the Government. All theſe things concurring, made the Emperor in a ſolemn Aſſembly at *Bruſſels* on the 25*th*. of *October* in the preſence of his Son, and *Maximilian* King of *Boheme*, and of the Duke of *Savoy*, and his two Siſters the Queens Dowagers of *France* and *Hungary*, with a vaſt number of others of lower quality, firſt give his Son the Golden Fleece, and ſo reſign the headſhip of that Order to him; and then, the Dukedoms of *Burgundy*, and *Brabant*, and the other Provinces of the *Netherlands*. Two months after that, he reſigned all his other Hereditary Dominions: and the next year, he ſent a Reſignation of the Empire to the Diet, who thereupon did chooſe his Brother *Ferdinand* Emperor; to which the Pope made great exceptions; for he ſaid, the Reſignation ought to have been only to him, and that being made as

1556. it was, it was null; and upon that he would not acknowledge the new Emperor.

Charles ſtaid ſometime in *Flanders* in a private Houſe. For he left all his Palaces; and had but little company about him. It is ſaid, that when *Seld* his Brother's Secretary, being ſent to him, was leaving him once late at night, all the Candles on the Stairs being burnt out, and none waiting to light him down, the late Emperor would needs carry the Candle down after him: the other, as may be well imagined, being much confounded at it, the Emperor told him, He was now a private Man; and his Servants knowing there was nothing now to be had by attending, did not wait carefully. He bad him tell his Brother what a change he had ſeen in him, and how vain a thing the attendance of Courtiers was; ſince he was ſo ſoon forſaken by his own Servants. He reſerved but 100000 Crowns a year for his own uſe and ſixty Servants. But at his coming into *Spain*, he found even that ſmall Penſion was not readily payed; at which he was obſerved to be much diſpleaſed. He retired to a place in the Confines of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, which he had obſerved in his Hunting to be fit for a retreat, by reaſon of the pleaſantneſs of the Situation, and the temperateneſs of the Air: and there he had ordered a little Apartment of ſeven Rooms fourteen foot ſquare, to be built for him. He kept only twelve ſervants about himſelf and ſent the reſt to ſtay in the neighbouring Towns.

He gave himſelf at firſt much to mechanical Curioſities, and had great varieties of Clocks, and ſome other motions, which ſurpriſed the ignorant Monks, who were afraid they were the performances of Magick; eſpecially his Machines of Birds of wood that did fly out and come back, and the repreſentations of Armies, that by Springs engaged and fought. He alſo deſigned that great work of carrying the *Tago* up a Hill near *Toledo*; which was afterwards done at a vaſt charge. He gave himſelf to Gardening, and uſed to Graft and Imp with his own hand: and keeping but one Horſe, rid abroad ſome times, attended only by a Footman.

The making of Clocks was not then ſo perfect, as it is ſince: ſo that he could never bring his Clocks to ſtrike in the ſame minute; and he uſed upon that to ſay, he ſaw the Folly of endeavouring to bring all Men to be of the ſame mind in Religion, ſince he could not bring Machines to agree exactly.

He ſet himſelf alſo much to ſtudy; and in the ſecond year of his retirement, went oftner to the Chappel, and to the Sacrament, than he had done at firſt: He uſed alſo to Diſcipline himſelf, with a Cord which, after his death, having ſome marks of the ſeverity he had put himſelf to, was laid up among his Sons chiefeſt Rarities. But with all this, it was believed he became in moſt points to be of the belief of the Proteſtants, before he died: and as his Confeſſor was burnt afterwards for Hereſie, ſo *Miranda* the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who uſed to come often to him, was upon the ſame ſuſpitions kept long in Priſon. Near the end of two years, at the Anniverſary of his Mother's Funeral, who had died but a few years before, having lived long after, he took a conceit, that he would ſee an *Obit* made for himſelf, and would have his own Funeral Rites performed; to which he came himſelf

himself with the rest of the Monks, and prayed most devoutly for the Rest of his own Soul; which set all the Company on weeping. Two days after, he sickned of a Feaver, of which he died on the 21*st.* of *September* 1558. A rare and great instance of a mind surfeited with the Pomps and Glories of the World, seeking for that Quiet in retirement, which he had long in vain searched after in Palaces and Camps. 1556.

Cranmer's Tryal.

And now I return to the Affairs of *England*. The 21*st.* of *March* was *Cranmer* brought to the end of all his Afflictions, and received his Crown. On the 12*th.* of *September* the former year, *Brooks* Bishop of *Gloucester*, came to *Oxford*, as the Popes Subdelegate: and *Martin*, and *Story*, Commissioners from the King and Queen, sate with him in St. *Maries*, to judge him. When he appeared before them, he payed a low reverence to them that sate in the King and Queens Name: but would give none to *Brooks*, since he sate by an Authority from the Pope, to which he would pay no respect. Then *Brooks* made a long Speech, to set forth his Apostacy and Heresie, his Incontinence, and finally his Treason; and exhorted him to repent: and insinuated to him great hopes of being restored to his See upon it. After this, *Martin* made a Speech of the difference between the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority.

When they had done, *Cranmer* first kneeled down, and said the Lord's Prayer; next he repeated the Apostles Creed: then he told them he would never acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome*'s Authority; he owned his Allegiance to the Crown, according to the Oath he had often sworn; and the submitting to the Pope was directly contrary to that: he could not serve two Masters. He said, the Bishops of *Rome* not only set up Pretensions that were contrary to the Power of Princes, but they had also made Laws contrary to those made by God: instancing it in the Worship of an unknown Tongue, the denying the Chalice to the People, the pretending to dispose of Crowns, and exalting themselves above every Creature, which shewed them not to be the Vicars of Christ, but to be Antichrists, since all these things were manifestly contrary to the Doctrine of Christ, that was delivered in the Gospel. He remembred *Brooks*, that he had sworn to the King's Supremacy. *Brooks* said, it was to K. *Henry* the 8th. and that *Cranmer* had made him swear it. To which *Cranmer* replied, that he did him wrong in that; for it was done in his Predecessor *Warham*'s time, who had asserted the King's Supremacy; and it was also sent to be discussed in the Universities, and they had set their Hands and Seals to it; and that *Brooks*, being then a Doctor, had signed it with the rest: so that all this being done before he came to be Archbishop, it ought not to be called his deed.

After this, *Story* made another Speech, of the Authority of the Church; magnifying the See of *Rome*, and enlarging on those Arguments commonly insisted on; and desired *Brooks* would put *Cranmer* to make a plain Answer, and cut off all Debates. Then followed a long Discourse between *Martin* and *Cranmer*: in which *Martin* objected, that he had once sworn to the Pope when he was consecrated, but that aspiring to be Archbishop, he had changed his mind in compliance to King *Henry*; That he had condemned *Lambert* of Heresie, for denying the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and afterwards turned to that himself. To all this *Cranmer* answered, pretending that never man came more unwillingly

1556. lingly into a Bishoprick than he did to his. That he was so far from having aspired to it, that tho the King had sent one post to him, to come over to be consecrated, he being then in *Germany*; yet he had delayed his Journey seven weeks, hoping that in all that time the King might have forgot him: That at his Consecration he publickly explained his meaning in what sence he swore to the Pope, so that he did not act deceitfully in that particular: And that when he condemned *Lambert*, he did then believe the Corporal Presence; which he continued to do, till Dr. *Ridley* shewed him such Reasons and Authorities as perswaded him to change his mind, and then he was not ashamed to retract his former Opinion. Then they objected his having been twice married, his keeping his Wife secretly in King *Henry*'s time, and openly in King *Edward*'s Reign; his setting out Heretical Books and Articles, and compelling others to subscribe them: his forsaking the Catholick Church, and denying Christ's Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar; and disputing against it so publickly lately at *Oxford*. He confessed his living in Marriage, and that he thought it was lawful for all Men to marry; and that it was certainly better to do so, than to lie with other mens Wives, as many Priests did: He confessed all the other Articles; only he said, he had never forced any to subscribe.

After this, *Brooks* made a long Speech to him, with many of the common Arguments concerning the Pope's Power, and the Presence in the Sacrament: to which *Cranmer* made another large Answer. Then many Witnesses were examined upon the Points they had heard *Cranmer* defend in the Schools; and in conclusion they cited him to appear before the Pope within eighty days, to answer for all those things which were now objected to him. He said, he would do it most willingly, if the King and Queen would send him: but he could not go, if he were still detained a Prisoner.

After this he was sent back to Prison, where he lay till the 14th. of *February* this Year: and then *Bonner* and *Thirleby* were sent down to degrade him. *Bonner* desired this Imployment, as a pleasant Revenge on *Cranmer*, who had before deprived him: but it was forced on the other, who had lived in great friendship with *Cranmer* formerly, and was a gentle and good natur'd man, but very inconstant and apt to change. They had *Cranmer* brought before them, and then they caused to read their Commission, which declared him *Contumax* for not coming to *Rome*, and required them to degrade him. They clothed him in Pontifical Robes, a Miter and the other Garments, with a Crosier in his hand: but the Robes were made of Canvass, to make him shew more ridiculous in them. Then *Bonner* made a Speech full of Jeers; *This is the Man that despised the Pope, and is now judged by him: This is the Man that pulled down Churches, and is now judged in a Church: This is the Man that contemned the Sacrament, and is now condemned before it*: with other such Expressions, at which *Thirleby* was much offended, and pulled him oft by the Sleeve, desiring him to make an end: and challenged him afterwards, that he had broke the Promise he had made him before, of treating him with respect. And he was observed to weep much all the while: He protested to *Cranmer*, that it was the most sorrowful Action of his whole Life, and acknowledged the great Love and Friendship that had been between them; and that no Earthly Consideration

but the Queens Command, could have induced him to come, and do what they were then about: He ſhed ſo many Tears, that oft he ſtopt, and could not go on in his diſcourſe for the abundance of them. But *Cranmer* ſaid, his Degradation was no trouble to him at all; he reckoned himſelf as long ago cut off from all dependance and communion with the See *Rome*; ſo their doing it now with ſo much Pageantry did not much affect him: only he put in an Appeal from the Pope, to the next free General Council: he ſaid, he was cited to *Rome*, but all the while kept a Priſoner; ſo there was no reaſon to proceed againſt him in his abſence, ſince he was willing to have gone thither and defended his Doctrine: he alſo denied any authority the Pope had over him, or in *England*: and therefore appealed from his Sentence. But notwithſtanding that, he was degraded, and all that ludicrous Attire was taken, piece after piece, from him, according to the Ceremonies of Degradation, which are in uſe in the Church of *Rome*. 1556. He is degraded.

But there were new Engines contrived againſt him. Many had been ſent to confer with him, both *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Divines, to perſwade him to recant: he was put in hopes of Life and Preferment again, and removed out of Priſon to the Dean's Lodgings at *Chriſt-Church*; where all the Arguments that could be invented, were made uſe of to turn him from his former perſwaſion: And, in concluſion, as St. *Peter* himſelf had with Curſes denied his Saviour, ſo he who had reſiſted now almoſt three years, was at laſt overcome; and humane infirmity, the fears of Death, and the hopes that were given him, prevailed with him to ſet his Hand to a Paper, renouncing all the Errors of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, acknowledging the Pope's Supremacy, the ſeven Sacraments, the Corporal Preſence in the Euchariſt, Purgatory, Prayer for departed Souls, the Invocation of Saints; to which was added, his being ſorry for his former Errors; and concluded, exhorting all that had been deceived by his Example or Doctrine, to return to the unity of the Church: and proteſting that he had ſigned it willingly, only for the diſcharge of his own Conſcience. He recants.

Fox, and other later Writers from him, have ſaid, that one reaſon of this Compliance, was, that he might have time to finiſh his Anſwer to *Gardiner*'s Book, againſt that which he had written concerning the Sacrament: and *Fox* has printed the Letter which he avouches to prove this by. But the good Man (it ſeems) read the Letter very careleſly; for *Cranmer* ſays no ſuch thing in it; but only, that he had appealed to the next General Council, to try if that could procure him a longer delay, in which he might have time to finiſh his Book: and between theſe two, there is a great difference. How long this was ſigned before his Execution, I find it no where marked, for there is no Date put to his Subſcription.

Cranmer's Recantation was preſently printed, and occaſioned almoſt equally great, Inſultings on the one hand, and Dejection on the other. But the Queen was not at all wrought on by it; and was now forced to diſcover that her private Reſentments governed her in this matter; which before ſhe had diſowned. She was reſolved he ſhould be made a Sacrifice, for giving the Judgment of Divorce in her Mothers Marriage; and tho hitherto though ſhe had pretended only Zeal for Religion, yet now when that could be no more alledged, yet ſhe perſiſted in her Reſolution of having him burnt: She ſaid, ſince he had bin the great Promoter

1556. moter of Heresie that had corrupted the whole Nation; that must ſerve his turn, which would be ſufficient in other caſes: It was good for his own Soul, and might do good to others, that he repented; but ſhe ordered the Sentence to be executed. The Writ went out the 24th of *February*, which will be found in the *Collection*. *Heath* took care not only to enrol the Writ, but the Warrant ſent to him for iſſuing it, which is not ordinary. It's like he did it, to leave it on Record to Poſterity, that he did it not in courſe, as he did other Writs, but had a ſpecial Order from the Queen for it. The long time that paſſed between the date of the Writ, and the execution of it, makes it probable that he made the formerly mentioned Recantation, after the Writ was brought down; and that the fears of Death, then before his eyes, did ſo far work on him, that he ſigned the Writing: but when the ſecond Order was ſent down to execute the former, he was dealt with to renew his Subſcription, and then to write the whole over again, which he alſo did, all this time being under ſome ſmall hopes of Life: but conceiving likewiſe ſome jealouſies that they might burn him, he writ ſecretly a Paper containing a ſincere Confeſſion of his Faith, ſuch as flowed from his Conſcience, and not from his weak fears; and being brought out, he carried that along with him. He was carried to St. *Maries*, and ſet on a place raiſed higher for him to be more conſpicuouſly ſeen. *Cole* Provoſt of *Eaton* preached: he ran out in his Sermon on the Mercy and Juſtice of God, which two Attributes do not oppoſe or juſtle out one another: he applied this to Princes that were Gods on Earth, who muſt be juſt, as well as merciful; and therefore they had appointed *Cranmer* that day to ſuffer: he ſaid it was he that had diſſolved the Marriage between the Queens Father and Mother, had driven out the Pope's Authority, had been the fountain of all the Hereſies in *England*; and ſince the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and Sir *Tho. More* had ſuffered for the Church, it was meet that others ſhould ſuffer for Hereſie: and as the Duke of *Northumberland* had ſuffered in *More*'s room, ſo there was no other Clergyman that was equal or fit to be ballanced with *Fiſher* but he. Then he turned to *Cranmer*, and magnified his Converſion, which he ſaid was the immediate Hand of God; that none of their Arguments had done it, but the inward working of God's Spirit: He gave him great hopes of Heaven, and aſſured him there ſhould be Dirges and Maſſes ſaid for his Soul, in all the Churches in *Oxford*.

Coll. Num. 27.

All this while *Cranmer* expreſſed great inward confuſion, lifting up his Eyes often to Heaven, and then letting them fall downward, as one aſhamed of himſelf; and he often poured out floods of tears. In the end, when *Cole* bid him declare his Faith; he firſt prayed, with many moving expreſſions of deep remorſe and inward horror: Then he made his Exhortation to the People, Firſt, "Not to love or ſet their hearts on the "things of the World: to obey the King and Queen out of conſcience "to God: to live in mutual Love: and to relieve the Poor according "to their abundance. Then he came to that, on which, he ſaid, all his "paſt Life, and that which was to come, did hang, being now to enter "either into the joys of Heaven, or the pains of Hell. He repeated the "Apoſtles Creed, and declared his belief of the Scriptures; and then "he ſpake to that, which he ſaid troubled his Conſcience, more than any "thing he had ever done in his whole Life: which was, the ſubſcribing "a Paper contrary to the Truth, and againſt his Conſcience, out of the "fear

"fear of Death, and the love of Life: and when he came to the Fire, 1556.
"he was reſolved that Hand that had ſigned it, ſhould burn firſt. He
"rejected the Pope as Chriſt's enemy, and Antichriſt; and ſaid, he had
"the ſame belief of the Sacrament, which he had publiſhed in the Book
"he writ about it.

Upon this, there was a wonderful Confuſion in the Aſſembly: Thoſe who hoped to have gained a great Victory that day, ſeeing it turning another way, were in much diſorder: They called to him to diſſemble no more. He ſaid, he had ever loved ſimplicity, and, before that time, had never diſſembled in his whole Life. And going on in his Diſcourſe, with abundance of tears, they pulled him down, and led him away to the Stake, which was ſet in the ſame place where *Ridley* and *Latimer* were burnt. All the way the Prieſts upbraided him for his changing: but he was minding another thing.

When he came to the Stake, he firſt prayed, and then undreſſed himſelf: and being tied to it, as the Fire was kindling, he ſtretched forth his Right hand towards the Flame; never moving it, ſave that once he wiped his Face with it, till it was burnt away: which was conſumed before the Fire reached his Body. He expreſſed no diſorder for the pain he was in: ſometimes ſaying, *that unworthy Hand!* and oft crying out, *Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit.* He was ſoon after quite burnt. He ſuffers Martyrdom with great conſtancy of Mind.

But it was no ſmall matter of Aſtoniſhment, to find his Heart entire, and not conſumed among the Aſhes: which tho the Reformed would not carry ſo far, as to make a Miracle of it, and a clear proof that his Heart had continued true, tho his Hand had erred; yet they objected it to the Papiſts, that it was certainly ſuch a thing, that if it had fallen out in any of their Church, they had made it a Miracle.

Thus did *Thomas Cranmer* end his days, in the ſixty ſeventh year of his Age. He was a Man raiſed of God for great Services; and well fitted for them. He was naturally of a mild and gentle temper, not ſoon heated, nor apt to give his Opinion raſhly of things, or perſons: and yet his gentleneſs, though it oft expoſed him to his Enemies, who took advantages from it to uſe him ill, knowing he would readily forgive them; did not lead him into ſuch a weakneſs of Spirit, as to conſent to every thing that was uppermoſt: for as he ſtood firmly againſt the ſix Articles in King *Henry*'s time, notwithſtanding all his heat for them; ſo he alſo oppoſed the Duke of *Somerſet* in the matter of the ſale and alienation of the Chantry Lands, and the Duke of *Northumberland* during his whole Government; and now reſiſted unto Blood: ſo that his meekneſs was already a vertue in him, and not a puſillanimity in his temper. He was a man of great Candor. He never diſſembled his Opinion, nor diſowned his Friend: two rare qualities in that Age, in which there was a continued courſe of diſſimulation, almoſt in the whole Engliſh Clergy and Nation, they going backward and forward, as the Court turned. But this had got him that eſteem with King *Henry*, that it always preſerv'd him in his days. He knew, what Complaints ſoever were brought againſt him, he would freely tell him the truth: ſo inſtead of taking it from other hands, he began at himſelf. He neither diſowned his eſteem of Queen *Anne*, nor his friendſhip to *Cromwel*, and the Duke of *Somerſet*, in their misfortunes; but owned, he had the ſame thoughts of them in their loweſt Condition that he had in their greateſt State. His Character.

He being thus prepared by a candid and good nature, for the ſearches into

1556. into Truth, added to these a most wonderful diligence, for he drew out of all the Authors that he read, every thing that was remarkable, digesting these Quotations into Common-places. This begat in King *Henry* an admiration of him: for he had often tried it, to bid him bring the Opinions of the Fathers and Doctors upon several questions; which he commonly did, in two or three days time: This flowed from the copiousness of his Common-place Books. He had a good judgment, but no great quickness of apprehension, nor closeness of Style, which was diffused and unconnected: therefore when any thing was to be penned that required more Nerves, he made use of *Ridley*. He laid out all his Wealth on the poor, and pious uses: He had Hospitals and Surgeons in his House for the King's Seamen; He gave Pensions to many of those that fled out of *Germany* into *England*; and kept up that which is Hospitality indeed at his Table, where great numbers of the honest and poor neighbours were always invited, instead of the Luxury and Extravagance of great Entertainments, which the vanity and excess of the Age we live in, has honoured with the name of Hospitality, to which too many are led by the Authority of Custom to comply too far. He was so humble and affable, that he carried himself in all conditions at the same rate. His last Fall was the only blemish of his Life; but he expiated it, with a sincere repentance, and a patient Martyrdom. He had been the chief advancer of the Reformation in his Life; and God so ordered it, that his death should bear a proportion to the former parts of his life, which was no small Confirmation to all that received his Doctrine, when they heard how constantly he had at last sealed it with his Blood. And though it is not to be fancied that King *Henry* was a Prophet, yet he discovered such things in *Cranmers* temper as made him conclude he was to die a Martyr for his Religion: and therefore he ordered him to change his Coat of Arms, and to give *Pelicans* instead of Crosses, which were formerly the Arms of his Family: intimating withal, that as it is reported of the *Pelican*, that she gives her Blood to feed her young ones; so he was to give his Blood for the good of the Church. The King's kindness to him subjected him too much to him: for great Obligations do often prove the greatest snares to generous and noble minds. And he was so much over-born by his respects to him, and was so affected with King *Henry*'s Death, that he never after that shaved his Beard, but let it grow to a great length: which I the rather mention, because the Pictures that were afterwards made for him, being taken according to what he was at his Death, differ much from that which I have put in my former Volume. Those who compared modern and ancient Times, found in him so many and excellent qualities, that they did not doubt to compare him to the greatest of the Primitive Bishops; not only to the *Chrysostomes*, *Ambroses*, and *Austines*, but to the Fathers of the first Rate that immediately followed the Apostles, to the *Ignatius's*, *Polycarps*, and *Cyprians*. And it seemed necessary that the Reformation of this Church, which was indeed nothing else but restoring of the Primitive and Apostolical Doctrine, should have been chiefly carried on by a Man so eminent in all Primitive and Apostolical Vertues. And to those who upbraided the Reformed with his Fall, It was answered, That *Liberius*, whom they so much magnifie, had fallen as foully upon a much slighter Temptation, only out of a desire to reenter to his See, from which he had been banished, and that he persisted much longer in it.

But now I ſhall give account of the reſt that were burnt this year. On the 27*th.* of *Jan.* *Tho. Wirtle* a Prieſt, *Bartlet Green* a Gentleman, *Tho. Brown*, *John Tudſon*, and *John Went*, Three Tradeſmen, *Iſabel Foſter*, and *Joan Warne*, having all been preſented becauſe they came not to Church; Articles were put to them, and upon their Anſwers they were all condemned, and burnt in *Smithfield* at the ſame Stake. And on the 31*ſt.* of that Month, *John Lomas*, and four Women were burnt at *Canterbury*. They were preſented, becauſe they came not to Confeſſion; whereupon Articles being given them, they were found guilty of Hereſie, and burnt in one Fire. In the beginning of *March* two Women were burnt at *Ipſwich*: Three Tradeſmen were burnt in *Saliſbury* on the 24*th.* of *March*. On the 29*th.* of *April*, *Robert Drakes* a Prieſt, *William Tyms* a Deacon, and four Tradeſmen that were ſent out of *Eſſex*, becauſe they came not to Church, were condemned, and all burnt together in *Smithfield*. *John Hanpole*, and *Joan Booek*, were burnt at *Rocheſter* on the firſt of *April*: and on the ſecond *John Hallier* a Prieſt was burnt in *Canterbury*. 1556.

Others ſuffered on the like account.

Six Tradeſmen were ſent up from *Colcheſter*: and the Biſhop of *London*, who had hitherto kept his Priſoners for ſome time to ſee if he could prevail with them, growing weary of that fruitleſs labour, and becoming by many Acts of cruelty leſs ſenſible of thoſe affections which belong to humane Nature, did without any more ado exhibit the Articles to them; and they anſwering in the way he accounted Hereſie, he gave them time to conſider if they would recant, till the Afternoon: but they continuing in the ſame mind, he condemned them, and ſent them back to *Colcheſter*, where they were all burnt in one Fire.

On the 15*th.* of *May*, he gave yet a more aſtoniſhing inſtance of his barbarity. *Laverock* an old Cripple, a man of ſixty eight years old, and *Jo. Ap-price* a blind man, were upon the like account condemned, and burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford-le-bow*; they comforting one another, that they were now to be freed of their lameneſs and blindneſs. The day after, three Women were burnt in *Smithfield*: another blind man, with a Tradeſman, were burnt at *Gloceſter* this Month. On the 21*ſt.* of the Month, three were burnt at *Beckles* in *Suffolk*. On the 6*th.* of *June* four Men were burnt at *Lewis* in *Suſſex*. Another was burnt there on the 20*th.* and one was burnt at *Leiceſter* on the 26*th.* But on the 27*th.* of *June*, *Bonner* made an unheard of Execution of thirteen, whereof eleven were Men, and two Women, all burnt in one Fire in *Stratford-le-bow*. He had condemned in all ſixteen, but, by what interceſſion I do not know, three of them were preſerved by a Warrant from Cardinal *Pool*. It ſeems *Bonner* thought it not worth the while, to burn thoſe ſingly, and therefore ſent them in ſuch droves to the Stake: but whether the horror of this Action, or the diſcontent, becauſe the Cardinal had ſaved ſome of them, wrought on him, I know not; the latter being the more likely; he burnt no more till *April* next Year.

The 30*th.* of *June* three were burnt at *Bury* in *Suffolk*: On the 16*th.* of *July* three men were burnt at *Newberry*. But this *July* there was done in *Gernſey* an Act of as great inhumanity, as ever was recorded in any Age. A Mother and her two Daughters, were burnt at the ſame Stake; and one of them a married Woman, big with Child, when ſhe was in the Fire, the violence of it burſting her Belly, a Boy fell out into the

A ſtrange barbarity at *Gernſy* of burning a Child, born in the Fire.

1556. Flame, that was snatched out of it by one that was more merciful than the rest: but after they had a little consulted about it, the Infant was thrown in again, and there was literally baptized with Fire. There were many Eye-witnesses of this, who attested it afterwards in Queen *Elizabeths* time, when the matter was enquired into, and special care was taken to have full and evident Proofs of it. For indeed the Fact was so unnatural, that a man must either be possessed with a very ill opinion of the Actors, or be well satisfied about the number and credibility of the Witnesses, before he could believe it. But Lies and Forgeries are seldom made of Actions done in the Face of the Sun, and before so great an Assembly as was present at this. Therefore complaint being made of it to Queen *Elizabeth*, the Dean of *Gernsey* was put in Prison for it; and afterwards, he, and nine more, that were all accessary to it, took out their Pardons. So merciful was the Government then, to pardon an Action of such a monstrous nature, because done with some colour of Law; since, it was said, the Mother was condemned to be burnt, and no exception was made of her Belly. On the 18*th.* of *July* two Women and one Man were burnt at *Greenstead*. On the first of *August Joan Wast*, a blind Woman, was burnt at *Darby*. On the 8th of *September* one was burnt at *Bristol*; and another in the same place on the 25*th* of that Month. On the 24*th.* four were burnt at *Mayfield* in *Sussex*. On the 27*th.* a Man and a Woman were burnt at *Bristol*: And on the 12*th.* of *October* a man was burnt at *Nottingham*. And thus ended the burning this Yaar: those that suffered were in all eighty five. All these persons were presented as suspect of Heresie, and were required to answer the Questions that the Bishop put to them; which related to the Corporal Presence in the Sacrament, the necessity of Auricular Confession, or the Sacrifice of the Mass: and upon the Answers they made, were condemned to the Fire: But none of them were accused of any violence committed on the Persons of any Church-man, or of any affront put on their Religion; and all their Sufferings were meerly for their Conscience, which they kept as private as they could: so that it rather appeared in their abstaining from the Communion of a Church which they thought, had corrupted the chief parts of Worship, than in anything they had said or done. It was an unusual and an ungrateful thing to the *English* Nation, that is apt to compassionate all in misery, to see four, five, six, seven, and once thirteen burning in one Fire: and the spairing neither Sex nor Age, nor Blind nor Lame, but making havock of all equally; and above all, the barbarity of *Gernsey*, raised that horror in the whole Nation, that there seems ever since that time, such an abhorrence to that Religion to be derived down from Father to Son, that it is no wonder an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, does upon every new provocation, or jealousie of returning to it, break out in most violent and convulsive Symptoms.

The Reformation spreads for all the Persecution.

But all those Fires did not extinguish the Light of the Reformation, nor abate the love of it. They spread it more, and kindled new heats in Mens minds: so that what they had read of the former Persecutions under the Heathens, seemed to be now revived. This made those who loved the Gospel meet oft together, though the malice of their Enemies obliged them to do it with great caution and secrecy: yet there were sometimes at their Meetings about 200. They were instructed and watched

watched over by ſeveral faithful Shepherds, who were willing to hazard their Lives, in feeding this Flock committed to their care. The chief of theſe were *Scambler* and *Bentham*, afterwards promoted by Queen *Elizabeth* to the Sees of *Peterborough* and *Litchfield*: *Foule*, *Bernher*, and *Rough* a *Scotch-man*, that was afterwards condemned, and burnt by *Bonner*. There was alſo care taken, by their Friends beyond Sea, to ſupply them with good Books; which they ſent over to them for their inſtruction and encouragement. Theſe that fled beyond Sea went at firſt for the moſt part to *France*, where, though they were well uſed in oppoſition to the Queen, yet they could not have the free exerciſe of their Religion granted them: ſo they retired to *Geneva*, and *Zurick*, and *Arau*, in *Switzerland*; and to *Strasburg* and *Frankfort*, in the upper *Germany*; and to *Emden* in the lower. 1556.

The Troubles at *Frankfort* among the *Engliſh* there.

At *Frankfort* an unhappy difference fell in among ſome of them, who had uſed before the *Engliſh* Liturgy, and did afterwards comply with it, when they were in *England*, where it had Authority from the Law: yet they thought that being in Forreign Parts they ſhould rather accommodate their Worſhip to thoſe among whom they lived; ſo inſtead of the *Engliſh* Liturgy, they uſed one near the *Geneva* and *French* Forms. Others thought, that when thoſe in *England* who had compiled their Liturgy, were now confirming what they had done with their Blood; and many more were ſuffering for it; it was an high contempt of them, and their ſufferings, to depart from theſe Forms. This contradiction raiſed that heat, that Dr. *Cox*, who lived in *Strasburg* with his Friend *Peter Martyr*, went thither; and being a Man of great reputation, procured an Order from the Senate, that the *Engliſh* Forms ſhould only be uſed in their Church. This diſſention, being once raiſed, went further than perhaps it was at firſt intended. For thoſe who at firſt liked the *Geneva* way better, that, being in Forreign Parts, they might all ſeem to be united in the ſame Forms; now began to quarrel with ſome things in the *Engliſh* Liturgy: and *Knox*, being a Man of a hot temper, engaged in this matter very warmly; and got his Friend *Calvin* to write ſomewhat ſharply of ſome things in the *Engliſh* Service. This made *Knox* and his Party leave *Frankfort*, and go to *Geneva*. *Knox* had alſo written indecently of the Emperor, which obliged the Senate of *Frankfort* to require him to be gone out of their Bounds. There fell in other Conteſts, about the cenſuring of offences; which ſome of the Congregation would not leave in the hands of the Miniſters only, but would have it ſhared among the whole Congregation. Upon theſe matters there aroſe great debates, and many Papers were written on both ſides, to the great grief of *Parker* and others, who lived privately in *England*; and to the ſcandal of the Strangers, who were not a little offended to ſee a company of People fly out of their Country for their Conſciences, and in ſtead of ſpending their time in Faſting and Prayer for their perſecuted Brethren at home, to fall into ſuch quarrels about matters which themſelves acknowledged, were not the Subſtantials of Religion, nor Points of Conſcience: in which certainly they began the Breach, who departed from that way of Worſhip, which they acknowledged was both lawful and good: but there followed too much animoſity on both ſides, which were the Seeds of all thoſe differences that have ſince diſtracted this Church.

1556. They who reflected on the Contests that the *Novatians* raised, both at *Rome*, and *Carthage*, in *Cyprians* time; and the Heats the Donatists brought into the *African* Churches, soon after the Persecution was over, found somewhat parallel both to these Schisms now during the Persecution, and to those afterwards raised when it was over.

Pool is made Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. I now return to the Affairs of *England*. On the 22*d*. of *March*, the very day after *Cranmer* was burnt, *Pool* was consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the Arch-bishop of *York*, the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Lincoln*, *Rochester*, and St. *Asaph*. He had come over only a Cardinal Deacon; and was last Winter made a Priest, and now a Bishop. It seems he had his *Conge d'Elire* with his Election, and his Bulls from *Rome*, already dispatched before this time. The Pope did not know with what face to refuse them, being pressed by the Queen on his account, though he wanted only a colour to wreak his revenge on him; to which he gave vent upon the first opportunity that offered it self. It seems *Pool* thought it indecent to be consecrated as long as *Cranmer* lived; which his choosing the next day for it, brought him under the suspition of having procured his death: so that the words of *Elijah* to *Ahab* concerning *Naboth*, were applied to him, *Thou hast killed and taken possession*. On the 28*th*. of that Month he came in State through *London*, to *Bow-Church*; where the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Ely*, after the former had said Mass, put the Pall about him. This was a Device set up by Pope *Paschal* the second in the beginning of the twelfth Century, for the engaging of the Arch-bishops to a more immediate dependance on that See: they being after they took the Pall, to act as the Popes *Legates born*, (as the Phrase was,) of which it was the Ensign. But it was at the first admitted with great contradiction both by the Kings of *Sicily*, and *Poland*, the Arch-bishops of *Palermo*, and *Gnesna*, being the first to whom they were sent; all men wondring at the novelty of the thing, and of the Oath which the Popes required of them at the delivery of it. This being put on *Pool*, he went into the Pulpit, and made a cold Sermon, about the beginning, the Use, and the Matter of the *Pall*, without either Learning or Eloquence. The Subject could admit of no Learning, and for Eloquence, though in his younger days, when he writ against King *Henry*'s Stile was too luxuriant and florid, yet being afterwards sensible of its excess that way, he turned as much to the other Extream, and cutting off all the Ornaments of Speech, he brought his Stile to a flatness that had neither life nor beauty in it.

Some more Religious Houses endowed. All the Business of *England* this Year, was the raising of Religious Houses. *Greenwich* was begun with last Year. The Queen also built a House for the *Dominicans* in *Smithfield*, and another for the *Franciscans*: and they being Begging Orders, these Endowments did not cost much. At *Sion* near *Brainford* there had been a Religious House of Women of the Order of St. *Bridget*. That House was among the first that had been dissolved by King *Henry* the eighth, as having harboured the King's Enemies, and been Complices to the Business of the Maid of *Kent*. The Queen a-new Founded a Nunnery there. She also Founded a House for the *Carthusians* at *Sheen* near *Richmond*, in a gratitude to that Order for their Suffering upon her Mothers account. From these she went to a greater Foundation, but that which cost her less: for she suppressed the Deanry, and the Cathedral of *Westminster*; and in *September* this Year turned

turned it into a Monaſtery; and made *Feckham*, Dean of *Pauls*, the first Abbot of it. I have not met with her Foundation of it, which perhaps was razed out of the Records in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign; for it is not enrolled among the other Patents of this Year. But on the 23*d.* of *September*, ſhe gave Warrants for Penſions to be paid to the Prebends of *Weſtminſter*, till they were otherwiſe provided: and about that time *Feckham* was declared Abbot; though the ſolemn Inſtallment of him, and fourteen other Monks with him, was not done till the 21*ſt.* of *November*. 1556.

There had been many Searches and Diſcoveries made, in the former Reign, of great diſorders in theſe Houſes; and at the diſſolution of them many had made Confeſſion of their ill Lives, and groſs Superſtition; all which were laid up and Recorded in the Augmentation Office. There had been alſo in that ſtate of things, which they now called, The late Schiſm, many Profeſſions made by the Biſhops and Abbots, and other Religious Men, of their renouncing the Popes Authority, and acknowledging the Kings Supremacy: therefore it was moved, that all theſe ſhould be gathered together and deſtroyed. So on the 23*d.* of *September*, there was a Commiſſion granted to *Bonner*, and *Cole*, (the new Dean "of *Pauls* in *Feckhams* room) and Dr. *Martin*, to ſearch all Regiſters; "to find out both the Profeſſions made againſt the Pope, and the Scruti- "nies made in Abbies; which, as the Commiſſion that is in the *Collection* "ſets forth, tended to the ſubverſion of all good Religion and Religious "Houſes: Theſe they were to gather, and carry to the Cardinal, that "they might be diſpoſed of as the Queen ſhould give order. It is not upon Record how they executed this Commiſſion, but the effects of it appear in the great defectiveneſs of the Records, in many things of conſequence, which are razed and loſt. This was a new ſort of Expurgation, by which they intended to leave as few foot-ſteps to Poſterity, as they could, of what had been formerly done. Their care of their own credits led them to endeavour to ſuppreſs the many Declarations themſelves had formerly made, both againſt the See of *Rome*, the Monaſtick Orders, and many of the old Corruptions, which they had diſclaimed. But many things eſcaped their diligence; as may appear by what I have already collected: and conſidering the pains they were at, in vitiating Regiſters, and deſtroying Records; I hope the Reader will not think it ſtrange, if he meets with many defects in this Work. In this Search, they not only took away what concerned themſelves, but every collateral thing that might inform or direct the following Ages how to imitate thoſe Precedents: and therefore, among other Writings, the Commiſſion that *Cromwel* had to be Vice-gerent was deſtroyed: but I have ſince that time met with it, in a Copy that was in the *Cotton* Library, which I have put in the *Collection*. How far this reſembled the endeavours that the Heathens uſed in the laſt and hotteſt Perſecution, to burn all the Regiſters of the Church, I leave to the Reader. The Abbey of *Weſtminſter* being thus ſet up, ſome of the Monks of *Glaſſenbury*, who were yet alive, were put into it. And all the reſt of the old Monks that had been turned out of *Glaſſenbury*, and who had not married ſince, were invited to return to this Monaſtery. They began to contrive how to raiſe their Abbey again, which was held the Ancienteſt, and was certainly the richeſt in *England*: and therefore they moved the Queen and the Cardi-

All the former Records concerning them are razed.

Collection Number 28.

Collection Number 29.

Endeavours to raiſe the Abbey of *Glaſſenbury*.

1556. Cardinal, that they might have the House and Site restored and repaired, and they would by Labour and Husbandry maintain themselves; not doubting but the People of the Country would be ready to contribute liberally to their subsistence. The Queen and Cardinal liked the Proposition well; so the Monks wrote to the Lord *Hastings*, then Lord Chamberlain, to put the Queen in mind of it, and to follow the Business till it were brought to a good Issue; which would be a great Honour to the Memory of *Joseph* of *Arimathea* who lay there, whom they did heartily beseech to pray to Christ for good success to his Lordship. This Letter I have put in the *Collection* copied from the Original. What followed upon it, I cannot find. It is probable, the Monks of other Houses made the like endeavours, and every one of them could find some rare thing belonging to their House, which seemed to make it the more necessary to raise it speedily. These of St. *Albans* could say, the first Martyr of *England* lay in their Abbey: those of St. *Edmundbury* had a King that was Martyred by the Heathen *Danes*: those of *Battel* could say, they were Founded for the remembrance of *William* the Conquerors Victory, from whence the Queen derived her Crown: and those of St. *Austins* in *Canterbury* had the Apostle of *England* laid in their Church. In short, they were all in hopes to be speedily restored. And though they were but few in Number, and to begin upon a small Revenue, yet as soon as the belief of Purgatory was revived, they knew how to set up the old Trade a-new; which they could drive with the greater advantage; since they were to deal with the People by a new Motive, besides the old ones formerly used, that it was Sacriledge to possess the Goods of the Church; of which it had been robbed by their Ancestors. But in this it was necessary to advance slowly: since the Nobility and Gentry were much allarumed at it; and at the last Parliament, many had laid their Hands to their Swords in the House of Commons, and said they would not part with their Estates; but would defend them: yet some that hoped to gain more favour from the Queen, by such compliance, did Found Chantries for Masses for their Souls. In the Records of the last Years of Queen *Maries* Reign, there are many Warrants granted by her for such Endowments: for though the Statute of *Mortmain* was repealed; yet for greater security it was thought fit to take out such Licences. This is all I find of our home Affairs this Year.

Collection Number 30.

Forreign Affairs. Forreign Affairs were brought to a quieter state. For by the Mediation of *England*, a Truce for five Years was concluded between *France* and *Spain*: and the new King of *Spain* was inclined to observe it faithfully; that so he might be well setled in his Kingdoms, before he engaged in War: but the violent Pope broke all this. He was much offended with the Decree made at *Ausburg* for the liberty of Religion; and with *Ferdinand* for ordering the Chalice to be given to his Subjects; and chiefly, for his assuming the Title of Emperor without his approbation. Upon this last provocation the Pope sent him word, that he would let him know, to his grief, how he had offended him. He came to talk in so haughty a Stile, as any of all his Predecessors had ever done, that he would change Kingdoms at his pleasure. He boasted that he had made *Ireland* a Kingdom: that all Princes were under his Feet, (and as he said, that, he used to tread with his Feet against the ground;) and he would allow

The Pope is extravagantly Insolent.

allow no Prince to be his Companion, nor be too familiar with him: nay, rather than be driven to a mean Action, he would ſet the whole World on fire. But to pretend to do ſomewhat for a Reformation, he appointed a Congregation to gather ſome Rules for the condemning of Simony. Theſe he publiſhed, and ſaid, having now reformed his own Court, he would next reform the Courts of Princes: and becauſe they had complained much of the corruptions of the Clergy, and Court of *Rome*; he reſolved to turn the matter on them, and ſaid, he would gather all the abuſes that were in their Courts and reform them. But he was much provoked by an Embaſſy that came from *Poland*, to deſire of him, that they might have the Maſs in their own Tongue, and the Communion in both kinds; that their Prieſts might be allowed to marry, that they might pay Annates no more to *Rome*, and call a National Council in their own Kingdom. Theſe things put him out of all patience, and with all the bitterneſs he could uſe, he expreſſed how deteſtable they were to him. He then ſaid, he would hold a Council; not that he needed one, for himſelf was above all: but it ſhould never meet in *Trent*, to which it had been a vain thing to ſend about ſixty Biſhops of the leaſt able, and forty Doctors of the moſt inſufficient, as had been twice done allready: that he would hold it in the *Lateran*, as many of his Predeceſſors had done: he gave notice of this to the Ambaſſadors of all Princes: he ſaid he did that only in curteſie, not intending to ask their advice or conſent, for he would be obeyed by them all. He intended in this Council to reform them and their Courts, and to diſcharge all Impoſitions which they had laid on the Clergy: and therefore he would call it whether they would or not, and if they ſent no Prelates to it, he would hold it with thoſe of his own Court: and would let the world ſee what the Authority of that See was, when it had a Pope of courage to govern it. 1556.

He breaks the Truce between *France* and *Spain*, abſolving the *French* King from his Oath.

But after all theſe Imperious humors of his, which ſometimes carried him to exceſſes, that ſeemed not much different from madneſs; he was heartily troubled at the Truce between the *French* and the *Spaniards*. He hates the *Spaniards* moſt, becauſe they ſupported the *Coloneſi*, whom he deſigned to ruine. And therefore he ſent his Nephew into *France*, with a Sword and Hat which he had Conſecrated, to perſwade the King to break the Truce; offering his aſſiſtance for the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*, to the uſe of one of the younger Sons of *France*: though it was believed he deſigned it for his own Nephew. He alſo ſent the *French* King an Abſolution from his Oath that he had ſworn for the maintaining of the Truce, and promiſed to create what Cardinals he pleaſed, that ſo he might be ſure of a Creature of his own to ſucceed in the Popedom. Yet the Pope diſembled his deſign in this, ſo cloſely, that he perſwaded Sir *Edward Carn*, that was then the Queens Ambaſſador at *Rome*, that he deſired nothing ſo much as a general Peace: and he hoped, as the Queen had mediated in the Truce, ſhe would continue her endeavours till a perfect Peace were made. He ſaid, he had ſent two Legates to procure it; and ſince he was the common Father of Chriſtendom, God would impute to him, even his ſilence in that matter, if he did not all he could to obtain it. He complained much of the growth of Hereſie in *Poland*, and in the King of the *Romans*'s Dominions. For the repreſſing of it, he ſaid, he intended to have a General Council: and in order to that it was neceſſary there ſhould be a Peace, ſince a Truce

1556. Truce would not give sufficient encouragement to those who ought to come to the Council. He said, he intended to be present at it himself, and to hold it in the Church of St. *John* in the *Lateran*: for he thought *Rome*, being the Common Country of all the World, was the meetest Place for such an Assembly: and he, being so very old, could go no where out of *Rome*; therefore he was resolved to hold it there. But he said, he relied chiefly on the assistance of the Queen, whom he called, *That Blessed Queen, and his most gracious and loving Daughter*: and holding her Letters in his Hand, he said, they were so full of respect and kindness to him, that he would have them read in the Consistory: and mad a Cross over her Subscription. It was no wonder such discourses, with that way of deportment, deceived so honest and plain hearted a Man as *Carn* was; as it will appear from the Letter that he writ over upon this occasion to the Queen, which I have put in the *Collection*. But it soon appeared on what design he had sent his Legate to *France*; for he pressed that King vehemently to break the Truce, and renew the War. To this the *French* King being perswaded by the Cardinal of *Lorain*, Duke of *Guise*, and consented, though all the rest about him dissuaded him from such a dishonourable breach of Faith, or medling more in the War of *Italy*, which had been always fatal to their People. The *Colonesi* had been furnished with assistance from *Naples*; upon which, the Pope had it proposed in the Consistory, that the King of *Spain*, by giving them assistance, had lost his Territories: and being then assured of assistance from *France*, he began the War, imprisoning the Cardinals and Prelates of the *Spanish* Faction; and the Ambassadors of *Spain* and *England*; pretending they kept correspondence with the *Colonesi* that were Traitors. He also sent to raise some Regiments among the *Switzers*. But when they came, some told him they were all Hereticks, and it would be a reproach for him to use such Souldiers: he understanding they were good Troops, said, He was confident God would convert them, and that he look'd on them as Angels sent by God for the defence of his Person. Upon this breaking out of the Popes, the Duke of *Alva*, that was then in *Naples*, being himself much devoted to the Papacy, did very unwillingly engage in the War. He first used all ways to avoid it; and made several Protestations of the indignities that his Master had received, and his unwillingness to enter into a War, with him that should be the Common Father of Christendome. But these being all to no purpose, he fell into *Campania*, and took all the Places in it, which he declared he held for the next Pope: he might also have taken *Rome* self, but the Reverence he had for the Papacy restrained him.

Collection Number 31.

This being known in *England*, was a great grief to the Queen and Cardinal, who saw what advantages those of the Reformation would take from the Popes absolving Princes from the most Sacred Ties of Humane Societies; since the breach of Faith and publick Treaties was a thing abhorred by the most depraved Nations: and when he, who pretended to be the Vicar of Christ who was the Prince of Peace, was kindling a new Flame in Christendom; these things were so scandalous, that they knew they would much obstruct and disorder all their designs. And indeed the Protestants every where were not wanting to improve this all they could. It seemed a strange thing, that in the same Year, a great Conqueror, that had spent his Life in Wars and Affairs, should in the

the 56*th* year of his Age retire to a Monaſtery: and that a Biſhop at eighty, who had pretended to ſuch abſtraction from the World that he had formerly quitted a Biſhoprick to retire into a Monaſtery, ſhould now raiſe ſuch a War, and ſet *Europe* again in a flame. 1556.

In the beginning of the next Year was the Viſitation of the Univerſities. To *Cambridge Pool* ſent *Scot* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, his *Italian* Friend *Ormaneto*, with *Watſon*, and *Chriſtopherſon*, the two Elect Biſhops of *Lincoln*, and *Chicheſter*, (in the rooms of *White*, removed to *Wincheſter*; out of which *Pool* reſerved a Penſion of 1000 *l.* and of *Day* that was dead) with ſome others. When they came thither, on the 11*th* of *January* they put the Churches of St. *Maries* and St. *Michaels* under an Interdict; becauſe the Bodies of *Bucer*, and *Fagius*, two Hereticks, were laid in them. The Univerſity Orator received them with a Speech, that was divided between an Invective againſt the Hereticks, and a Commendation of the Cardinal, who was then their Chancellor. They went through all the Colledges, and gathered many Heretical Books together, and obſerved the Order uſed in their Chappels. When they came to *Clare-Hall*, they found no Sacrament; *Ormaneto* asked the Head, *Swinburn*, how that came; he anſwered, The Chappel was not yet conſecrated: Then *Ormaneto* chid him more for officiating ſo long in it; but trying him further, he found he had many Benefices in his Hands; for which he reproved him ſo ſeverely, that the poor Man was ſo confounded that he could anſwer nothing to the other Queſtions he put to him. But *Chriſtopherſon* himſelf, being Maſter of *Trinity* Colledge, did not eſcape. *Ormaneto* found, he had miſ-applied the Revenues of the Houſe, and had made a Leaſe of ſome of their Lands to his Brother-in-law below the value: *Ormaneto* tore the Leaſe to pieces, and chid him ſo ſharply, that he, fearing it might ſtop his preferment, fell ſick upon it. 1557. The Viſitation of the Univerſities.

Then followed the Pageantry of burning the two Bodies of *Bucer*, and *Fagius*. They were cited to appear, or if any would come in their Name, they were required to defend them: ſo after three Citations, the dead Bodies not riſing to ſpeak for themſelves, and none coming to plead for them, (for fear of being ſent after them) the Viſitors thought fit to proceed. On the 26*th* of *January* the Biſhop of *Cheſter* made a Speech, ſhewing the earneſtneſs of the Univerſity to have Juſtice done; to which they, the Commiſſioners, though moſt unwilling, were obliged to condeſcend: therefore, having examined many Witneſſes of the Hereſies that *Bucer* and *Fagius* had taught, they judged them obſtinate Hereticks; and appointed their Bodies to be taken out of the Holy Ground, and to be delivered to the Secular Power. The Writ being brought from *London*, on the 6*th* of *February* their Bodies were taken up, and carried in Coffins, and tied to Stakes, with many of their Books, and other Heretical Writings, and all were burnt together. *Pern* preached at it; who as he was that Year Vice-Chancellor, ſo he was in the ſame Office four years after this; when by Queen *Elizabeths* Order, publick Honours were done to the Memories of thoſe two learned Men; and Sermons and Speeches were made in their Praiſe: but *Pern* had turned ſo oft, and at every one was ſo zealous, that ſuch turnings came to be nicknamed from him. On the Feaſt of Purification, *Watſon* preached at *Cambridge*; where to extol the Rites and Proceſſions of the Catholicks,

1557. and their carrying Candles on that day, he said, *Joseph* and the Blessed Virgin had carried Wax Candles in Procession that day, as the Church had still continued to do from their Example: which was heard not without the laughter of many.

The Cardinal did also send *Ormanet*, and *Brooks* Bishop of Gloucester, with some others, to visit the University of *Oxford*. They went over all the Colledges as they had done at *Cambridge*; and burnt all the English Bibles, with such other Heretical Books as could be found. Then they made a Process against the Body of *Peter Martyrs* Wife, that lay buried in one of the Churches: but she being a Forreigner that understood no *English*, they could not find Witnesses that had heard her utter any Heretical Points; so they gave advertisement of this to the Cardinal, who thereupon writ back, That since it was notoriously known, that she had been a Nun, and had married contrary to her Vow, therefore her Body was to be taken up, and buried in a Dunghill, as a Person dying under Excommunication. This was accordingly done. But her Body was afterwards taken up again in Queen *Elizabeths* time, and mixed with St. *Fridiswides* Bones, that she might run the same Fortune with her in all Times coming.

Great Endeavours used to set forward the Persecution most vigorously.

While these things were doing, there was great Complaints made, that the Inferior Magistrates grew every where slack in the searching after and presenting of Hereticks: they could not find in the Counties a sufficient number of Justices of Peace, that would carefully look after it; and in Towns they were generally harboured. Letters were written to some Towns, as *Coventry*, and *Rye*, which are entred in the Council-Books, recommending some to be chosen their Majors, who were zealous Catholicks. It it probable that the like Letters might have been written to other Towns; for the Council-Books for this Reign are very imperfect and defective. But all this did not advance their design. The Queen understood that the Numbers of the Hereticks rather increased than abated: so new Councils were to be taken. I find it said, That some advised that Courts of Inquisition, like those in *Spain*, might be set up in *England*. In *Spain* the Inquisitors, who were then all *Dominicans*, received private Informations; and upon these laid hold on any that were delated or suspected of Heresie; and kept them close in their Prisons till they formed their Processes: and by all the ways of torture they could invent, forced from them Confessions, either against themselves, or others whom they had a mind to draw within their Toils. They had so unlimited a Jurisdiction, that there was no Sanctuary that could secure any from their Warrants; nor could Princes preserve or deliver Men out of their Hands: nor were their Prisoners brought to any publick Trial, but tried in secret: one of the Advocates of the Court, was for Form sake assigned to plead for them: but was always more careful to please the Court, than to save his Client. They proceeded against them, both by Articles, which they were to answer, and upon Presumptions: and it was a rare thing for any to escape out of their Hands, unless they redeemed themselves, either by great Presents, or by the discovery of others. These had been set up first in the County of *Tholouse*, for the extirpation of the *Albigenses*; and were afterwards brought into *Spain*, upon *Ferdinand* of *Arragons* driving the *Moors* out of it, that so, none of those might any longer conceal themselves in that Kingdom; who being

being a falſe and crafty ſort of Men, and certainly Enemies to the Government, it ſeemed neceſſary to uſe more than ordinary ſeverity to drive them out. But now thoſe Courts examined Men ſuſpected of Hereſie, as well as of *Mahometaniſm*; and had indeed effectually preſerved *Spain* from any change in Religion. This made the preſent Pope earneſt with all the Princes of Chriſtendom, to ſet up ſuch Courts in their Dominions; and *Philip* was ſo much of the ſame mind, that he reſolved to have them ſet up in *Flanders*; which gave the firſt Riſe to thoſe Wars, that followed afterwards there, and ended in the loſs of the ſeven Provinces. 1557.

A Deſign to ſet up the Inquiſition in *England*.

In *England* they made now in *February* a good ſtep towards it. For a Commiſſion was given to the Biſhops of *London*, and *Ely*, the Lord *North*, Secretary *Bourne*, Sir *John Mordant*, Sir *Francis Engleſield*, Sir *Edward Walgrave*, Sir *Nicholas Hare*, Sir *Tho. Pope*, Sir *Roger Cholmly*, Sir *Richard Read*, Sir *Tho. Stradling*, Sir *Rowland Hall*, and Serjeant *Raſtall*; *Cole* Dean of *Pauls*, *William Roper*, *Randulph Cholmley*, and *William Cook*, *Tho. Martin*, *John Story*, and *John Vaughan*, Doctors of the Law: "That ſince many falſe Rumors were publiſhed among the Subjects, and many Heretical Opinions were alſo ſpread among them; "therefore they, or any three of them, were to enquire into thoſe, either by Preſentments by Witneſſes, or any other politick way they could "deviſe: and to ſearch after all Hereſies; the Bringers in, the Sellers, or "Readers, of all Heretical Books: they were to examine, and puniſh, "all misbehaviours, or negligences, in any Church or Chappel; and to "try all Prieſts that did not preach of the Sacrament of the Altar; all "Perſons that did not hear Maſs, or come to their Pariſh-Church to Service, that would not go in Proceſſions, or did not take Holy Bread, "or Holy Water: and if they found any that did obſtinately perſiſt in "ſuch Hereſies, they were to put them into the Hands of their Ordinaries, to be proceeded againſt according to the Laws: giving them full "Power to Proceed, as their Diſcretions and Conſciences ſhould direct "them: and to uſe all ſuch means as they could invent, for the ſearching "of the Premiſſes: empow'ring them alſo to call before them ſuch Witneſſes as they pleaſed, and to force them to make Oath of ſuch things "as might diſcover what they ſought after. This Commiſſion I have put in the *Collection*. It will ſhew how high they intended to raiſe the Perſecution, when a Power of ſuch a nature, was put into the Hands of any three of a number ſo ſelected. Beſides this, there were many ſubordinate Commiſſions iſſued out. This Commiſſion ſeems to have been granted the former Year, and only renewed now: for in the Rolls of that Year, I have met with many of thoſe ſubaltern Commiſſions, relating to this, as ſuperior to them. And on the eighth of *March* after this, a Commiſſion was given to the Arch-biſhop of *York*, the Biſhop Suffragan of *Hull*, and divers others, to the ſame effect: but with this limitation, that if any thing appeared to them ſo intricate, that they could not determine it, they were to refer it to the Biſhop of *London* and his Colleagues, who had a larger Commiſſion. So now, all was done that could be deviſed for extirpating of Hereſie, except Courts of Inquiſition had been ſet up; to which, whether this was not a previous ſtep to diſpoſe the Nation to it, the Reader may judge.

Collection Number 32.

1557. Proceedings againſt the Hereticks.

I ſhall next give an account of the Burnings this Year. On the 15th of *January* ſix Men were burnt in one Fire at *Canterbury*; and at the ſame time, two were burnt at *Wye*, and two at *Aſhford*, that were condemned with the other ſix. Soon after the fore-mentioned Commiſſion, two and twenty were ſent up from *Colcheſter* to *London*: yet *Bonner*, though ſeldom guilty of ſuch gentleneſs, was content to diſcharge them. As they were led through *London*, the People did openly ſhew their affection to them, above a thouſand following them: *Bonner*, upon this, writ to the Cardinal, that he found they were obſtinate Hereticks; yet ſince he had been offended with him for his former Proceedings, he would do nothing till he knew his pleaſure. This Letter is to be found in *Fox*. But the Cardinal ſtopt him; and made ſome deal with the Priſoners to Sign a Paper, of their profeſſing that they believed that Chriſts Body and Blood was in the Sacrament; without any further explanation: and that they did ſubmit to the Catholick Church of Chriſt; and ſhould be faithful Subjects to the King and Queen, and be obedient to their Superiors both Spiritual and Temporal according to their duties. It is plain, this was ſo contrived, that they might have Signed it without either prevaricating or diſſembling their Opinions: for it is not ſaid, "That they were to be "ſubject to the Church of *Rome*, but to the Church of Chriſt: and "they were to be obedient to their Superiors according to their duties, which was a good reſerve for their Conſciences. I ſtand the longer on this, that it may appear how willing the Cardinal was to accept of any ſhew of ſubmiſſion from them, and to ſtop *Bonners* rage. Upon this, they were ſet at liberty. But *Bonner* got three Men and two Women preſented to him in *London* in *January*, and after he had allowed them a little more time than he had granted others, they ſtanding ſtill firm to their Faith, were burnt at *Smithfield* on the 12*th* of *April*. After that, *White*, the new Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, condemned three, who were burnt on the third of *May* in *Southwark*; one of theſe, *Stephen Gardwick*, being of the Dioceſs of *Chicheſter*, appealed from him to his own Ordinary: whether he expected more favour from him, or did it only to gain time, I know not: but they brought in a Counterfeit, who was pretended to be the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, (as *Fox* has printed it from the account written with the Mans own Hand) and ſo condemned him. On the ſeventh of *May*, three were burnt at *Briſtol*. On the 18*th* of *June*, two Men, and five Women, were burnt at *Maidſton*: and on the 19*th*, three Men, and four Women, were burnt at *Canterbury*; fourteen being thus in two days deſtroyed by *Thornton* and *Harpsfield*: in which it may ſeem ſtrange, that the Cardinal had leſs influence to ſtop the Proceedings in his own Dioceſs, than in *London*: but he was now under the Popes diſgrace, as ſhall be afterwards ſhewn. On the 22*d* of *June*, ſix Men, and four Women, were burnt at *Lewis* in *Suſſex*, condemned by *White*; for *Chriſtopherſon*, Biſhop Elect of *Chicheſter*, was not yet conſecrated. On the 13*th* of *July* two were burnt at *Norwich*: On the ſecond of *Auguſt* ten were burnt at *Colcheſter*, ſix in the Morning, and four in the Afternoon: they were ſome of thoſe who had been formerly diſcharged by the Cardinals Orders; but the Prieſts in the Country complained, that the mercy ſhewed to them had occaſioned great diſorders among them; Hereticks and the Favourers of them growing inſolent upon it; and thoſe who ſearched after them being diſheartned: ſo now,

Bonner

nner being under no more reſtraints from the Cardinal, new Com- 1557.
aints being made that they came not to Church, condemned them upon
eir Anſwers to the Articles, which he objected to them.

At this time one *George Eagle*, a Taylor, who uſed to go about from
ce to place, and to meet with thoſe who ſtood for the Reformation,
ere he prayed and diſcourſed with them about Religion; and from
indefatigable diligence was nick-named *Trudge-over*, was taken near
chester, and was condemned of Treaſon for gathering the Queens
bjects together; though it was not proved, that he had ever ſtirred
em up to Rebellion; but did it only (as himſelf always proteſted)
encourage them to continue ſtedfaſt in the Faith: he ſuffered as a
aytor. On the fifth of *Auguſt* one was burnt at *Norwich*; and on the
entieth, a Man and a Woman more, were burnt at *Rocheſter*: One was
o burnt at *Litchfield* in *Auguſt*, but the day is not named.

The ſame Month, a Complaint was brought to the Council, of the
agiſtrates of *Briſtol*, that they came ſeldom to the Sermons at the Ca-
edral; ſo that the Dean and Chapter uſed to go to their Houſes in Pro-
ſſion, with their Croſs carried before them, and to fetch them from
ence: upon which, a Letter was written to them, requiring them to
nform themſelves more willingly to the Orders of the Church, to fre-
ent the Sermons, and go thither of their own accord. On the *17th.*
September three Men, and one Woman, were burnt at *Iſlington* near
ndon: and on the ſame day two Women were burnt at *Colcheſter*.
n the *20th* a Man was burnt at *Northampton*: and in the ſame Month
e was burnt at *Laxefield* in *Suffolk*. On the *23d* a Woman was burnt
Norwich. There were ſeventeen burnt in the Dioceſs of *Chicheſter*,
out this time: one was a Prieſt, thirteen were Lay-men, and three
omen: but the day is not marked. On the *18th* of *November* three
re burnt in *Smithfield*. On the *22d* of *December John Rough* a *Scotch-*
n was burnt, whoſe ſuffering was on this occaſion. On the *12th* of
cember there was a private Meeting of ſuch as continued to Worſhip
od according to the Service ſet out by King *Edward*, at *Iſlington*;
here he was to have adminiſtred the Sacrament, according to the Order
that Book. The new Iuquiſitors had corrupted one of this Con-
egation to betray his Brethren; ſo that they were apprehended as they
re going to the Communion. But *Rough* being a Stranger, it was
nſidered by the Council whether he ſhould be tryed as a Native. He
d a Benefice in *York-ſhire* in King *Edwards* days; ſo it was reſolved,
d ſignified to the Biſhop of *London*, that he ſhould be proceeded
ainſt as a Subject. Thereupon *Bonner* objected to him, his condemning
e Doctrine of the Church, and ſetting out the Hereſies of *Cranmer*
d *Ridley* concerning the Sacrament, and his uſing the Service ſet out
King *Edward*; that he had lived much with thoſe who for their He-
ſies had fled beyond Sea; that he had ſpoken reproachfully of the Pope
d Cardinals, ſaying, That when he was at *Rome*, he had ſeen a Bull of
e Popes that licenſed Stews, and a Cardinal riding openly with his
Whore with him: with ſeveral other Articles. The greateſt part of them
confeſſed, and thereupon he, with a Woman that was one of the Con-
egation, was burnt in *Smithfield*. And thus ended the Burnings this
ear; ſeventy nine in all being burnt.

Theſe

1557. The Lord *Stourton* hanged for Murder.

Theſe Severities againſt the Hereticks, made the Queen ſhew leſs pity to the Lord *Stourton*, than perhaps might have been otherwiſe expected. He had been all King *Edwards* time a moſt zealous Papiſt, and did conſtantly diſſent in Parliament from the Laws then made about Religion. But he had the former Year murdered one *Argall* and his Son, with whom he had been long at variance: and after he had knock'd them down with Clubs, and cut their Throats, he buried them fifteen Foot under ground, thinking thereby to conceal the Fact: but it breaking out, both he and four of his Servants were taken, and indicted for it. He was found guilty of Felony, and condemned to be hanged with his Servants, in *Wiltſhire*, where the Murder was committed. On the ſixth of *March* they were hanged at *Salisbury*. All the difference that was made in their Deaths, being only thus, That whereas his Servants were hanged in common Halters, one of Silk was beſtowed on their Lord. It ſeemed an indecent thing, when they were proceeding ſo ſeverely againſt Men for their Opinions, to ſpare one that was guilty of ſo foul a Murder, killing both Father and Son at the ſame time. But it is ſtrange, that neither his Quality, nor his former zeal for Popery, could procure a change of the Sentence, from the more infamous way of hanging, to beheading; which had been generally uſed to Perſons of his Quality. It has been ſaid, and it paſſes for a Maxim of Law, That though in Judgments of Treaſon the King can order the Execution to be by cutting off the Head, ſince it being a part of the Sentence, that the Head ſhall be ſevered from the Body, the King may in that Caſe remit all the other parts of the Sentence except that; yet in Felonies the Sentence muſt be executed in the way preſcribed by Law; and that if the King ſhould order beheading in ſtead of hanging, it would be Murder in the Sheriff, and thoſe that execute it: So that in ſuch a Caſe they muſt have a Pardon under the Great Seal for killing a Man unlawfully. But this ſeems to be taken up without good Grounds, and againſt clear Precedents: For in the former Reign the Duke of *Somerſet*, though condemned for Felony, yet was beheaded. And in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt, the Lord *Audley*, being likewiſe condemned for Felony, all the Judges delivered their Opinions, that the King might change the Execution from hanging to beheading, which was done, and was not afterwards queſtioned. So it ſeems the hanging the Lord *Stourton* flowed not from any ſcruple to the Queens Power of doing it lawfully, but that on this occaſion ſhe reſolved to give a publick Demonſtration of her Juſtice and Horror of ſo cruel a Murder; and therefore ſhe left him to the Law, without taking any further care of him. On the laſt of *February* he was ſent from *London*, with a Letter to the Sheriff of *Wilt-ſhire*, to receive his Body and execute the Sentence given againſt him, and his Servants; which was accordingly done, as has been already ſhewn. Upon this, the Papiſts took great advantage to commend the ſtrictneſs and impartiality of the Queens Juſtice; that would not ſpare ſo zealous a Catholick, who was guilty of ſo foul a Murder. It was alſo ſaid, That the killing of Mens Bodies was a much leſs crime, than the killing of Souls, which was done by the Propagators of Hereſie; and therefore if the Queen did thus execute Juſtice on a Friend, for that which was a leſſer degree of Murder, they who were her Enemies, and guilty of higher Crimes, were to look for no mercy. Indeed, as the Poor Proteſtants looked for none,

they met with very little; but what the Cardinal ſhewed them: and he was now brought under trouble himſelf, for favouring them too much, it being that which the Pope made uſe of to cover his malice againſt him. 1557.

Now the War had again broken out between *France* and *Spain*, and the King ſtudied to engage the *Engliſh* to his aſſiſtance. The Queen had often complained to the *French* Court, that the Fugitives, who left her Kingdom, had been well entertained in *France*. She underſtood that the practices of *Wiat*, and of her other rebellious Subjects, were encouraged from thence: particularly of *Aſhton*, who went often between the two Kingdoms, and had made uſe of the Lady *Elizabeths* Name to raiſe Seditions, as will appear by a Letter, (that is in the *Collection*) which ſome of the Council writ to one that attended that Princeſs. She was indeed the more ſtrictly kept, and worſe uſed upon that occaſion. But beſides, it ſo happened, that this Year one *Stafford* had gone into *France*, and gathered ſome of the *Engliſh* Fugitives together, and with Money and Ships, that were ſecretly given him by that Court, had come and ſeized on the Caſtle of *Scarborough*: from whence he publiſhed a *Manifeſto* againſt the Queen, that by bringing in the *Spaniards*, ſhe had fallen from her Right to the Kingdom; of which he declared himſelf Protector. The Earl of *Weſtmorland* took the Caſtle on the laſt of *April*, and *Stafford*, with three of his Complices, being taken, ſuffered as Traytors on the 28*th* of *May*. His coming out of *France* added much to the Jealouſie, though the *French* King diſowned that he had given him any aſſiſtance. But Dr. *Wotton*, who was then Ambaſſador there, reſolved to give the Queen a more certain diſcovery of the Inclinations of the *French*, that ſo he might engage her in the War, as was deſired by *Philip*: He therefore cauſed a Nephew of his own to come out of *England*, whom when he had ſecretly inſtructed, he ordered him to deſire to be admitted to ſpeak with the *French* King; pretending that he was ſent from ſome that were diſcontented in *England*, and deſired the *French* Protection. But the King would not ſee him, till he had firſt ſpoken with the Conſtable. So *Wotton* was brought to the Conſtable, and *Melvill*, from whoſe Memoirs I draw this, was called to interpret. The young man firſt offered him the Service of many in *England*; that, partly upon the account of Religion, partly for the hatred they bore the *Spaniards*, were ready, if aſſiſted by *France*, to make ſtirs there. The Conſtable received and anſwered this but coldly; and ſaid, He did not ſee what Service they could do his Maſter in it. Upon which, he replied, They would put *Calais* into his Hands. The Conſtable not ſuſpecting a Trick, ſtarted at that, and ſhewed great joy at the Propoſition; but deſired to know, how it might be effected. Young *Wotton* told him, there were a thouſand Proteſtants in it, and gave him a long formal Project of the way of taking it: with which the Conſtable ſeemed pleaſed, and had much diſcourſe with him about it; he promiſed him great Rewards, and gave him directions how to proceed in the Deſign. So the Ambaſſador having found out what he had deſigned to diſcover, ſent his Nephew over to the Queen; who was thereupon ſatisfied, that the *French* were reſolved to begin with her, if they found an opportunity. Her Husband King *Philip* finding it was not ſo eaſie by Letters or Meſſages, to draw her into the War, came

Collection Number 33.

The Queen becomes jealous of the *French*.

1557. And denounces War.

came over himself about the 20*th* of *May*, and stayed with her till the beginning of *July*. In that time he prevailed so far with her and the Council, that she sent over a Herauld with a formal Denunciation of War, who made it at *Rhemes*, where the King then was, on the seventh of June. Soon after she sent over 8000 Men, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, to joyn the *Spanish* Army, that consisting of near 50000 Men, sate down before St. *Quintin*. The Constable was sent to raise the Siege, with a great Force, and all the chief Nobility of *France*. When the two Armies were in view of one another, the Constable intended to draw back his Army; but by a mistake in the way of it, they fell in some disorder. The *Spaniards* upon that, falling on them, did, with the loss only of fifty of their Men, gain an entire Victory: 2500 were killed on the Place; the whole Army was dispersed, many of the first Quality were killed, the Constable with many others were taken Prisoners. The *French* King was in such a consternation upon it, that he knew not which way to turn himself. Now all the *French* cursed the Pope's Counsels, for he had perswaded their King to begin this War, and that with a manifest breach of his Faith. This Action lost the Constable that great reputation, which he had acquired and preserved in a course of much success; and raised the credit of the Duke of *Guise*, who was now sent for in all haste, to come with his Army out of *Italy*, for the preservation of his own Country. *France* indeed was never in greater danger than at that time. For if King *Philip* had known how to have used his Success, and marched on to *Paris*, he could have met with no resistance. But he sate down before St. *Quintins*, which *Coligny* kept out so long, till the first terror was over, that so great a Victory had raised: and then, as the *French* took Heart again, so the *Spaniards* grew less, as well in strength as reputation, and the English finding themselves not well used, returned home into their Country.

The great defeat given the *French* at St. *Quintin*.

As soon as the Pope heard, that *England* had made War upon *France*, he was not a little inflamed with it: and his wrath was much heightned when he heard of the defeat at St. *Quintins*; and that the Duke of *Guise* Army was recalled out of *Italy*; by which he was exposed to the mercy of the *Spaniards*. He now said openly, they might see how little Cardinal *Pool* regarded the Apostolick See, when he suffered the Queen to assist their Enemies, against their Friends. The Pope being thus incens'd against *Pool*, sought all ways to be revenged of him. At first he made a Decree (in *May* this Year) for a General Revocation of all Legates and Nuntio's in the King of *Spains* Dominions; and among these, Cardinal *Pool* was mentioned with the rest. But *Carne*, notwithstanding this, went first to the Cardinals, and informed them what a prejudice it would be to their Religion, to recall the Cardinal, while things were yet in so unsetled a state in *England*. Of this they were all very sensible, and desired him to speak to the Pope about it. So in an Audience he had of him, he desired a Suspension might be made of that Revocation. The Pope pretended he did it in General, in all the *Spanish* Dominions; yet he promised *Carne* to propose it to the Congregation of the Inquisition, but he was resolved not to recall it; and said, did not consist with the Majesty of the Place he sate in, to revoke a part of a Decree which he had solemnly given. In the Congregation the Pope endeavoured to have got the Concurrence of the Cardi-

The Pope is offended with Cardinal *Pool*.

but they were unwilling to joyn in it. So he told *Carne*, that though he would recall no part of his Decree, yet he would give Orders that there ſhould be no Intimation made of it to Cardinal *Pool*: and that if the Queen writ to him to deſire his Continuance in *England*, it might be granted. He alſo let fall ſome words to *Carne* of his willingneſs to make Peace with King *Philip*; and indeed at that time he was much diſtaſted with the *French*. Of this *Carne* advertiſed the King, though he was then ſo much better acquainted with the Popes diſſimulation than formerly, that he did not lay much weight on what he ſaid to him; as will appear by the diſpatch he made upon this occaſion, which is in the *Collection*. Whether the Queen did upon this write to the Pope or not, I do not know. It is probable ſhe did: for this matter lay aſleep till *September*; and then the Pope did not only recal *Pool*, but intended to deſtroy him. He did not know where to find a Perſon to ſet up againſt the Cardinal, ſince *Gardiner* was dead, and none of the other Biſhops in *England* were great enough, or ſure enough to him, to be raiſed to ſo high a Dignity. *Peito* the *Franciſcan* Friar ſeemed a Man of his own temper, becauſe he had railed againſt King *Henry* ſo boldly to his face: and he being choſen by the Queen to be her Confeſſor, was looked on as the fitteſt to be advanced. So the Pope wrote for him into *England*; and when he came to *Rome*, made him a Cardinal; and ſent over his Bulls, declaring that he recalled *Pools* Legatine Power, and required him to come to *Rome*, to anſwer for ſome Accuſations he had received of him, as a favourer of Hereticks. This might have perhaps been grounded on his diſcharging that Year ſo many delated of Hereſie, upon ſo ambiguous a ſubmiſſion as they had made. The Pope alſo wrote to the Queen, that he was to ſend over Cardinal *Peito* with full power, requiring her to receive him as the Legate of the Apoſtolick See. The Queen called for the Bulls, and according to the way formerly practiſed in *England*, and ſtill continued in *Spain*, when Bulls that were unacceptable were ſent over, ſhe ordered them to be laid up without opening them. It has been ſhewn in the former part, how Arch-biſhop *Chicheley*, when he was ſo proceeded againſt by Pope *Martin*, appealed to the next General Council; and ſome that deſired to ſee the Form of ſuch Appeals in thoſe Ages, have thought it an Omiſſion in me, that I had not publiſhed his Appeal in the Collection of Records, at the end of that Work: therefore upon this occaſion, I ſhall refer the Reader to it, which he will find in the *Collection*. But now, Cardinal *Pool* reſolved to behave himſelf with more ſubmiſſion. For though the Queen had ordered the Popes Breve to him, not to be delivered, yet of himſelf he laid down the Enſigns of his Legatine Power: and ſent *Ormaneto*, who had the Title of the Popes Datary, and was his Friend and Confident, to give an account of his whole behaviour in *England*; and to clear him of theſe Imputations of Hereſie. This he did, with ſo much ſubmiſſion, that he mollified the Pope: only he ſaid, that *Pool* ought not to have conſented to the Queens entring in War with the Enemies of the Holy See. *Peito* had begun his journey to *England*: but the Queen ſent him word, not to come over; otherwiſe ſhe would bring him, and all that owned his Authority, within the *Premunire*. So he ſtopt in his Journey; and dying in *April* following, enjoyed but a ſhort while his new Dignity; together with the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury*, to which the Pope had advanced him,

1557.

Collection Number 34.

And recals his Legatine Power.

Collection Number 35.

The Queen refuſes to admit of Cardinal *Peito* the new Legate

1557. clearly contrary to the old Law then in force against Provisions from *Rome*.

This Storm against *Pool* went soon over, by the Peace that was made between *Philip* and the Pope, of which it will not be unpleasant to give the Relation. The Duke of *Guise* having carried his Army out of *Italy*, the Duke of *Alva* marched towards *Rome*, and took and spoiled all Places on his way. When he came near *Rome*, all was in such confusion, that he might have easily taken it; but he made no assault. The Pope called the Cardinals together, and setting out the danger he was in, with many Tears, said, he would undauntedly suffer Martyrdom: which they, who knew that the trouble he was in, flowed only from his restless ambition and fierceness, could scarce hear without laughter. The Duke of *Alva* was willing to treat. The Pope stood high on the Points of Honour; and would needs keep that entire, though he was forced to yield in the chief matters: he said, rather than lose one jot that was due to him, he would see the whole World ruined; pretending, it was not his own Honour, but Christs, that he sought. In fine, the Duke of *Alva* was required by him to come to *Rome*, and on his knees to ask pardon, for invading the Partrimony of the Church; and to receive Absolution for himself, and his Master. He being superstitiously devoted to the Papacy, and having got satisfaction in other things, consented to this. So the Conqueror was brought to ask pardon, and the vain Pope received him, and gave him Absolution, with as much haughtiness and state as if he had been his Prisoner. This was done on the 14th. of *September*, and the news of it being brought into *England* on the 6th. of *October*: Letters were written by the Council to the Lord Major and Aldermen of *London*, requiring them to come to St. *Pauls*, where high Mass was to be said, for the Peace now concluded between the Pope and the King, after which, Bonfires were ordered. One of the secret Articles of the Peace, was the restoring *Pool* to his Legatine Power.

A Peace made between the Pope and the King of *Spain*.

War being now proclaimed between *England* and *France*, the French sent to the *Scottish* Queen Regent, to engage *Scotland* in the War with *England*. Hereupon a Convention of the Estates was called. But in it there were two different Parties. Those of the Clergy liked now the English Interest, as much as they had been formerly jealous of it; and so refused to engage in the War: since they were at Peace with *England*. They had also a secret dislike to the Regent, for her kindness to the Heretical Lords. On the other hand, those Lords were ready enough to gain the Protection of the Regent, and the Favour of *France*; and therefore were ready to enter into the War; hoping that thereby they should have their Party made the stronger in *Scotland*, by the entertainment that the Queen Regent would be obliged to give to such as should fly out of *England*, for Religion. Yet the greater part of the Convention were against the War. The Queen Regent thought at least to engage the Kingdom in a defensive War, by forcing the *English* to begin with them. Therefore she sent *D'Oisel*, who was in chief command, to fortifie *Aymouth*; which by the last Treaty with *England*, was to be unfortified. So the Governour of *Berwick* making Inroads into *Scotland* for the disturbing of their Works; upon that, *D'Oisel* began the War and went into *England*, and besieged *Warke* Castle. The *Scottish* Lords upon this, met at *Edenburgh*, and complained that *D'Oisel* was engaging them

The beginnings of a War between *England* and *Scotland*.

them in a War with *England*, without their consent; and required him to return back, under pain of being declared an Enemy to the Nation: which he very unwillingly obeyed. But while he lay there, the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent down with some Troops, to defend the Marches. There was only one Engagement between him and the *Kers*; but after a long dispute, they were defeated. And many of them taken. The Queen Regent seeing her Authority was so little considered, writ to *France*, to hasten the Marriage of her Daughter to the Dolphin; for that he being thereupon invested with the Crown of *Scotland*, the *French* would become more absolute. Upon this a Message was sent from *France* to a Convention of Estates that sate in *December*, to let them know, that the Dolphin was now coming to be of Age, and therefore they desired they would send over some, to treat about the Articles of the Marriage. They sent the Arch-Bishop of *Glasgow*, the Bishop of *Orkney*, the Prior of St. *Andrews*, who afterwards was Earl of *Murray*, the Earls of *Rothes*, and *Cassils*, the Lord *Fleeming*; and the Provosts of *Edenburgh* and *Mountross*; some of every Estate, that in the Name of the three Estates they might conclude that Treaty. 1557.

These Wars comming upon *England*, when the Queens Treasure was quite exhausted, it was not easie to raise Money for carrying them on. They found such a backwardness in the last Parliament, that they were afraid, the supply from thence would not come easily, or at least, that some favour would be desired for the Hereticks. Therefore they tried first to raise Money by sending Orders under the Privy Seal, for the borrowing of certain Sums. But though the Council writ many Letters, to set on those Methods of getting Money; yet they being without, if not against Law, there was not much got this way: so that after all, it was found necessary to summon a Parliament, to assemble on the 20*th.* of *January*. In the end of the Year the Queen had Advertisements sent her from the King, that he understood the *French* had a design on *Calais*; but she, either for want of Money, or that she thought the place secure in the Winter, did not send these supplies that were necessary; and thus ended the Affairs of *England* this Year.

In *Germany*, there was a Conference appointed, to bring matters of Religion to a fuller settlement. Twelve Papists and twelve Protestants were appointed to manage it. *Julius Pflugius*, that had drawn the *Interim*, being the chief of the Papists, moved, that they should begin first with condemning the Heresie of *Zuinglius*. *Melancthon*, upon that, said it was preposterous to begin with the condemnation of errors, till they had first setled the Doctrines of Religion. Yet that which the Papists expected, followed upon this: for some of the fiercer *Lutherans* being much set against the *Zuinglians*, agreed to it. This raised heats among themselves, which made the Conference break up, without bringing things to any issue. Upon this occasion, men could not but see that Artifice of the *Roman* Church, which has been often used before and since, with too great success. When they cannot bear down those they call Hereticks with open force, their next way is to divide them among themselves, and to engage them into Heats about those lesser matters, in which they differ; hoping that by those animosities their endeavours, which being united, would be dangerous to the common Enemy, may not only be broken, but directed one against another. This is well enough known The Affairs of *Germany*.

1557. to all the Reformed; and yet many of them are so far from considering it, that upon every new occasion they are made use of to serve the same designs; never reflecting upon the advantages that have been formerly taken from such contentions.

A Persecution of Protestants in *France*.

In *France*, the number of the Protestants was now encreased much; and in *Paris*, in *September* this Year, there was a Meeting of about 200 of them in St. *Germains* to receive the Sacrament according to the way of *Geneva*: which being known to some of their Neighbours, they furnished themselves with Stones to throw at them when they broke up their Meeting. So when it was late, as they went home, Stones were cast at some of them: and the enraged Zealots forced the door, and broke in upon the rest. The men, drawing their Swords, made their way through them, and most of them escaped: but 160 Women, with some few Men, delivered themselves Prisoners to the Kings Officers that came to take them. Upon this there were published all the blackest calumnies that could be devised, of the loose and promiscuous embraces that had been in this Meeting: and so exactly had their Accusers copied from what the Heathens had anciently charged on the Meetings of the Christians, that it was said, they found the Blood of a Child, whom they had Sacrificed and eaten, among them. These things were confidently told at Court, where none durst contradict them, for fear of being judged a favourer of them. But afterwards there was printed an Apology for the Protestants. In it they gloried much, that the same false accusations by which the Heathens had defamed the Primitive Christians, were now cast on them. Those that were taken were proceeded against: Six Men and one Woman were burnt. It had gone further, if there had not come Envoys, both from the *German* Princes, and the Cantons of *Switzerland*, to interpose for them: upon which, since the King needed assistance in his Wars, especially from the latter, the Prosecution was let fall. The Pope was much troubled, when he heard that the King would exercise no further severity on the Hereticks: and though himself had hired them in his Wars, yet he said, the Affairs of *France* could not succeed, as long as their King had so many Hereticks in his Army. That King had also made two Constitutions that gave the Pope great offence: the one, that Marriages made by Sons under thirty, and Daughters under twenty five, without their Fathers consent, should be void; the other was for charging the Ecclesiastical Benefices with a Tax, and requiring all Bishops and Curates to reside on their Benefices. So scandalous a thing was Non-residence then held, that every where the Papists were ashamed of it. Upon which the Pope complained anew, that the King presumed to meddle with the Sacraments, and to tax the Clergy.

1558. *Calais* is besieged.

The beginning of the next Year was famous for the loss of *Calais*. The Lord *Wentworth* had then the Command of it; but the Garrison consisted only of 500 Men, and there were not above 200 of the Townsmen, that could be serviceable in a Siege. The Duke of *Guise*, having brought his Army out of *Piedmont*, was now in *France*, and being desirous, when the Constable was a Prisoner, to do some great Action which might raise him in reputation above the other, who was his only Competitor in *France*, set his thoughts on *Calais*, and the Territory about

about it. There were two Forts on which the ſecurity of the Town depended. The one *Newnambridge*, a Mile from it, that commanded the Avenues to it from the Land; from which to the Town there was a way raiſed thorough a Marſh lying on both hands of it. On the other ſide, to the Sea, the Fort of *Risbank* commanded the Harbour; ſo that the whole ſtrength of the Place, lay in thoſe two Forts. 1558.

On the firſt of *January* the Duke of *Guiſe* came and ſate down before it. The Governour having but a ſmall Force within, did not think fit to weaken it by ſending ſuch Supplies as thoſe Forts required; ſo they were taken without any oppoſition. Then the Town being thus ſhut up, the Enemy preſſed it hard, and drew the Water out of its Current, by which the Ditches about the Town and Caſtle were drained; and having prepared devices for their Souldiers to paſs them without ſticking in the Mire, they made the Aſſault; after they had opened a great breach by their Ordnance: and when the Sea was out, others croſſed on that ſide, and ſo carried the Caſtle by Storm; which the Governour had look'd on as impregnable, and ſo had brought his chief Force to the defence of the Town. Seeing the Caſtle thus unexpectedly loſt, he did all he could with his ſmall force to regain it; but being ſtill repulſed, and having loſt 200 of his beſt men, he was forced to render the Place on the *7th.* of *January*. By their Articles, all the Townſmen and Souldiers were to go whither they pleaſed, only he and fifty more were to be Priſoners of War. Thus in one Weeks time, and in Winter, was ſo ſtrong a Town loſt by the *Engliſh*, that had been for many Ages in their Hands. It was taken 210 years ago by *Edward* the third after the Battle of *Creſſy*; and was ſtill called the Key of *France*, as long as it continued in *Engliſh* Hands. But now, in a time of War, it was in as ill a condition, as if they had been in the profoundeſt Peace: And though *Philip* had offered to put men into it, yet the *Engliſh*, being jealous that thoſe Advertiſements were but Artifices of his, to perſwade them to admit a *Spaniſh* Garriſon into it, left it in ſo naked a condition, that the Governour could do little to preſerve it. But yet, that it might appear he had not been too careful of himſelf, he was content to agree that he ſhould be a Priſoner of War. And taken.

From this, the Duke of *Guiſe* went to *Guiſnes*, commanded by the Lord *Gray*; whoſe Garriſon conſiſted of about 1100 Men: but the loſs of *Calais* had much diſheartned them. At the firſt impreſſion the *French* carried the Town, and the Garriſon retired into the Caſtle: but *Gray*, breaking out on the Souldiers that were fallen to plundering, did beat them out again, and burnt the Town. The *French* battered the Caſtle, till they made a breach in the Out-works of it, which they carried, after a long reſiſtance, in which the *Engliſh* loſt 300. So the Lord *Gray* was fain to render it; He, and all the Officers, being made Priſoners of War. There was another Caſtle in that little County, *Hammes*, which lay in ſuch a Mariſh, that was thought inacceſſible: but the Garriſon that was in it, abandoned it, without ſtaying till the Enemy came before them. The *French* Writers ſpeak more meanly of the reſiſtance made by the Lord *Gray*, than of that made by the Lord *Wentworth*: for there went out of *Guiſnes* about 800 Souldiers, whereas there went not out of *Calais* above 300. But one of our own Writers magnifies the Lord *Gray*, and ſpeaks diſhonourably of the Lord *Wentworth*, adding, which was an Invention *Gaiſnes* and the reſt of that Territory taken by the *French*.

1558. vention of his own, that he was attainted for the loſing of *Calais*. All that Hiſtorians ground for it, is only this, that there was indeed a Mock-citation iſſued out againſt the Lord *Wentworth*; to which he could not appear, being not freed from his impriſonment by the *French* all this Reign: but he came over in the beginning of the next, when the Treaty of Peace being on foot, he obtained his liberty, and was tryed by his Peers in the firſt Parliament in Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, and acquitted. It was, as he alledged for himſelf, his misfortune to be employed in a Place, where he had not ſo much as a fourth part of the Number of Men that was neceſſary to hold out a Siege. But in the declinations of all Governments, when loſſes fall out, they muſt be caſt on thoſe that are entruſted, to excuſe thoſe who are much more guilty, by neglecting to ſupply them as the Service required. Among the Priſoners, one of the chief was Sir *Edward Grimſton*, the Comptroller of *Calais*, and a Privy Counſellor: He had often, according to the duty of his Place, given advertiſement of the ill condition the Garriſon was in. But whether thoſe to whom he writ were corrupted by *French* Money, or whether the low ſtate of the Queens Treaſury made that they were not ſupplied, is not certain. It was intended he ſhould not come over to diſcover that; and therefore he was let lie a Priſoner in the *Baſtile*; and no care was taken of him or the other Priſoners: The Ranſome ſet on him was ſo high, that having loſt a great eſtate, which he had purchaſed about *Calais*, he reſolved not to do any further prejudice to his Family by redeeming his liberty at ſuch a rate; and intended either to continue a Priſoner, or make his eſcape. He lay above two years in the *Baſtile*, and was lodged in the top of it: at the end of that time he procured a File, and ſo cut out one of the Bars of the Window, and having a Rope conveyed to him, he changed Clothes with his Servant, and went down on the Rope, which proving a great deal too ſhort, he leaped a great way, and having done that before the Gates were ſhut, made his eſcape without being diſcovered. But his Beard, which was grown long, made him fear he ſhould be known by it. Yet by a happy Providence he found in the Pockets of his Servants Cloaths a pair of Sciſſars, and going into the Fields, did ſo cut his Beard, that he could not have been known; and having learnt the Art of War in the Company of the *Scotch* Guard *de Mauche*, he ſpake that Dialect: So he paſſed as a *Scotch* Pilgrim; and by that means eſcaped into *England*. And there he offered himſelf to a Trial, where, after the Evidence was brought, his Innocence did ſo clearly appear, that the Jury were ready to give their Verdict without going from the Bar. So he was acquitted, and lived to a great Age, dying in his 98*th*. Year. He was Great Grand-father to my Noble Patron and Benefactor Sir *Hobotle Grimſton*, which has made me the more willing to enlarge thus concerning him, to whoſe Heir I owe the chief opportunities and encouragements I have had in compoſing this Work.

Now the Queen had nothing left of all thoſe Dominions that her Anceſtors had once in *France*, but the Iſles of *Jerſey*, *Gernſey*, *Alderney*, and *Sarke*. The laſt of theſe, being a naked Place, only inhabited by ſome Hermites; but having the advantage of a Harbour, the *French* made themſelves Maſters of it. The ſtrength of it conſiſted in the difficulty of the aſcent: the little Fort they had, being acceſſible but in one place, where

Sarke taken by the *French*.

where two could only go up a-breaſt. So an ingenious *Fleming* reſolved to beat them out of it: He came thither, and pretending he had a Friend dead in his Ship, offered them a good Preſent, if he might bury him within their Chappel. The *French* conſented to it, if he would ſuffer himſelf and his Men to be ſo narrowly ſearched, that they might not bring ſo much as a Knife a-ſhoar. This he conſented to; and as he landed with his Coffin, the *French-men* were to ſend ſome to his Ship to receive the Preſent. So the Coffin being carried into the Chappel, and the *French* apprehending nothing from unarmed men; the Coffin was opened, which was full of good Arms, and every man furniſhing himſelf they broke out upon the *French*, and took them all; as their Companions in the Ship did thoſe who went a-board to bring the Preſent. 1558.

And retaken by an Ingenious Stratagem.

The news of the loſs of *Calais*, filled *England* with great diſcontent. Thoſe who were otherwiſe diſſatisfied with the conduct of Affairs, took great advantages from it, to diſparage the Government, which the Queen had put into the Hands of Prieſts, who underſtood not War, and were not ſenſible of the Honour of the Nation. It was ſaid, they had drained her Treaſury by the reſtitutions and foundations they got her to make; and being ſenſible how much the Nation hated them, they had ſet the Queen on other ways of raiſing Money than by a Parliament; ſo that never did the Parliament meet, with greater diſorder and trouble, than now. But that loſs affected none ſo deeply as the Queen her ſelf; who was ſo ſenſible of the diſhonour of it, that ſhe was much oppreſſed with melancholly, and was never chearful after it. Thoſe who took on them to make Comments on Divine Providence, expounded this loſs as their affections led them. Thoſe of the Reformation ſaid, it was Gods heavy Judgment upon *England*, for rejecting the light of his Goſpel, and perſecuting ſuch as ſtill adhered to it. But on the other hand, the Papiſts ſaid, *Calais* could not proſper, ſince it had been a Receptacle of Hereticks, where the Laws againſt them had never been put in execution. King *Philip*, as ſoon as he heard of this loſs, wrote over to *England*, deſiring them to raiſe a great Force with all poſſible haſte, and ſend it over to recover *Calais* before it was fortified: and he would draw out his Army, and joyn with them; for if they did not retake it before the ſeaſon of working about it came on, it was irrecoverably loſt. Upon which there was a long Conſultation held about it. They found they could not to any purpoſe ſend over under 20000 Men; the Pay of them for five Months would riſe to 170000 *l.* Garriſons, and an Army againſt the *Scots*, and ſecuring the Coaſts againſt the *French*, would come to 150000 *l.* The ſetting out of a Fleet, and an Army by Sea, would amount to 200000 *l.* and yet all that would be too little, if the *Danes* and *Swedes*, which they were afraid of, ſhould joyn againſt them. There was alſo great want of Ammunition and Ordnance, of which they had loſt vaſt quantities in *Calais* and *Guiſnes*. All this would riſe to be above 520000 *l.* and they doubted much whether the People would endure ſuch Impoſitions, who were now grown ſtubborn, and talked very looſely. So they did not ſee how they could poſſibly enter into any Action this Year. One Reaſon, among the reſt, was ſuggeſted by the Biſhops, they ſaw a War would oblige them to a greater moderation in their Proceedings at home.

Great diſcontents in *England*.

1558. home: they had not done their Work, which they hoped a little more time would perfect; whereas a ſlack'ning in that, would raiſe the drooping Spirits of thoſe whom they were now purſuing. So they deſired another Year to proſecute them, in which time they hoped ſo to clear the Kingdom of them, that with leſs danger they might engage in a War, the Year after. Nor did they think it woud be eaſie to bring new raiſed men, to the hardſhips of ſo early a Campagne; and they thought the *French* would certainly work ſo hard in repairing the breaches, that they would be in a good condition to endure a ſtrait and long Siege. All this they wrote over to the King on the firſt of *February*, as appears from their Letter, which will be found in the *Collection*.

Collection Number 36.

A Parliament is called. The Parliament was opened on the 20*th.* of *January*, where the Convocation, to be a good Example to the two Houſes, granted a Subſidy of eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in four Years: In the Houſe of Peers, the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, and the Prior of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, took their Places according their Writs. *Treſham*, that had given great aſſiſtance to the Queen upon her firſt coming to the Crown, was now made Prior. But how much was done towards the endowing of that Houſe, which had been formerly among the richeſt of *England*, I do not know. On the 24*th.* of *January* the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons, deſiring that the Speaker, with ten or twelve of that Houſe, ſhould meet with a Committee of the Lords; which being granted, the Lords propoſed, that the Commons would conſider of the defence of the Kingdom. What was at firſt demanded, does not appear; but after ſeveral days arguing about it, they agreed to give one Subſidy, a Fifteenth, and a Tenth; and ordered the Speaker to let the Queen know what they had concluded: who ſent them her hearty Thanks for it. Then, Complaints being made of ſome *French*-men that were not Denizens, it was carried, that they ſhould go out of the Kingdom, and not return during the War. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, finding the Revenues of his Houſe were much impaired, thought, that if the old Priviledges of the Sanctuary were confirmed, it would bring him in a good Revenue from thoſe that fled to it: ſo he preſſed for an Act to confirm it. He brought a great many ancient Grants of the Kings of *England*, which the Queen had confirmed by her Letters Patents; but they did not prevail with the Houſe, who proceeded no further in it. In this Parliament the Procurers of wilful Murder were denied the Benefit of Clergy; which was carried in the Houſe of Lords by the greater number, as it is in their Journals. The Biſhops did certainly oppoſe it, though none of them entred their diſſent. Sir *Ambroſe*, and Sir *Robert Dudley*, two Sons of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, were reſtored in Blood. The Counteſs of *Suſſex*'s Joynture was taken from her for her living in Adultery ſo publickly, as was formerly mentioned. In the end of the Seſſion a Bill was put in, for the confirming of the Queens Letters Patents: it was deſigned chiefly for confirming the Religious Foundations ſhe had made. As this went through the Houſe of Commons, one *Coxley* ſaid, He did not approve ſuch a general Confirmation of thoſe ſhe had given, or might give: leſt this might be a colour for her to diſpoſe of the Crown from the right Inheritors. The Houſe was much offended at this, and expreſſed

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such dislike at the imagination that the Queen would alienate the Crown; that they both shewed their esteem for the Queen, and their resolution to have the Crown descend after her death to her Sister. *Coxley* was made to withdraw, and voted guilty of great irreverence to the Queen. He asked pardon, and desired it might be imputed to his youth: yet he was kept in the Serjeants Hands, till they had sent to the Queen to desire her to forgive his offence. She sent them word, that at their sute she forgave it; but wished them to examine him, from whence that motion sprung. There is no more entred about it in the Journal, so that it seems to have been let fall. The Parliament was, on the seventh of *March*, prorogued to the seventh of *November*. 1558.

Soon after this, the King of *Sweden* sent a Message secretly to the Lady *Elizabeth*, who was then at *Hatfield*, to propose Marriage to her. King *Philip* had once designed to marry her to the Duke of *Savoy*, when he was in hope of Children by the Queen: but that hope vanishing, he broke it off, and intended to reserve her for himself. How far she entertained that motion, I do not know: but for this from *Sweden*, she rejected it, since it came not to her by the Queens direction. But to that it was answered, the King of *Sweden* would have them begin with her self, judging that fit for him as he was a Gentleman; and her good liking being obtained, he would next, as a King, address himself to the Queen. But she said, as she was to entertain no such Propositions unless the Queen sent them to her; so if she were left to her self, she assured them she would not change her state of Life. Upon this, the Queen sent Sir *Tho. Pope* to her, in *April*, to let her know how well she approved of the Answer she had made to them; but they had now delivered their Letters, and made the Proposition to her, in which she desired to know her mind. She thanked the Queen for her favour to her, but bade *Pope* tell her, that there had been one or two noble Propositions made for her in her Brother King *Edwards* time; and she had then desired to continue in the state she was in, which of all others pleased her best, and she thought there was no state of Life comparable to it: She had never before heard of that King, and she desired never to hear of that Motion more: She would see his Messenger no more, since he had presumed to come to her without the Queens leave. Then *Pope* said, he did believe, if the Queen offered her some Honourable Marriage, she would not be averse to it: She answered, What she might do afterwards she did not know; but protested solemnly, that as she was then inclined, if she could have the greatest Prince in Christendom, she would not accept of him; though perhaps the Queen might think, this flowed rather from a Maids modesty, than any setled determination in her. This I take from a Letter *Pope* wrote about it, which is in the *Collection*. Yet her Life at this time was, neither so pleasant, nor so well secured, but that, if her aversion to a married state had not been very much rooted in her, it is not unlikely, she would have been glad to be out of the Hands of her unkind Keepers; who grew the more apprehensive of her, the more they observed her Sister to decay: and, as the Bishops did apprehend,

The King of *Sweden* treats a Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*.

which is rejected by her.

Collection Number 37.

1558. hend, she would overthrow all that they had been building, and cementing with so much Blood; so some of them did not spare to suggest the putting of her out of the way: and now that she is so near the Throne, in the Course of this History, I shall look back through this Reign, to give account of what befel her in it.

She was hardly used all this Reign.

When she was suspected to be accessory to *Wiats* Conspiracy; the day after his breaking out, the Lord *Hastings*, Sir *Tho. Cornwallis*, and Sir *Richard Southwell*, were sent for her to come to Court. She then lay sick at her House at *Ashridge*: but that excuse not being accepted, she was forced to go: so being still ill, she came by slow Journeys to the Queen. She was kept shut up in private at Court, from the fourth of *March* to the 16*th*. and then *Gardiner*, with nineteen of the Council, came to examine her about *Wiats* Rebellion. She positively denied she knew any thing of it, or of Sir *Peter Carew*'s designs in the *West*, which they also objected to her. In conclusion, they told her the Queen had ordered her to be sent to the *Tower*, till the Matter should be further enquired into; and though she made great Protestations of her Innocence, yet she was carried thither, and led in by the Traitors Gate; all her own Servants being put from her. Three Men, and as many Women of the Queens Servants, were appointed to attend on her; and no Person was suffered to have access to her. Sir *John Gage*, who was the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, treated her very severely, kept her closely shut up, without leave to walk either in the Galleries, or on the Leads; nor would he permit her Servants to carry in her Meat to her, but he did that by his own Servants. The other Prisoners were often examined about her, and some were put to the Rack, to try if they could be brought any way to accuse her: but though *Wiat* had done it, when he hoped to have saved his own Life by so base an Action; yet he afterwards denied that she knew any of their designs: and lest those denials he made at his Examinations might have been suppressed, and his former Depositions be made use of against her, he declared it openly on the Scaffold at his death. After some days close Imprisonment, upon great intercession made by the Lord *Chandois*, then Constable of the *Tower*, it was granted that she might sometimes walk in the Queens Rooms, in the presence of the Constable, the Lieutenant and three Women, the Windows being all shut. Then she got leave to walk in a little Garden for some Air; but all the Windows that opened to it were to be kept shut, when she took her Walk: and so jealous were they of her, that a Boy of four years old was severely threatned, and his Father sent for and chid, for his carrying Flowers to her. The Lord *Chandois* was observed to treat her with too much respect; so he was not any more trusted with the charge of her, which was committed to Sir *Hen. Benefield*. About the middle of *May* she was sent, under the Guard of the Lord *Williams*, and *Benefield*, to *Woodstock*. She was so straitly kept, and *Benefield* was so sullen to her, that she believed they intended to put her privately to death. The Lord *Williams* treated her nobly at his House on the way, at which *Benefield* was much disgusted. When

she was at *Woodstock*, she was still kept under Guards, and but seldom allowed to walk in the Gardens, none being suffered to come near her. After many Months Imprisonment, she obtained leave to write to the Queen; *Benefield* being to see all she wrote. It was believed that some were sent secretly to kill her; but the Orders were given so strictly, that none of them could come near her, without a Special Warrant; and so she escaped at that time. But after King *Philip* understood the whole Case, he broke all those designs, as was formerly shewn; and prevailed to have her sent for to Court. When she came to *Hampton-Court*, she was kept still a Prisoner. Many of the Council, *Gardiner* in particular, dealt often with her, to confess her offences, and submit to the Queens mercy. She said, she had never offended her, not so much as in her thoughts; and she would never betray her own Innocency by such a Confession. One night when it was late, she was sent for by the Queen, before whom she kneeled down, and protested she was, and ever had been, a most faithful Subject to her. The Queen seemed still to suspect her, and wished her to confess her guilt, otherwise she must think, she had been unjustly dealt with: She answered, That she was not to complain, but to bear her burden, only she begged her to conceive a good opinion of her. So they parted fairly, which King *Philip* had perswaded the Queen to; and being afraid that the sowerness of the Queens temper, might lead her into passion, he was secretly in a corner of the Room, to prevent any further breach, in case she should have been transported into new heats: but there was no occasion given for it. Soon after that, she was discharged of her Guards, and suffered to retire into the Country; but there were always many Spies about her, and she, to avoid all suspition, medled in no sort of business, but gave her self wholly to Study. And thus she passed these five years, under no small fears and apprehensions; which was perhaps a necessary preparation for that high degree to which she was soon after advanced, and which she held in the greatest and longest course of Prosperity and Glory, that ever any of her Sex attained to. 1558.

The Bishops, when the Parliament was sitting, did always intermit their Cruelties: but as soon as it was over, they fell to them afresh. On the 28*th.* of *March*, *Cuthbert Simpson*, that was in Deacons Orders, with two others, were burnt in *Smithfield*. *Simpson* had been taken with *Rough*, that suffered the Year before this. He was put to much torture, he lay three hours on the Rack; besides, two other Inventions of Torture were made use of to make him discover all those in *London* who met with them in their private Assemblies: but he would tell nothing, and shewed such patience, that the Bishops did publickly commend him for it. On the ninth of *April* a Man was burnt at *Hereford*: On the 19*th.* of *May* three Men were burnt at *Colchester*. At this time, Complaints being made to the Queen, that Books of Heresie, Treason, and Sedition, were either brought in from Forreign Parts, or secretly printed in *England*, and dispersed among her Subjects; she set out, on the sixth of *June*, a Proclamation of a strange nature: "That whosoever had "any of these, and did not presently burn them, without reading, The Progress of the Persecution.

1558. "or shewing them to any other Person, they should be esteemed Rebels; and without any further delay, be executed by the Martial "Law. On the 27*th.* of that Month, when seven were to be led out to be burnt in *Smithfield*, it was proclaimed in the Queens Name, that no Man should pray for them, or speak to them, or say, God *help them*: which was thought a strain of barbarity beyond all the Examples of former times, to deprive dying Men of the good wishes and prayers of their Friends. But however this might restrain Men from giving outward Signs of their praying for them, it could not bind up their inward and secret Devotions. Those seven had been taken at a Meeting in *Islington*, with many others; of whom some died in Prison, and six others were burnt at *Brainford* the 14th. of *July*. The rest of them were kept by *Bonner*, who now seemed to have been glutted with the Blood of so many Innocents, and therefore to have put a stop to the effusion of more: yet those that were kept Prisoners by him, did not so entirely escape his fury, but that he disciplined them himself with Rods, till he was weary; and so gave over that odd way of Pastoral Correction, rather to ease himself, than in pity to them whom he whipt. On the tenth of *July* a Minister was burnt at *Norwich*: On the second or third of *August*, a Gentleman was burnt near *Winchester*: In *August* four were burnt at *Bury*; and in *November* three more were burnt there. On the fourth of *November* a Man, and a Woman, were burnt at *Ipswich*: At that time a Woman was burnt at *Exeter*: and to close up all, on the tenth of *November* three Men, and two Women, were burnt at *Canterbury*, which made in all thirty nine this Year. There had been seventy nine burnt the former Year, ninety four the Year before that, and seventy two the first Year of the Persecution: which in all come to 284. But he that writ the Preface to Bishop *Ridley*'s Book *De Cœna Domini*, who is supposed to be Grindal, afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, says, That in the two first Years of the Queens Persecution there were above eight hundred put to most cruel kinds of death for Religion: by which it seems *Fox*, on whom I depend in the Numbers I have assigned, has come far short in his account. Besides those that were burnt, many others died in Bonds, of whom there are sixty reckoned. There were also great Numbers of those who were vexed with long and grievous Imprisonment: and though they redeemed their Lives by the renouncing, or rather the dissembling of their Consciences; yet this being but forced from them, they carried with them their old Opinions; and the Wound they gave their Consciences to save their Lives, as it begot in many of them great horrour for what they had done, so it raised in them the most mortal hatred to those who had driven them to such straits: so that if that Religion was hateful before to the Nation, for the Impostures and Scandals that were discovered in the Clergy, and some few Instances of their Cruelty, the repeated Burnings, and other Cruelties, of which now they saw no end, did encrease their aversion to it beyond all expression.

The Method of the Persecutions of this Reign.

At first the Bishops dealt earnestly with those who were brought before them, to recant; and were ready at any time to receive them: the Queens Pardon was also sent to them as they were ready to

to be tied to the Stake, if they would then turn. But now it was 1558.
far otherwiſe. For in the Council-Books there is an Entry made of a Letter, written on the firſt of *Auguſt* this Year, to Sir *Richard Pexall* Sheriff of *Hampſhire*, ſignifying, "That the Queen thought it very "ſtrange, that he had delayed the Execution of the Sentence againſt "one *Bembridge*, condemned of Hereſie, becauſe he had recanted: "requiring him to execute it out of hand, and if he ſtill continued "in the Catholick Faith, which he outwardly pretended, he was "then to ſuffer ſuch Divines as the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſhould ap- "point, to have acceſs to him for confirming him in the Faith, and "to attend on him at his death, that he might die Gods Servant: "and as ſoon as the Sheriff had thus burnt him, he was to come to "the Council, and anſwer for his preſumption in delaying it ſo long. The Matter of Fact was thus: *Bembridge* being tied to the Stake, and the Fire taking hold on him, he, through the violence of it, yielded, and cried out, *I recant.* Upon which, the Sheriff made the Fire be put out; and *Bembridge* Signed ſuch a Recantation as Doctor *Seton*, who was near him, writ for him: but for all that, upon this Order of Council, he was burnt; and the Sheriff was put in the *Fleet*: ſo that now it appeared that it was not ſo much the converſion of thoſe they called Hereticks, as their deſtruction, that the Biſhops deſired: and ſo much were their Inſtruments ſet on theſe Severities, that though they ſaw the Queen declining ſo faſt, that there was no appearance of her living many days; yet the Week before ſhe died, they burnt, as hath been ſaid, five together in one Fire at *Canterbury*.

There was nothing done in the War with *France* this Year, but the ſending out a Fleet of 120 Ships, with 7000 Land-men in it, under the Command of the Lord *Clinton*; who landed at *Port Conquet*, in the Point of *Brittain*, where after a ſmall reſiſtance made by the *French*, he burnt the Town; but the Country being gathered together, the *Engliſh* were forced to return to their Ships, having loſt above 600 of their Men. The deſign was, to have ſeized on *Breſt*, and fortified it; which was propoſed by King *Philip*, who had ſent thirty of his Ships to their aſſiſtance. This the *French* knowing by ſome of the Priſoners whom they took, went and fortified *Breſt*, and kept a great Body of Men together, to reſiſt in caſe the *Engliſh* ſhould make a ſecond impreſſion. But the Lord *Clinton*, ſeeing he could do nothing, returned, having made a very expenſive and unproſperous attempt. The *Engliſh* had loſt their Hearts; the Government at home was ſo little acceptable to them, that they were not much concerned to ſupport it; they began to think, Heaven was againſt them. An unhappy Expedition againſt *France*.

There were many ſtrange accidents at home, that ſtruck terror in them. In *July*, Thunder broke near *Nottingham*, with ſuch violence, that it beat down two little Towns, with all the Houſes and Churches in them: the Bells were carried a good way from the Steeples, and the Lead that covered the Churches, was caſt 400 Foot from them, ſtrangely wreathed. The River of *Trent*, as it is apt upon Deluges of Rain to ſwell and over-run the Country; ſo it broke out this Year with extraordinary violence; many Trees were plucked Strange and unuſual accidents.

up

1558. up by the Roots, and with it there was such a Wind, that carried several Men and Children a great way, and dashed them against Trees or Houses, so that they died. Hail-stones fell that were fifteen Inches about in other Places: and which was much more terrible, a contagious intermitting Feaver, not unlike the Plague, raged every where: so that three parts of four of the whole Nation were infected with it. So many Priests died of it, that in many Places there were none to be had for the performing of the Offices. Many Bishops died also of it, so that there were many vacancies made by the Hand of Heaven, against Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown: and it spreading most violently in *August*, there were not Men enough in many Counties, to reap the Harvest: so that much Corn was lost. All these Symptoms concurred to encrease the aversion the People had to the Government; which made the Queen very willing to consent to a Treaty of Peace, that was opened at *Cambray* in *October*; to which she sent the Earl of *Arundel*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Wotton*, as her Plenipotentiaries.

A Treaty of Peace between *England*, *France*, and *Spain*.

The occasion of the Peace was from a meeting that the Bishop of *Arras* had with the Cardinal of *Lorrain* at *Peronne*; in which he proposed to him, how much *Philip* was troubled at the continuance of the War; their Forces being so much engaged in it, that they could make no resistance to the *Turk*, and the mean while Heresie encreasing and spreading in their own Dominions, while they were so taken up that they could not look carefully to their Affairs at home, but must connive at many things: therefore he pressed the Cardinal to perswade the King of *France* to an Accommodation. The Cardinal was easily induced to this, since besides his own zeal for Religion, he saw that he might thereby bear down the Constables greatness; whose Friends, chiefly his two Nephews, the Admiral, and *Dandelot*, who went then among the best Captains in *France*, were both suspect of being Protestants; upon which, the latter was shortly after put in Prison: so he used all his endeavours to draw the King to consent to it; in which he had the less opposition, since the Court was now filled with his Dependants, and his four Brothers, who had got all the great Officers of *France* into their Hands: and the Constable, and Admiral being Prisoners, there was none to oppose their Councils. The King thinking, that by the recovery of *Calais*, and the Places about it, he had gained enough to ballance the loss of St. *Quintin*, was very willing to hearken to a Treaty: and he was in an ill state to continue the War, being much weakned both by the loss he suffered last Year, and the blow that he received in *July* last: the Marshal de *Thermes* being enclosed by the Count of *Egmont* near *Graveling*, where the *French* Army being set on by the Count, and galled with the *English* Ordnance from their Ships that lay near the Land, was defeated, 5000 killed, the Marshal and the other chief Officers being taken Prisoners. These losses made him sensible, that his Affairs were in so ill a condition, that he could not gain much by the War.

The Battel of *Graveling*.

The Number of the Protestants growing in *France*.

The Cardinal was the more earnest to bring on a Peace, because the Protestants did not only encrease in their Numbers, but they came so openly to avow their Religion, that in the publick Walls with-

without the Suburbs of St. *Germain*, they began to ſing *Davids* Pſalms in *French* Verſe. The newneſs of the thing amuſed many, the devotion of it wrought on others, the Muſick drew in the reſt; ſo that the Multitudes that uſed to divert themſelves in thoſe Fields, inſtead of their ordinary ſports, did now nothing for many nights, but go about ſinging Pſalms: and that which made it more remarkable was, that the King and Queen of *Navarre* came and joyned with them. That King, beſides the Honour of a Crowned Head, with the ſmall part of that Kingdom that was yet left in their Hands, was the firſt Prince of the Blood. He was a ſoft and weak Man; but his Queen, in whoſe right he had that Title, was one of the moſt extraordinary Women that any Age hath produced, both for knowledge far above her Sex, for a great judgment in Affairs, an Heroical Greatneſs of Mind, and all other Vertues; joyned to a high meaſure of Devotion, and true Piety: all which, except the laſt, ſhe derived to her Son *Henry the Great*. When the King of *France* heard of this Pſalmody, he made an Edict againſt it; and ordered the doers of it to be puniſhed: but the Numbers of them, and the reſpect to thoſe Crowned Heads, made the buſineſs to go no further. 1558.

On the 24*th*. of *April* was the Dolphin married to the Queen of *Scotland*. Four Cardinals, *Bourbon*, *Lorrain*, *Chaſtilion*, and *Bertrand*, with many of the Princes of the Blood, and the other great Men of *France*, and the Commiſſioners ſent from *Scotland*, were preſent. But ſcarce any thing adorned it more than the *Epithalamium* written upon it by *Buchanan*; which was accounted one of the Perfecteſt Pieces of *Latin* Poetry. After the Marriage was over, the *Scotch* Commiſſioners were deſired to offer the Dolphin the Enſigns of the Regality of *Scotland*, and to acknowledge him their King; but they excuſed themſelves, ſince that was beyond their Commiſſion, which only empow'red them to treat concerning the Articles of the Marriage, and to carry an account back to thoſe that ſent them. Then it was deſired that they would promote the buſineſs at their return to their Country; but ſome of them had expreſſed their averſion to thoſe Propoſitions ſo plainly, that it was believed they were poiſoned by the Brethren of the Houſe of *Guiſe*. Four of them died in *France*; the Biſhop of *Orkney*, and the Earls of *Rothes*, and *Caſſils*, and the Lord *Fleeming*. The Prior of St. *Andrews* was alſo very ſick; and though he recovered at that time, yet he had never any perfect health after it. When the other four returned into *Scotland*, a Convention of the Eſtates was called, to conſult about the Propoſitions they brought. The Dolphin marries the Queen of *Scotland*.

This Aſſembly conſiſts of all thoſe Members that make up a Parliament, who were then, the Biſhops, and Abbots, and Priors, who made the firſt Eſtate; the Noblemen, that were the ſecond Eſtate; and the Deputies from the Towns; one from every Town, only *Edenburgh* ſends two, were the third Eſtate. Anciently all that held Lands of the Crown, were ſummoned to Parliaments, as well the greater as the leſſer Barons. But in King *James* the firſt's time, the leſſer Barons, finding it a great charge to attend on ſuch Aſſemblies, deſired to be excuſed from it; and procured an Act of Parliament A Convention of Eſtates in *Scotland*.

ment exempting them, and giving them power to ſend from every County, two, three, four, or more, to repreſent them: but they afterwards thought this rather a Charge than a Priviledge, and did not uſe it; ſo that now the ſecond Eſtate conſiſted only of the Nobility. But the Gentry finding the prejudice they ſuffered by this, and that the Nobility grew too abſolute, procured, by King *James* the ſixth's favour, an Act of Parliament reſtoring them to that Right of ſending Deputies, two from every County, except ſome ſmall Counties that ſend only one. But according to the Ancient Law, none has a Vote in the Elections, but thoſe who hold Lands immediately of the Crown, of ſuch a value. The difference between a Parliament, and a Convention of Eſtates, is, that the former muſt be ſummoned forty days before it ſits; and then it meets in State, and makes Laws, which are to be prepared by a Committee of all the Eſtates, called the Lords of the Articles: but a Convention may be called within as few days as are neceſſary, for giving notice to all parts of the Nation to make their Elections: They have no Power of making Laws, being only called for one particular Emergent; which, during the diviſion of the Iſland, was chiefly upon the breaking out of War betwixt the two Nations, and ſo their Power was confined to the giving of Money for the occaſion which then brought them together.

In the Convention now held, after much debate and oppoſition, whether they ſhould conſent to the demand made by the Ambaſſador ſent from *France*, it was carried, that the Dolphin ſhould be acknowledged their King: great aſſurances being given, that this ſhould be only a bare Title, and that he ſhould pretend to no Power over them. So the Earl of *Argile*, and the Prior of St. *Andrews*, who had been the main ſticklers for the *French* Intereſt, upon the promiſes that the Queen Regent made them, that they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their Religion, were appointed to carry the Matrimonial Crown into *France*. But as they were preparing for their Journey, a great revolution of Affairs fell out in *England*.

A Seſſion of Parliament in *England*.

The Parliament met on the fifth of *November*. On the ſeventh the Queen ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and ordered him to open to them the ill condition the Nation was in: for though there was a Treaty begun at *Cambray*, yet it was neceſſary to put the Kingdom in a poſture of defence, in caſe it ſhould miſcarry. But the Commons were now ſo diſſatisfied, that they could come to no reſolution. So on the 14*th*. day of *November* the Lord *Chancellor*, the Lord *Treaſurer*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Pembroke*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, and *Carliſle*, the Viſcount *Mountacute*, the Lords *Clinton*, and *Howard*, came down to the Houſe of Commons, and ſate in that place of the Houſe, where the Privy-Counſellors uſed to ſit. The Speaker left his Chair, and he, with the Privy-Counſellors that were of the Houſe, came and ſate on low Benches before them. The Lord Chancellor ſhewed the neceſſity of granting a Subſidy, to defend the Nation, both from the *French*, and the *Scots*. When he had done, the Lords withdrew; but though the Commons entred, both that, and the two following days, into the debate, they came to no iſſue in their Conſultations.

The

The Queen had never enjoyed her health perfectly, ſince the falſe conception that was formerly ſpoken of; upon which followed the neglect from her Husband, and the deſpair of Iſſue, that encreaſed her Melancholly: and this receiving a great addition from the loſs of *Calais*, and the other misfortunes of this Year; ſhe, by a long declination of Health, and decay of her Spirits, was now brought ſo low, that it was viſible ſhe had not many days to live: and a Dropſie coming on her, put a concluſion to her unhappy Reign, and unfortunate Life, on the 17*th.* of *November*, in the 43*d.* Year of her Age, after ſhe had reigned five Years, four Months, and eleven Days. 1558. The Queens ſickneſs. And death.

At the ſame time Cardinal *Pool*, as if one Star had governed both their Nativities, was alſo dying; and his end being haſtened by the Queens death, he followed her within ſixteen hours, in the 59*th.* Year of his Age. He left his whole eſtate to *Aloiſi Prioli* a Noble *Venetian*, with whom he had lived ſix and twenty years in ſo entire a friendſhip, that as nothing could break it off, ſo neither was any thing able to ſeparate them from one anothers company. *Prioli*, being invited by Pope *Julius* to come and receive a Cardinals Hat, preferred *Pools* company before it; and as he had ſupplied him in his neceſſities in *Italy*, ſo he left his Country now to live with him in *England*. *Pool* made him his Executor: But *Prioli* was of a more Noble temper, than to enrich himſelf by his Friends Wealth; for as he took care to pay all the Legacies he left, ſo he gave away all that remained, reſerving nothing to himſelf but *Pools* Breviary and Diary. And indeed the Cardinal was not a Man made to raiſe a Fortune, being, by the greatneſs of his Birth, and his excellent Vertues, carried far above ſuch mean deſigns. He was a Learned, Modeſt, Humble, and good natured Man; and had indeed ſuch Qualities, and ſuch a Temper, that if he could have brought the other Biſhops to follow his Meaſures, or the Pope and Queen to approve of them, he might have probably done much to have reduced this Nation to Popery again. But God deſigned better things for it: ſo he gave up the Queen to the Bloody Councils of *Gardiner*, and the reſt of the Clergy. It was the only thing in which ſhe was not led by the Cardinal. But ſhe imputed his Opinion in that Particular, rather to the ſweetneſs of his Temper, than to his Wiſdom and Experience: and he, ſeeing he could do nothing of what he projected in *England*, fell into a languiſhing, firſt of his mind, that brought after it a decay of his Health, of which he died. I have dwelt the more copiouſly on his Character, being willing to deny to none, of whom I write, the Praiſes that are due to them: and he being the only Man of that whole Party, of whom I found any reaſon to ſay much good, I was the more willing to enlarge about him, to let the World ſee, how little I am biaſſed in the account I give, by Intereſt or Opinion. So that if I have written ſharply of any others that have been mentioned in this Reign, it was the force of Truth, and my abhorrence of their barbarous Cruelties, that led me to it, more than my being of a contrary Perſwaſion to them. It is certain, that *Pool*'s method, of correcting the manners of the Clergy, and being gentle to the Reformed, would in all appearence have been much more fatal to the Progreſs of the Reformation; that was ſet forward by nothing more, than Cardinal *Pool* dies. His Character.

1558. by the severities shewed to those that differed from them, and the indulgence of the Bishops to the vices of their own Party. Yet Pa had a vast superstition to the See of *Rome*; and though his being at the Council of *Trent*, had opened his Eyes to many things, which he had not observed before; yet he still retained his great submissi-on to that See, and thought it impossible to maintain the Order and Unity of the Church, but by holding Communion with it; which carried him, in opposition to many apprehensions himself had of some Theological Points, still to support the Interests of the Papacy. His neglect of the offer of it, when it was made to him, shewed this flowed from no aspirings of his own, but purely from his judgment: so that what mistakes soever, his Education, and Heats with King Henry, and the disasters of his Family, might have involved him in, it cannot be denied, that he was a Man of as great Probity and Vertue as most of the Age, if not all of that Church, in which he lived.

The Queens Character. For the Queen her self, her Character has appeared so manifestly in her Reign, that I need make no further description of her. She was a Woman of a strict and innocent Life; that allowed her self few of the diversions, with which Courts abound. She was bred to Learning, and understood the *Latin* Tongue well; but what further knowledge she had, does not appear to me. She was constant at her Devotions, and was as much addicted to the Interests and Humours of the Clergy, as they could have wished her. She had great resentments of her own ill usage in her Fathers and Brothers times; which made her be easily induced to take her revenge, though she coloured it with her zeal against Heresie. She did not much mind any other Affairs, but those of the Church: so that if she could have extirpated Heresie, she seemed to regard all other things very little; and being given up to follow the Dictates of *Rome*, with a nice scrupulosity of Conscience, it was no wonder she went on in these designs very vigorously. For as the Pope was ever calling on all Princes that were under his obedience, to set up the Courts of Inquisition; so the fourth General Councill of *Lateran*, to which, with the other General Councils, she payed no less reverence than to the Scriptures, charged Catholick Princes to extirpate all Hereticks out of their Dominions: such as were slack must be required to do it by their Bishops; and if that prevailed not, they were to be excommunicated by them; and if they continued negligent, and under that Censure a year; they were to be deprived by the Pope, and their Dominions to be given to others, who should take more care to extirpate Heresie. The Pope had also in *February* this Year published a Constitution, to which he had made all the Cardinals set their Hands, confirming all former Decrees and Canons against Hereticks; declaring, that all Prelates, Princes, Kings, and Emperors, that had fallen into Heresie, should be understood to be deprived of their Dominions, without any further Sentence: and that any Catholicks who would take the Forfeiture, should have a good Title to all that they invaded and seized. The Bishops, besides the other Canons binding them to proceed against Hereticks, were, by the Words of the Oath of Obedience which they swore to the Pope at their Consecration, engaged to *oppose and persecute the Hereticks with all their might*: so that they

given

giving ſevere Counſels, and the Queens following them, flowed mainly from the Principles of their Religion: in which the ſowrneſs of her temper made it the more eaſie to perſwade her to a Compliance to thoſe courſes, to which her inclination led her without any ſuch Motives. To conclude, her death was as little lamented, as any of all our Princes ever was, the Popiſh Clergy being almoſt the only Mourners that were among her own People. 1558.

Thus lived and died *Mary* Queen of *England*, by Inheritance, and of *Spain* by Marriage.

The END of the Second BOOK.

Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crowne in St. Pauls Church yard

BOOK III.

OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION,

In the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign.

QUEEN *Maries* Death was conceal'd for ſome hours. What the ſecret Conſultations were upon it is not known; but the Iſſue of them appeared about nine a Clock. Then the Lord Chancellor went to the Houſe of Lords, and firſt imparted to them the News of the Queens Death; which, as it ſtruck the Biſhops with no ſmall fear, ſo thoſe Counſellors who had been ſeven in their advices about her Siſter, did apprehend ſhe might remember it againſt them. Yet they all agreed to proclaim her *Queen*: and by the Zeal they expreſſed for her coming to the Crown, intended to balance the Errors they had formerly been led to, rather in compliance to the late Queens reſentments, than out of any ill will they bore her ſelf. They ſent for the Houſe of Commons, and the Lord Chancellor ſignified to them the Queens Death; which, he ſaid, would have been a much more ſorrowful loſs to them, if they had not ſuch a Succeſſor, that was the next and indiſputed Heir to the Crown, *Elizabeth*, of whoſe Right and Title none could make any queſtion; therefore they intended to proclaim her Queen, and deſired their Concurrence. This was Ecchoed with many and long repeated Cries. *God ſave Queen* Elizabeth. *Long and happily may She Reign.*

1558. Queen *Elizabeth* ſucceeds.

The

1558. The Parliament being declared to be dissolved by the late Queen's death, the Lords proclaimed *Elizabeth* Queen; and went into *London*, where it was again done by the Lord Major, and received every where with such excessive Joy, that there was no sign of sorrow expressed for the death of Queen *Mary*, but what the Priests shewed; who, in so publick and universal a Joy, were forced to betake themselves to secret Groans, since they durst not vent them in publick. Never did any before her come to the Throne with so many good Wishes and Acclamations, which the horror of the Cruelties, and the reflection of the Disasters of the former Reign, drew from the People, who now hoped to see better Times.

And proclaimed Queen.

The Queen was then at *Hatfield*, where having received the news of her Sisters death, and of her being proclaimed *Queen*, she came from thence to *London*. On the 19*th*. at *Highgate* all the Bishops met her, whom she received civilly, except *Bonner*, on whom she looked as defiled with so much Blood, that she could not think it fit to bestow any mark of her favour on him. She was received into the City, with Throngs much greater than even such Occasions used to draw together, and followed with the loudest shouts of Joy that they could raise. She lay that night at the Duke of *Norfolk*'s House in the *Charter-house*, and next day went to the *Tower*. There at her Entry she kneeled down, and offered up thanks to God for that great change in her Condition; that whereas she had been formerly a Prisoner in that Place, every hour in fear of her Life, she was now raised to so high a Dignity. She soon cleared all People's apprehensions as to the hardships she had formerly met with, and shewed she had absolutely forgot from whom she had received them: even *Bonfield* himself not excepted; who had been the chief Instrument of her Sufferings: But she called him always her *Goaler*, which though she did in a way of Raillery, yet it was so sharp that he avoided coming any more to the Court.

And comes to *London*.

She presently dispatched Messengers to all the Princes of Christendom, giving notice of her Sisters death, and her Succession. She writ in particular to King *Philip*, a large acknowledgment of his kindness to her, to whom she held her self much bound for his interposing so effectually with her Sister for her Preservation. She also sent to Sir *Edward Karn*, that had been her Sisters Resident at *Rome*, to give the Pope the news of her Succession. The haughty Pope received it in his ordinary Stile, declaring, "That *England* was held in Fee of the Apostolick See, that she "could not succeed being Illegitimate, nor could he contradict the Declarations made in that matter by his Predecessors, *Clement* the seventh "and *Paul* the third: He said, it was great boldness in her to assume the "Crown without his consent; for which in reason she deserved no favour "at his hands: yet, if she would renounce her Pretensions, and resign "her self wholly to him, he would shew a fatherly affection to her, and "do every thing for her that could consist with the Dignity of the Apo"stolick See. When she heard of this, she was not much concerned at it; for she had written to *Karn* as she did to her other Ministers, and had renewed his Powers upon her first coming to the Crown, being unwilling in the beginning of her Reign to provoke any Party against her: But hearing how the Pope received this Address, she recalled *Karn*'s Powers and commanded him to come home. The Pope on the other hand

She sends a Dispatch to *Rome*.

But to no effect.

quired him not to go out of *Rome*, but to ſtay and take the care of an Hoſpital over which he ſet him: which it was thought that *Karn* procured to himſelf, becauſe he was unwilling to return into *England*, apprehending the change of Religion that might follow, for he was himſelf zealouſly addicted to the See of *Rome*. 1558.

As ſoon as *Philip* heard the news, he ordered the Duke of *Feria*, whom he had ſent over in his Name to comfort the late Queen in her ſickneſs, to Congratulate the new Queen, and in ſecret to propoſe Marriage to her; and to aſſure her he ſhould procure a Diſpenſation from *Rome*: and at the ſame time he ſent thither to obtain it. But the Queen, though very ſenſible of her Obligation to him, had no mind to the Marriage. It appeared by what hath been ſaid in the former Book, and by the Sequel of her whole Life, that though upon ſome occaſions, when her Affairs required it, ſhe treated about her Marriage, yet ſhe was firmly reſolved never to marry. Beſides this, ſhe ſaw her People were generally averſe to any Forreigner, and particularly to a *Spaniard*: and ſhe made it the ſteady Maxime of her whole Reign, from which ſhe never departed, to rule in their affections as well as over their Perſons. Nor did ſhe look on the Popes Diſpenſation as a thing of any force to warrant what was otherwiſe forbidden by God: and the Relation between King *Philip* and her being the Reverſe of that which was between her Father and Queen *Katharine*, it ſeeming to be equally unlawful for one Man to marry two Siſters, as it was for one Woman to be married to two Brothers, ſhe could not conſent to this Marriage without approving King *Henry's* with Queen *Katharine*: and if that were a good Marriage, then ſhe muſt be Illegitimate, as being born of a Marriage which only the unlawfulneſs of that could juſtifie. So Inclination, Intereſt, and Conſcience, all concurred to make her reject King *Philip's* motion. Yet ſhe did it in terms ſo full of Eſteem and Kindneſs for him, that he ſtill inſiſted in the Propoſition; in which ſhe was not willing to undeceive him ſo entirely, as to put him out of all hopes, while the Treaty of *Cambray* was in dependence, that ſo ſhe might tie him more cloſely to her Intereſts. King *Philip* courts her in Marriage.

The *French*, hearing of Queen *Maries* Death, and being allarum'd at *Philips* deſign upon the new Queen, ſent to *Rome*, to engage the Pope to deny the Diſpenſation, and to make him declare the Queen of *Scotland* to be the right Heir to the Crown of *England*, and the pretended Queen to be Illegitimate. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* prevailed alſo with the *French* King, to order his Daughter-in-law to aſſume that Title, and to put the Arms of *England* on all her Furniture. The Queen of *Scots* pretends to the Crown of *England*.

But now to return to *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* continued to employ ſome of the ſame Counſellors, that had ſerved Queen *Mary*: namely, *Heath* the Lord Chancellor, the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* Lord Treaſurer, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, and *Pembroke*, the Lords *Clinton*, and *Howard*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *John Maſon*, Sir *Richard Sackvile*, and Dr. *Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. Moſt of theſe had complied with all the Changes that had been made in Religion backward and forward ſince the latter end of King *Henry's* Reign, and were ſo dextrous at it, that they were ſtill employed in every new Revolution. To them, who were all Papiſts, the Queen added, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas Parre*, The Queens Council.

1558. *Parre*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambrose Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecil*, whom she made Secretary of State; and soon after she sent for Sir *Nicolas Bacon*; who were all of the Reformed Religion. She renewed all the Commissions to those formerly intrusted, and ordered, that such as were imprisoned on the account of Religion should be set at liberty. After this, a Man that used to talk pleasantly, said to her, that he came to supplicate in behalf of some Prisoners not yet set at liberty: She asked who they were: he said they were *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*, that were still shut up; for the People longed much to see them abroad. She answered him as pleasantly, she would first talk with themselves, and see whether they desired to be set at such liberty as he requested for them.

A Consultation about the change of Religion.

Now the two great things under Consultation were Religion, and Peace. For the former, some were appointed to consider how it was to be Reform'd. *Beal*, a Clark of the Council, gave advice to Cecil, that the Parliaments under Queen *Mary* should be declared void; the first being under a force, (as was before related) and the Title of *Supream Head* being left out of the Summons to the next Parliament before it was taken away by Law: from whence he inferred, that both these were not lawfully held or duly summoned; and this being made out, the Laws of King *Edward* were still in force: but this was laid aside as too high and violent a way of proceeding, since the annulling of Parliaments, upon little errors in Writs, or some particular disorders, was a Precedent of such consequence that to have proceeded in such a manner, would have unhinged all the Government and security of the Nation. More moderate Courses were thought on. The Queen had been bred up from her Infancy with a hatred of the Papacy, and a Love to the Reformation: But yet as her first Impressions in her Fathers Reign were in favour of such old Rites as he had still retained; so in her own Nature she loved State, and some Magnificence, in Religion, as well as in every thing else: She thought that in her Brothers Reign they had stript it too much of external Ornaments, and had made their Doctrine too narrow in some Points; therefore she intended to have some things explained in more general terms, that so all Parties might be comprehended by them. She inclined to keep up Images in Churches: and to have the manner of Christs Presence in the Sacrament left in some general words; that those who believed the Corporal Presence might not be driven away from the Church by too nice an Explanation of it. Nor did she like the Title of *Supream Head*; she thought it imported too great a Power, and came too near that Authority which Christ only had over the Church. These were her own private thoughts. She considered, nothing could make her Power great in the World abroad, so much as the uniting all her People together at home: her Fathers and her Brothers Reign had been much distracted by the Rebellions within *England*, and she had before her Eyes the Instance of the Coldness that the People had expressed to her Sister on all occasions for the maintaining or recovering of the Dominions beyond Sea: Therefore she was very desirous to find such a Temper in which all might agree. She observed that in the Changes formerly made, particularly in renouncing the Papacy, and making some Alterations in Worship, the whole Clergy had concurred, and so she resolved to follow and imitate these by easie steps.

There

There was a long Conſultation had about the Method of the Changes ſhe ſhould make. The ſubſtance of which ſhall be found in the *Collection*, in a Paper, where, in the way of Queſtion and Anſwer, the whole deſign of it is laid down. This Draught of it was given to Sir *William Cecil*, and does exactly agree with the account that *Cambden* gives of it. That Learned and Judicious Man has written the Hiſtory of this Queens Reign, with that Fidelity and Care, in ſo good a Stile, and with ſo much Judgment, that it is without queſtion the beſt part of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory: but he himſelf often ſays, that he had left many things to thoſe who ſhould undertake the Hiſtory of the Church; therefore in the Account of the beginnings of this Reign, as I ſhall in all things follow him with the credit that is due to ſo extraordinary a Writer, ſo having met with ſome things which he did not know, or thought not neceſſary in ſo ſuccinct a Hiſtory to enlarge on, I ſhall not be afraid to write after him, though the Eſteem he is juſtly in may make it ſeem ſuperfluous to go over theſe matters any more. 1558.

A Method of doing it propoſed. Collection Number 1.

"It ſeemed neceſſary for the Queen to do nothing before a Parliament "were called; for only from that Aſſembly could the Affections of the "People be certainly gathered. The next thing ſhe had to do, was to bal- "lance the dangers that threatned her both from abroad and at home. "The Pope would certainly excommunicate and depoſe her, and ſtir up "all Chriſtian Princes againſt her: The King of *France* would lay hold "of any opportunity to embroil the Nation; and by the aſſiſtance of "*Scotland*, and of the *Iriſh*, might perhaps raiſe troubles in her Dominions. "Thoſe that were in Power in Queen *Maries* time, and remained firm "to the old Superſtition, would be diſcontented at the Reformation of "Religion: the Biſhops and Clergy would generally oppoſe it: and "ſince there was a neceſſity of demanding Subſidies, they would take "occaſion, by the diſcontent the People would be in on that account, "to inflame them: and thoſe who would be diſſatisfied at the retaining "of ſome of the old Ceremonies, would on the other hand diſparage "the changes that ſhould be made, and call the Religion a Cloak'd "Papiſtry, and ſo alienate many of the moſt zealous from it. To "remedy all theſe things, it was propoſed to make Peace with *France*, "and to cheriſh thoſe in that Kingdom that deſired the Reformation. "The Courſes and Practiſes of *Rome* were not much to be feared. In "*Scotland* thoſe muſt be encouraged who deſired the like change in Re- "ligion; and a little Money among the Heads of the Families in "*Ireland*, would go a great way. And for thoſe that had born Rule "in Queen *Maries* time, ways were to be taken to leſſen their credit "throughout *England:* they were not to be too ſoon truſted or em- "ployed, upon pretence of Turning; but thoſe who were known "to be well affected to Religion, and the Queens Perſon, were to be "ſought after and encouraged. The Biſhops were generally hated by "the Nation: It would be eaſie to draw them within the Statute of "*Præmunire*, and upon their falling into it, they muſt be kept under "it, till they had renounced the Pope, and conſented to the Alterations that ſhould be made. The Commiſſions of the Peace, and for "the Militia, were to be carefully reviewed, and ſuch Men were to be "put in them, as would be firm to the Queens Intereſts. When the

The Heads of it.

1558. "Changes should be made, some severe punishments would make the "rest more readily submit. Great care was to be had of the Univer- "sities, and other publick Schools, as *Eaton* and *Winchester*, that the "next Generation might be betimes seasoned with the Love and Know- "ledge of Religion. Some learned Men, as *Bill*, *Parker*, *May*, *Cox*, "*Whitehead*, *Grindall*, *Pilkington*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, were to be "ordered to meet and consider of the Book of Service. In the mean "while the People were to be restrained from Innovating without Au- "thority; and the Queen, to give some hope of a Reformation, might "appoint the Communion to be given in both kinds. The Persons "that were thought fit to be trusted with the Secret of these Consul- "tations, were the Marques of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Bedford*, and "*Pembroke*, and the Lord *John Gray*. The Place that was thought most "convenient for the Divines to meet in, was Sir *Thomas Smiths* House "in *Channon-Row*, where an Allowance was to be given for their En- "tertainment.

The forwardness in many to the Reformation.

As soon as the News of the Queens coming to the Crown was known beyond Sea, all those who had fled thither for shelter did re- turn into *England*: and those who had lived in Corners during the late Persecution, now appeared with no small assurance: and these, having notice of the Queens Intentions, could not contain themselves, but in many Places begun to make Changes, to set up King *Edwards* Service, to pull down Images, and to affront the Priests. Upon this the Queen, to make some discovery of her own Inclinations, gave order, that the Gospels and Epistles, and the Lords Prayer, the Apo- stles Creed, and the Ten Commandments, should be read in *English*, and that the Letany should be also used in *English*: and she forbade the Priests to Elevate the Host at Mass. Having done this, on the 27*th*. of *December* she set out a Proclamation against all Innovations, requiring her Subjects to use no other Forms of Worship than those she had in her Chappel, till it should be otherwise appointed by the Parliament, which she had summoned to meet on the 23*d*. of *January*. The Writs were issued out by *Bacon*, into whose Hands she had delivered the Great Seal. On the fifth of *December*, she performed her Sisters Funeral Rites with great Magnificence at *Westminster*. The Bishop of *Winchester* being appointed to preach the Ser- mon, did so mightily extoll her and her Government, and so se- verely taxed the disorders which he thought the Innovators were guilty of, not without reflections on the Queen, that he was thereupon con- fined to his House till the Parliament met.

Parker designed to be Arch- bishop of *Canterbury*.

One of the chief things under consultation, was, to provide Men fit to be put into the Sees that were now vacant, or that might fall to be so afterwards, if the Bishops should continue intractable. Those now vacant, were the Sees of *Canterbury*, *Hereford*, *Bristol*, and *Bangor*: and in the beginning of the next Year the Bishops of *Norwich*, and *Glocester* died: so that, as *Cambden* hath it, there were but fourteen Bishops living when the Parliament met. It was of great importance to find Men able to serve in these Employ- ments, chiefly in the See of *Canterbury*. For this, Dr. *Parker* was soon thought on. Whether others had the offer of it before him

or not, I cannot tell: but he was writ to by Sir *Nicholas Bacon* on the ninth of *December*, to come up to *London*; and afterwards on the 30*th.* of *December*, by Sir *William Cecil*; and again by Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, on the fourth of *January*. He underſtood, that it was for ſome high preferment; and being a Man of an humble Temper, diſtruſtful of himſelf, that loved privacy, and was much diſabled by ſickneſs, he declined coming up all he could: he begged he might not be thought of for any publick Imployment, but that ſome Prebend might be aſſigned him, where he might be free both from care and Government; ſince the Infirmities, which he had contracted by his flying about in the Nights in Queen *Maries* time, had diſabled him from a more publick ſtation. That to which he pretended, ſhews how moderate his deſires were: for he profeſſed, an Imployment of twenty Nobles a year would be more acceptable to him than one of two hundred Pound. He had been Chaplain to Queen *Anne Bullen*, and had received a ſpecial charge from her, a little before ſhe died, to look well to the Inſtruction of her Daughter in the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion; and now the Queen had a grateful Remembrance of thoſe Services. This, joyned with the high Eſteem that Sir *Nicholas Bacon* had of him, ſoon made her reſolve to raiſe him to that great Dignity. And ſince ſuch high Preferments are generally, if not greedily ſought after, yet very willingly undertaken by moſt Men; it will be no unfit thing to lay open a modern Precedent, which indeed ſavours more of the Ancient than the latter Times; for then in ſtead of that *Ambitus*, which has given ſuch offence to the World in the latter Ages, it was ordinary for Men to fly from the offer of great Preferments. Some run away when they underſtood they were to be Ordained, or had been Elected to great Sees, and fled to a Wilderneſs. This ſhewed they had a great Senſe of the care of Souls, and were more apprehenſive of that weighty Charge, than deſirous to raiſe or enrich themſelves or their Families. It hath been ſhewed before, that *Cranmer* was very unwillingly engaged in the See of *Canterbury*; and now, he that ſucceeded him in that See with the ſame deſigns, was drawn into it with ſuch unwillingneſs that it was almoſt a whole Year before he could be prevailed upon to accept of it: The account of this will appear in the Series of Letters both written to him, and by him, on that Head; which were communicated to me by the preſent moſt Worthy and moſt Reverend Primate of this Church. I cannot mention him in this place without taking notice, that as in his other great Vertues and Learning he has gone in the ſteps of thoſe moſt eminent Arch-biſhops that went before him; ſo the whole Nation is witneſs how far he was from aſpiring to high Preferment, how he withdrew from all thoſe opportunities that might be ſteps to it, how much he was ſurprized with his unlooked-for advancement, how unwillingly he was raiſed, and how humble and affable he continues in that high Station he is now in: but this is a Subject that I muſt leave for them to enlarge on that ſhall write the Hiſtory of this preſent Age. 1558.

1559.

Bacon made Lord Keeper.

In the beginning of the next Year, the Queen having found that *Heath* Arch-bishop of *York*, then Lord Chancellor, would not go along with her, as he had done in the Reigns of her Father and Brother; and having therefore taken the Seals from him, and put them into Sir *Nicholas Bacons* Hand, did now by Patent create him Lord Keeper. Formerly those that were Keepers of the Seal, had no Dignity nor Authority annexed to their Office; they did not hear Causes, nor preside in the House of Lords, but were only to put the Seals to such Writs or Patents as went in course; and so it was only put in the Hands of a Keeper, but for some short Interval. But now *Bacon* was the first Lord Keeper that had all the Dignity and Authority of the Lord Chancellor conferred on him; and his not being raised to that high Title, perhaps flowed from his own modesty; for as he was one of the most Learned, most Pious, and Wisest Men of the Nation; so he retained in all his greatness a Modesty equal to what the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans* had carried with them to their highest advancement. He was Father to the great Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount St. *Albans*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, that will be always esteemed one of the greatest Glories of the *English* Nation.

The Queens Coronation.

The Queen was now to be Crowned; and having gone on the twelfth of *January* to the *Tower*, she returned from thence in State on the thirteenth. As she went into her Chariot, she lifted up her "Eyes to Heaven, and blessed God that had preserved her to see "that Joyful Day, and that had saved her as he did his Prophet "*Daniel* out of the mouth of the Lyons. She acknowledged her "Deliverance was only from him to whom she offered up the "Praise of it. She passed through *London* in great Triumph: and having observed that her Sister, by the sullenness of her behaviour to the People, had much lost their affections; therefore she always used, as she passed through Crowds, but more especially this day, to look out of her Coach cheerfully on them, and to return the respects they paid her with great sweetness in her Looks; commonly saying, *God bless You, my People*; which affected them much. But nothing pleased the City more than her behaviour as she went under one of the Triumphal Arches; there was a rich Bible let down to her, as from Heaven, by a Child, representing *Truth*; She with great Reverence kissed both her Hands, and receiving it, kissed it, and laid it next her Heart; and professed she was better pleased with that Present, than with all the other magnificent ones that had been that day made her by the City: This drew Tears of Joy from the Spectators Eyes. And indeed this Queen had a strange Art of insinuating her self by such ways into the affections of her People. Some said she was too Theatrical in it; but it wrought her end; since by these little things in her deportment she gained more on their affections, than other Princes have been able to do by more real and significant Arts of Grace and Favour. The day following she was Crowned at *Westminster* by *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, all the other Bishops refusing to assist at that Solemnity. He, and the

reſt of that Order, perceived that ſhe would change the Religion then eſtabliſhed, and looked on the Alterations ſhe had already made, as Pledges of more to follow; and obſerved by the favour that *Cecil* and *Bacon* had with her, that ſhe would return to what had been ſet up by her Brother. They had already turned ſo oft, that they were aſhamed to be turning at every time. *Heath*, *Tonſtall*, and *Thirleby*, had complied in King *Edwards* time, as well as in King *Henry*'s; and though *Thirleby* had continued in credit and favour with them till the laſt; yet he had been one of thoſe who had gone to *Rome*, where he made ſuch publick Profeſſions of his reſpect to the Apoſtolick See; and he had alſo aſſiſted at the degradation and condemnation of *Cranmer*; ſo that he thought it indecent for him to return to that Way any more: Therefore he with all the reſt reſolved to adhere to what they had ſet up in Queen *Maries* time. There were two of King *Edwards* Biſhops yet alive, who were come into *England*, yet the Queen choſe rather to be conſecrated by a Biſhop actually in Office, and according to the old Rites, which none but *Oglethorp* could be perſwaded to do. After that, ſhe gave a general Pardon according to the Common Form. 1559.

On the 23*d.* of *January*, being the day to which the Parliament was ſummoned, it was Prorogued till the 25*th.* and then it was opened with a long Speech of the Lord *Bacons*, in which he laid "before them the diſtracted Eſtate of the Nation, both in matters "of Religion, and the other Miſeries that the Wars and late Cala"mities had brought upon them: all which he recommended to their "care. For Religion, the Queen deſired they would conſider of it "without heat or partial affection, or uſing any reproachful Term of "*Papiſt* or *Heretick*, and that they would avoid the Extreams, of "Idolatry and Superſtition on the one hand, and contempt and irrili"gion on the other; and that they would examine matters without "Sophiſtical Niceties, or too ſubtil Speculations, and endeavour to ſet"tle things ſo as might bring the People to an Uniformity and Cor"dial Agreement in them. As for the ſtate of the Nation, he ſhew"ed the Queens great unwillingneſs to lay new Impoſitions on them, "upon which he run out largely in her commendation, giving them "all aſſurance that there was nothing ſhe would endeavour more ef"fectually than the advancing of their Proſperity, and the preſerving "their affections. He laid open the loſs of *Calais*, with great refle"ctions on thoſe who had been formerly in the Government; yet "ſpoke of it as a thing which they could not at that time hope to "recover; and laid before them the charge the Government muſt "be at, and the neceſſities the Queen was in; adding in her Name, "that ſhe would deſire no Supply, but what they did freely and "cheerfully offer. The Parliament meets.

One of the firſt things that the Commons conſidered, was, whether the want of the Title of *Supream Head*, which the Queen had not yet aſſumed, was a Nullity in the Summons for this and other Parliaments in which it had been omitted; but after this had been conſidered ſome days, it was judged to be no nullity; for the annulling

1559. nulling of a Parliament, except it had under a force, or for ſome other error in the Conſtitution, was a thing of dangerous Conſequence.

The Treaty at *Cambray.* But leaving the Conſultations at *Weſtminſter*, I ſhall now give an account of the Treaty of Peace at *Cambray*. That at which things ſtuck moſt, was the rendring of *Calais* again to the *Engliſh*, which the *French* did poſitively refuſe to do. For a great while *Philip* demanded it with ſo much earneſtneſs, that he declared he would make Peace on no other terms; ſince as he was bound in point of Honour to ſee the *Engliſh*, who engaged in the War only on his account, reſtored to the condition that they were in at the beginning of it; ſo his Intereſt made him deſire that they might be maſters of that Place, by which, it being ſo near them, they could have the Conveniency of ſending over Forces to give a diverſion to the *French* at any time thereafter, as their Alliances with him ſhould require. But when *Philip* ſaw there was no hope of a Marriage with the Queen, and perceived that ſhe was making alterations in Religion, he grew leſs careful of her Intereſts, and ſecretly agreed a Peace with the *French*. But that he might have ſome colour to excuſe himſelf for abandoning her, he told her Ambaſſador, that the *French* had offered him full ſatisfaction in all his own concerns, ſo that the Peace was hindered only by the conſideration of Calais; and therefore, unleſs the *Engliſh* would enter into a League with him for keeping up the War ſix years longer, he muſt ſubmit to the neceſſity of his Affairs. The Queen perceiving that ſhe was to expect no more aſſiſtance from the *Spaniard*, who was ſo much engaged to the old Superſtition, that he would enter into no firſt League with any whom he accounted an Heretick, was willing to liſten to the Meſſages that were ſent her from *France*, by the Conſtable and others, inducing her to agree to a Peace. She on the other hand complained that the Queen of *Scotland*, and her Husband in her Right, had aſſumed the Title and Arms of *England*: It was anſwered, That was done as the younger Brothers in *Germany* carried the Title of the great Families from whence they were deſcended; and for Titles, the Queen of *England* had little Reaſon to quarrel about that, ſince ſhe carried the Title, and gave the Arms of *France*.

A Peace with *France* agreed to. The Queen and her Council ſaw it was impoſſible for her to carry on the War with *France* alone. The laying heavy Impoſitions on her Subjects in the beginning of her Reign, might render her very ungrateful to the Nation, who loved not to be charged with many Subſidies: and when the War ſhould produce nothing but ſome Waſts on the *French* Coaſts, which was all that could be expected, ſince it was unreaſonable to look for the Recovery of *Calais*, it might turn all the Joy they were now in at her coming to the Crown into as general a diſcontent. It was the ruine of the Duke of *Somerſet*, that he had engaged in a War in the beginning of King *Edwards* Reign, when he was making Changes in Religion at home: therefore it was neceſſary to yield to the neceſſity of the time, eſpecially ſince the loſs of *Calais* was no reproach on the

Queen

Queen, but on her Siſter: ſo it was reſolved on, to make a general Peace, that being at quiet with their Neighbours, they might with the leſs danger apply themſelves to the correcting what was amiſs in *England*, both in Religion, and the Civil Government. At length a Peace was made on theſe Terms, That there ſhould be free Commerce between the Kingdoms of *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*: the *French* ſhould keep *Calais* for eight years; and at the end of that time ſhould deliver it to the *Engliſh*: and if it were not then delivered, they ſhould pay to the *Engliſh* 500000 Crowns, for which they ſhould give good Security by Merchants that lived in other Parts, and give Hoſtages till the Security were given: but if during theſe years the Queen made War on *France*, or *Scotland*, ſhe was to loſe her Right to that Town; or if the *French* or *Scots* made War on her, *Calais* ſhould be preſently reſtored; to which ſhe was ſtill to reſerve her Right: *Aymouth* in *Scotland* was to be razed, and a Commiſſion was to be ſent down to ſome of both Kingdoms, to agree all leſſer differences. On theſe Terms a Peace was made, and proclaimed between thoſe Crowns; to which many of the *Engliſh*, that did not apprehend what the charge of a War for the regaining of *Calais* would have amounted to, were very averſe; thinking it highly diſhonourable, that they, whoſe Anceſtors had made ſuch Conqueſts in *France*, ſhould be now beaten out of the only remainder that they had on the Continent; and thus make a Peace by which it was in effect parted with for ever. For all theſe Conditions about reſtoring it were underſtood to be only for palliating ſo Inglorious a buſineſs. But the Reformed caſt the blame of this on the Papiſts; and ſome moved, that all the late Queens Council ſhould be queſtioned for their Miſgovernment in that Particular: for it was thought nothing would make them ſo odious to the Nation, as the charging that on them. They on the other hand did caſt the blame of it on the Lord *Wentworth*, that had been Governour of *Calais*, and was now profeſſedly one of the Reformed, and had been very gentle to thoſe of that perſwaſion during his Government. But he put himſelf on a Trial by his Peers, which he underwent on the 22*d.* of *April*, and there did ſo clear himſelf, that he was by the Judgement of the Peers, acquitted. 1559.

The Queens Government being thus quieted abroad, ſhe was thereby at more leiſure to do things at home. The firſt Bill that was put into the Houſe of Lords to try their affections and diſpoſition to a Change in the matters of Religion, was that for the Reſtitution of the Tenths and Firſt-Fruits to the Crown. It was agreed to by the Lords on the fourth of *February*, having been put in the 30*th.* of *January*, and was the firſt Bill that was read: the Arch-biſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Worceſter*, *Landaffe*, *Litchfield*, *Exeter*, *Cheſter*, and *Carliſle*, proteſted againſt it: theſe were all of that Order that were at the Seſſion, except the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Ely*, and the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, who it ſeems were occaſionally abſent. On the ſixth of *February* it was ſent down to the Commons, to which they readily agreed; and ſo it had the Royal Aſſent. By it, not only the Tenths and Firſt-Fruits were again reſtored to the Crown, The Proceedings of the Parliament.

1559. Crown, but also all Impropriated Benefices which had been surrendred up by Queen *Mary*.

They address to the Queen for her marrying.

But the Commons reflecting on the miseries in which they had been lately involved by Queen *Maries* Marriage, had much debate about an Address to the Queen to induce her to marry. On the fourth of *February* it was argued in the House of Commons; and on the sixth, the Speaker, with the Privy-Counsellors of the House, and thirty Members more, were sent with their desires to the Queen. "They expressed the affections of the Nation to her, and said, That "if they could hope she might be Immortal they would rest satis- "fied; but that being a vain Imagination, they earnestly besought "her to choose such a Husband as might make the Nation and her "self happy; and by the blessing of God, bring such Issue as might "Reign after her death, which they prayed God might be very late. She said, "She looked on that as an expression both of their "affection and respect, since they had neither limited Time nor "Place. She declared that she had hitherto lived in a single state "with great satisfaction; and had neither entertained some Honou- "rable Propositions which, the Lord Treasurer knew, had been made "to her in her Brothers time, nor had been moved by the fears of "death that she was in, while she was under her Sisters displeasure, "(of which she would say little; for though she knew, or might just- "ly suspect, by whose means it was, yet she would not utter it, nor "would she charge it on the Dead, or cast the burthen of it whol- "ly upon her Sister: But she assured them, if ever she married, she "would make such a Choice as should be to the satisfaction and "good of her People: she did not know what credit she might "yet have with them; but she knew well, she deserved to have it, "for she was resolved never to deceive them: her People were to "her in stead of Children, and she reckoned her self married to them, "by her Coronation: They would not want a Successor when she "died; and for her part, she should be well contented that the Mar- "ble should tell Posterity, HERE LIES A QUEEN THAT "REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIVED AND DIED A "VIRGIN: She took their Address in good part, and desired "them to carry back her hearty thanks for the care the Commons "had of her.

The Queens Answer.

The Journals of the House of Lords are imperfect, so that we find nothing in them of this matter: yet it appears that they likewise had it before them: for the Journals of the House of Commons have it marked, that on the fifteenth of *February*, there was a Message sent from the Lords, desiring that a Committee of thirty Commoners might meet with twelve Lords to consider what should be the Authority of the Person whom the Queen should marry. The Committee was appointed to treat concerning it; but it seems the Queen desired them to turn to other things that were more pressing: for I find nothing, after this, entred in the Journals of this Parliament concerning it.

On the ninth of *February* the Lords past a Bill for the Recognizing of the Queens Title to the Crown. It had been considered whether as Queen *Mary* had procured a former Repeal of her Mothers Divorce, and of the Acts that passed upon it declaring her Illegitimate, the like should be done now. The Lord Keeper said, The Crown purged all defects, and it was needless to look back to a thing which would at least cast a reproach on her Father: the enquiring into such things too anxiously would rather prejudice than advance her Title. So he advised that there should be an act passed in general Words, asserting the lawfulness of her descent, and her Right to the Crown, rather than any special Repeal. Queen *Mary* and her Council were careless of King *Henry*'s Honour; but it became her rather to conceal than expose his Weakness. This being thought both Wise and Pious Council, the act was conceived in general Words, "That they did assuredly believe and declare, that by "the Laws of God and of the Realm she was their lawful Queen, "and that she was rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended from the "Royal Blood, and that the Crown did without all doubt or am-"biguity belong to her, and the Heirs to be lawfully begotten of "her Body after her; and that they, as representing the Three E-"states of the Realm, did declare and assert her Title, which they "would defend with their Lives and Fortunes. This was thought to be very wise Council: for if they had gone to repeal the Sentence of Divorce which passed upon her Mothers acknowledging a Precontract, they must have set force the forth that was on her when she made that Confession: and that, as it was a great dishonour to her Father, so it would have raised discourses likewise to her Mothers prejudice; which must have rather weakned than strengthened her Title: And, as has been formerly observed, this seems to be the true reason why in all her Reign there was no Apology printed for her Mother. There was another Act passed for the restoring of her in Blood to her Mother, by which she was qualified, as a private Subject, to succeed, either to her Grand-fathers Estate, or to any others by that Blood. 1559. They recognize her Title to the Crown.

But for the matters of Religion, the Commons began; and on the fifteenth of *February*, brought in a Bill for the English Service, and concerning the Ministers of the Church. On the 21st. a Bill was read for annexing the Supremacy to the Crown again; and on the 17*th*. of *March* another Bill was brought in, confirming the Laws made about Religion in King *Edwards* time. And on the 21st. another was brought in, That the Queen should have the Nomination of the Bishops, as it had been in King *Edwards* time. The Bill for the Supremacy was past by the Lords on the 18*th*. of *March*; the Archbishop of *York*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Viscount *Mountacute*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Worcester*, *Landaffe*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Exeter*, *Chester*, and *Carlisle*, and the Abbot of *Westminster*, dissenting. But afterwards the Commons annexed many other Bills to it, as that about the Queens making Bishops, not according to the Act made in King *Edwards* time, but by the old way of Elections, as it was Enacted in the 25*th*. Year of her Fathers Reign, The Acts that were passed concerning Religion.

1559. with several Provisoes; which passed in the House of Lords with the same dissent. By it, "all the Acts past in the Reign of King *Henry*, "for the abolishing of the Popes Power, are again revived; and the "Acts in Queen *Maries* time, to the contrary, are repealed. There "was also a Repeal of the Act made by her for proceeding against "Hereticks. They revived the Act made in the first Parliament of "King *Edward*, against those that spoke irreverently of the Sacra- "ment, and against private Masses, and for Communion in both kinds: "And declared the Authority of Visiting, Correcting, and Reforming "all things in the Church, to be for ever annexed to the Crown, "which the Queen and her Successors might by her Letters Patents "depute to any Persons to exercise in her Name. All Bishops, and "other Ecclesiastical Persons, and all in any Civil Imployment, were "required to swear that they acknowledged the Queen to be the Su- "*pream Governour in all Causes as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal with- "in her Dominions; that they renounced all Forreign Power and Ju- "risdiction; and should bear the Queen Faith and true Allegiance:* "Whosoever should refuse to swear it, was to forfeit any Office he "had either in Church or State; and to be from thenceforth dis- "bled to hold any Imployment during Life. And if within a Month "after the end of that Session of Parliament, any should, either by "discourse or in writing, set forth the Authority of any Forreign "Power, or do any thing for the advancement of it, they were to "forfeit all their Goods and Chattels: and if they had not Goods "to the value of twenty Pounds, they were to be Imprisoned a "whole year; and for the second offence they were to incur the "Pains of a *Præmunire*: and the third offence in that kind was made "Treason. To this a Proviso was added, That such Persons as should "be Commissioned by the Queen to Reform and Order Ecclesiasti- "cal Matters, should judge nothing to be Heresie but what had been "already so judged, by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, "or by the first four General Councils, or by any other General "Council in which such Doctrines were declared to be Heresies by "the expres and plain Words of Scripture: All other Points, not "so decided, were to be judged by the Parliament with the assent of "the Clergy in their Convocation.

This Act was in many things short of the Authority that King *Henry* had claimed, and the severity of the Laws he had made. The Title of *Supream Head* was left out of the Oath: This was done to mitigate the Opposition of the Popish Party; but besides, the Queen her self had a scruple about it, which was put in her Head by one *Lever*, a famous Preacher among those of the Reformation, of which *Sands*, afterwards Bishop of *Worcester*, complained to *Parker* in a Letter that is in the *Collection*. There was no other punishment inflicted on those that denied the Queens Supremacy, but the loss of their Goods; and such as refused to take the Oath, did only lose their Imployments; whereas to refuse the Oath in King *Henry*'s time, brought them into a *Præmunire*, and to deny the Supremacy was Treason. But against this Bill the Bishops made Speeches in the House of Lords. I have seen a Speech of this kind was said to have

Collection Number 2.

The Bishops oppose the Queens Supremacy.

have been made by Arch-biſhop *Heath*; but it muſt be forgery put out in his Name: for he is made to ſpeak of the Supremacy as a new and unheard of thing, which he, who had ſworn it ſo oft in King *Henry*'s and King *Edwards* times, could not have the face to ſay. The reſt of the Biſhops oppoſed it, the rather, becauſe they had lately declared ſo high for the Pope that it had been very indecent for them to have revolted ſo ſoon. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* came not to this Parliament. There were ſome hopes of gaining him to concur in the Reformation: for in the Warrant the Queen afterwards gave to ſome for Conſecrating the new Biſhops, he is firſt named; and I have ſeen a Letter of Secretary *Cecil* to *Parker*, that gives him ſome hope that *Tonſtal* would joyn with them. He had been offended with the Cruelties of the late Reign; and though the reſentments he had of his ill uſage in the end of King *Edwards* time, had made him at firſt concur more heartily to the reſtoring of Popery, yet he ſoon fell off, and declared his diſlike of thoſe violent Courſes; and neither did he, nor *Heath*, bring any in trouble within their Dioceſſes upon the account of Religion; though it is hardly credible that there was no occaſion for their being ſevere, if they had been otherwiſe enclined to it. The Biſhop of *Ely* was alſo abſent at the paſſing of this Act; for though he would not conſent to it, yet he had done all that was preſcribed by it ſo often before, that it ſeems he thought it more decent to be abſent, than either to conſent to it, or to oppoſe it. 1559.

The Power that was added for the Queens Commiſſionating ſome to Execute her Supremacy, gave the Riſe to that Court, which was Commonly called the *High Commiſſion Court*; and was to be in the room of a ſingle Perſon, to whom, with the Title of Lord Vice-gerent, King *Henry* did delegate his Authority. It ſeems, the Clergy-men with whom the Queen conſulted at this time thought this too much to be put in one Mans Hand, and therefore reſolved to have it ſhared to more Perſons, of whom a great many would certainly be Church-men: ſo that they ſhould not be altogether kept under by the hard Hands of the Laity, who having groaned long under the Tyranny of an Eccleſiaſtical Yoke, ſeemed now diſpoſed to revenge themſelves by bringing the Clergy as much under them; for ſo Extreams do commonly riſe from one another. The beginning of the High Commiſſion.

The Popiſh Clergy were now every where beginning to declaim againſt Innovation and Hereſie. *Harpsfield* had in a Sermon at *Canterbury* in *February*, ſtirred the People much to Sedition: and the Members belonging to that Cathedral had openly ſaid, that Religion ſhould not, nor could not be altered. The Council alſo heard that the Prebendaries there had bought up many Arms: ſo a Letter was written to Sir *Thomas Smith*, to examine that matter. *Harpsfield* was not put in Priſon, but received only a Rebuke. There came alſo complaints from many other Places of many Seditious Sermons: So the Queen, following the Precedent her Siſter had ſet her, did, in the beginning of *March*, forbid all Preaching, except by ſuch as had a Licence under the Great Seal. But leſt the Clergy might now in the Convocation ſet out Orders in oppoſition to what the Queen was about to do; ſhe ſent, and required them, under the Pains of a *Præmunire*, to make no Canons. Yet

1559. *Harpsfield*, that was Prolocutor, with the rest of the lower House, made an Address to the upper House, to be by them presented to the Queen for the discharge of their Consciences. They reduced the Particulars into five Articles. 1. That Christ was corporally present in the Sacrament. 2. That there was no other Substance there but his Body and Blood. 3. That in the Mass there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead and the Living. 4. That St. *Peter* and his lawful Succession had the Power of feeding and governing the Church. 5. That the Power of treating about Doctrine, the Sacraments, and the Order of Divine Worship, belonged only to the Pastors of the Church. These they had sent to the two Universities, from whence they were returned with the Hands of the greatest part in them to the first four; but it seems they thought it not fit to sign the last: For now the Queen had resolved to have a publick Conference about Religion in the Abby-Church of *Westminster*.

The Arch-bishop of *York* was continued still to be of the Council; so the Conference being proposed to him, he, after he had Communicated it to his Brethren, accepted of it, though with some unwillingness. It was appointed that there should be nine of a side, who should confer about these three Points. 1. *Whether it was not against the Word of God and the Custom of the Ancient Church, to use a Tongue unknown to the People, in the Common-Prayers and the administration of the Sacraments?* 2. *Whether every Church had not Authority to appoint, change, and take away, Ceremonies, and Ecclesiastical Rites, so the same were done to edification.* 3. *Whether it could be proved by the Word of God, that in the Mass there was a Propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead, and the Living?* All was ordered to be done in Writing. The Bishops, as being actually in Office, were to read their Papers first upon the first point, and the Reformed were to read theirs next; and then they were to exchange their Papers, without any discourse concerning them, for the avoiding of jangling. The next day they were to read their Papers upon the second, and after that, upon the third Head: and then they were to answer one anothers Papers. The Nine on both sides were, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Litchfield*, *Chester*, *Carlisle*, and *Lincoln*, and Doctors *Cole*, *Harpsfield*, *Langdale*, and *Chedsey*, on the Popish side: and Scholate Bishop of *Chichester*, *Cox*, *Whitehead*, *Grindal*, *Horn*, *Sands*, *Grindal*, *Almer*, and *Jewel*, for the Protestants. The last of *March* was appointed to be the first day of Conference, where the Privy Council was to be present, and the Lord Keeper was to see that they should not depart from the Rules to which they had agreed.

The noise of this drew vast numbers of People to so unusual a sight: it being expected that there should be much fairer dealings now, than had been in the Disputes in Queen *Maries* time. The whole House of Commons came to hear it, as no doubt the Lords did also, though it is not marked in their Journal. At their meeting, the Bishop of *Winchester* said their Paper was not quite ready, and pretended they had mistaken the Order: But Dr. *Cole* should deliver what they had prepared, though it was not yet in that order that they could copy it out. The Secret of this was, the Bishops had in their private Consultations agreed to read their Paper, but not to give those they called Heretics

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Copy of it: They could not decently refuſe to give a publick account of their Doctrine, but they were reſolved not to enter into Diſputes with any about it: This ſeemed to be the giving up of the Faith, if they ſhould ſuffer it again to be brought into queſtion: Beſides, they look'd on it as the higheſt Act of Supremacy, for the Queen to appoint ſuch Conferences: for ſhe and her Council would pretend to judge in theſe Points, when they had done diſputing. For theſe Reaſons they would not engage to make any Exchange of Papers. The Lord Keeper took notice that this was contrary to the Order laid down at the Council Board, to which the Arch-biſhop of *York* had in their Names conſented. But they pretending they had miſtaken the Order, *Cole* was appointed to deliver their Minds, which he did in a long Diſcourſe, the greateſt part of which he read out of a Book, that will be found in the *Collection*. For though they refuſed to deliver a Copy of it, yet *Parker* ſome way procured it, among whoſe Papers I found it. The Subſtance of it was, "That although it might "ſeem that the Scriptures had appointed the Worſhip of God to be "in a known Tongue; yet that might be changed by the Authority "of the Church, which had changed the Sabbath, appointed in the "Scripture, without any Authority from thence. Chriſt waſhed his "Diſciples Feet, and bid them do the like, yet this was not kept up: "Chriſt inſtituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood after Sup-"per; and yet the Church appointed it to be received faſting: ſo "had the Church alſo given it only in one kind, though Chriſt himſelf "gave it in both: And whereas the Apoſtles, by Authority from the "Holy Ghoſt, commanded all Believers to abſtain from Blood, yet "that was not thought to oblige any now: and though there was a "community of Goods in the Apoſtles times, it was no obligation to "Chriſtians to ſet up that now: ſo that this matter was in the power of "the Church. And ſince the Church of *Rome* had appointed the "*Latin* Service to be every where uſed, it was Schiſmatical to ſeparate "from it: for according to *Ireneus*, all Churches ought to agree with "her, by reaſon of her great Preeminence. Upon which they run out "largely to ſhew the miſchiefs of Schiſm, both in *France*, *Spain*, *Ger-*"*many*, and in other Countries. And for the *Britains* and *Saxons* of "*England*, their firſt Apoſtles, that converted them to Chriſtianity, were "Men of other Nations, and did never uſe any Service but that of their "Native Language. All the Vulgar Tongues did change much, but the "*Latin* was ever the ſame: and it was not fit for the Church to be chang-"ing her Service. The Queen of *Ethiopia*'s Eunuch read *Iſaiah*'s Book, "though he underſtood it not; upon which, God ſent *Philip* to him to "expound it: So the People are to come to their Teachers, to have "thoſe things explained to them which they cannot underſtand of them-"ſelves. There were many Rites in the Jewiſh Religion, the ſignifica-"tion whereof the People underſtood as little then, as the Vulgar do "the *Latin* now; and yet they were commanded to uſe them. The "People were to uſe their private Prayers in what Tongue they pleaſed, "though the publick Prayers were put up in *Latin*; and ſuch Prayers "may be for their profit, though they underſtand them not, as abſent "Perſons are the better for the Prayers which they do not hear, much "leſs

1559.

Collection Number 4.

Arguments for the *Latin* Service.

1559. "leſs underſtand. They ſaid, it was not to be thought that the Holy "Ghoſt had ſo long forſaken his Church, and that a few lately riſen up "were to teach all the World. They concluded, that they could bring "many more Authorities; but they, being to defend a Negative, "thought it needleſs, and would refer theſe to the Anſwers they were "to make.

Arguments againſt it. When this was done, the Lord Keeper turned to thoſe of the other ſide, and deſired them to read their Paper. *Horn* was appointed by them to do it. He began with a ſhort Prayer to God to enlighten their minds, and with a Proteſtation that they were reſolved to follow the Truth according to the Word of God. Then he read his Paper, which will be alſo found in the *Collection*. "They founded their Aſſertion on "St. *Pauls* words, who, in the 14*th*. Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle to the "*Corinthians*, had treated on that Subject of ſet purpoſe; and ſpake in "it, not only of Preaching, but of Praying with the Underſtanding; "and ſaid, that the Unlearned were to ſay *Amen* at the giving of Thanks. "From that Chapter they argued, that St. *Paul* commanded that all things "ſhould be done to Edification, which could not be by an unknown Lan- "guage: He alſo charged them that nothing ſhould be ſaid that had an "uncertain ſound; and that, as the ſound of a Trumpet muſt be di- "ſtinct, ſo the People muſt underſtand what is ſaid, that ſo they might "ſay *Amen* at the giving of Thanks. He alſo required thoſe that ſpake "in a ſtrange Language, and could not get one to interpret, to hold "their peace; ſince it was an abſurd thing for one to be a Barbarian "to others in the Worſhip of God: and though the ſpeaking with ſtrange "Tongues was then an extraordinary Gift of God, yet he ordered that "it ſhould not be uſed where there was no Interpreter. They added, "that theſe things were ſo ſtrictly commanded by St. *Paul*, that it is plain "they are not indifferent, or within the Power of the Church. In the "Old Teſtament, the *Jews* had their Worſhip in the Vulgar Tongue, "and yet the new Diſpenſation being more Internal and Spiritual, it was "abſurd that the Worſhip of God ſhould be leſs underſtood by Chri- "ſtians, than it had been by the *Jews*. The chief end of Worſhip is "according to *David*, that we may ſhew forth Gods Praiſes, which can- "not be done, if it is in a ſtrange Tongue. Prayer is the offering "up of our deſires to God, which we cannot do, if we underſtand not "the Language they are in. *Baptiſme* and the *Lords Supper* are to "contain Declarations of the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt, which "muſt be underſtood, otherwiſe why are they made? The uſe of Speech "is to make known what one brings forth to another. The moſt Barba- "rous Nations perform their Worſhip in a known Tongue, which ſhews "it to be a Law of Nature. It is plain from *Juſtin Martyrs* Apology, that "the Worſhip was then in a known Tongue; which appears alſo from all "the Ancient Liturgies: and a long Citation was brought out of St. *Baſil*, "for the ſinging of Pſalms, duly weighing the Words with much atten- "tion and devotion; which, he ſays, was practiſed in all Nations. They "concluded, wondering how ſuch an abuſe could at firſt creep in, and be "ſtill ſo ſtifly maintained; and why thoſe who would be thought the "Guides and Paſtors of the Church, were ſo unwilling to return to the "Rule of St. *Paul*, and the Practiſe of the Primitive Times.

Collection Number 3.

There

There was a great ſhout of Applauſe, when they had done. They gave their Paper, ſigned with all their Hands, to the Lord Keeper, to be delivered to the other ſide, as he ſhould think fit. But he kept it till the other ſide ſhould bring him theirs. The Papiſts, upon this, ſaid, they had more to add on that Head, which was thought diſingenuous by thoſe that had heard them profeſs they had nothing to add to what *Cole* had ſaid. Thus the Meeting broke up for that day, being *Saturday*; and they were ordered to go forward on *Munday*, and to prepare what they were to deliver on the other two Heads. The Papiſts, though the could complain of nothing that was done, except the applauſe given to the Paper of the Reformers; yet they ſaw by that, how much more acceptable the other Doctrine was to the People; and therefore reſolved to go no further in that matter. At the next meeting, they deſired that their Anſwer to the Paper read by the Reformed might be firſt heard: To this the Lord Keeper ſaid, That they had delivered their mind the former day, and ſo were not to be heard till they had gone through the other Points; and then they were to return on both ſides to the anſwering of Papers. They ſaid that what *Cole* had delivered the former day, was *Extempore*, and of himſelf; but it had not been agreed on by them. This appeared to all the Aſſembly to be very foul dealing; ſo they were required to go on to the ſecond Point. Then they preſſed that the other ſide might begin with their Paper, and they would follow: for they ſaw what an advantage the others had the former day, by being heard laſt. The Lord Keeper ſaid, the Order was that they ſhould be heard firſt, as being Biſhops now in Office. But both *Wincheſter*, and *Lincoln*, refuſed to go any further, if the other ſide did not begin. Upon which there followed a long debate; *Lincoln* ſaying that the firſt Order, which was, that all ſhould be in *Latin*, was changed; and that they had prepared a Writing in *Latin*: But in this, not only the Counſellors, among whom ſate the Arch-biſhop of *York*, but the reſt of his own Party contradicted him. In concluſion, all, except *Feckenam*, refuſed to read any more Papers: he ſaid, he was willing to have done it, but he could not undertake ſuch a thing alone; and ſo the Meeting broke up. 1559.

The Conference between the Papiſts and Proteſtants breaks up.

But the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, and of *Lincoln*, ſaid, the Doctrine of the Catholick Church was already eſtabliſhed, and ought not to be diſputed; except it were in a Synod of Divines: that it was too great an encouragement to Hereticks, to hear them thus diſcourſe againſt the Faith, before the unlearned Multitude: and that the Queen by ſo doing had incurred the Sentence of Excommunication; and they talked of excommunicating her and her Council. Upon this they were both ſent to the *Tower*. The Reformed took great advantage from the Iſſue of this Debate, to ſay, their Adverſaries knew that upon a fair hearing the Truth was ſo manifeſtly on their ſide, that they durſt not put it to ſuch hazard. The whole World ſaw that this Diſputation was managed with great Impartiality, and without noiſe or diſorder; far different from what had been in Queen *Maries* time: ſo they were generally much confirmed in their former belief, by the Papiſts flying the Field. They on the other hand ſaid, they ſaw the rude Multitude were now carried with a Fury againſt them; the Lord Keeper was their profeſſed Enemy; the

1559. the Laity would take on them to judge, after they had heard them; and they perceived they were already determined in their minds; and that this Dispute was only to set off the changes that were to be made with the Pomp of a Victory: and they blamed the Bishops for undertaking it at first, but excused them for breaking it off in time. And the Truth is, the strength of their Cause, in most Points of Controversie, resting on the Authority of the Church of *Rome*, that was now a thing of so odious a sound, that all Arguments brought from thence, were not like to have any great effect. Upon this whole matter, there was an act of State made, and Signed by many Privy Counsellors, giving an account of all the steps that were made in it, which will be found in the *Collection*.

Collection Number 5.

This being over, the Parliament was now in a better disposition to pass the Bill for the Uniformity of the Service of the Church. Some of the Reformed Divines were appointed to review King *Edwards* Liturgy, and to see if in any Particular it was fit to change it. The only considerable Variation was made about the Lords Supper, of which somewhat will appear from the Letter of *Sandys* to *Parker*. It was proposed to have the Communion Book so contrived, that it might not exclude the belief of the Corporal Presence: for the chief design of the Queens Council was, to unite the Nation in one Faith; and the greatest part of the Nation continued to believe such a Presence. Therefore it was recommended to the Divines to see that there should be no express definition made against it; that so it might lie as a Speculative Opinion, not determined, in which every Man was left to the Freedom of his own Mind. Hereupon the Rubrick that explained the Reason for kneeling at the Sacrament, *That thereby no Adoration is intended to any Corporal Presence of Christs natural Flesh and Blood*, because, *that is only in Heaven*, which had been in King *Edwards* Liturgy, was now left out. And whereas at the delivery of the Elements in King *Edwards* first Liturgy, there was to be said, *The Body or Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ Preserve thy Body and Soul to Everlasting Life*; which words had been left out in his second Liturgy, as favouring the Corporal Presence too much; and in stead of them, these words were ordered to be used in the distribution of that Sacrament, *Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy Heart by Faith with Thanksgiving*; and *Drink this in remembrance that Christs Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.* They now joyned both these in one. Some of the Collects were also a little altered: and thus was the Book presented to the House. But for the Book of Ordination, it was not in express terms named in the Act; which gave an occasion afterwards to question the lawfulness of the Ordinations made by that Book. But by this Act the Book that was set out by King *Edward*, and confirmed by Parliament in the fifth Year of his Reign, was again authorized by Law; and the Repeal of it in Queen *Maries* time was made void. So the Book of Ordinations being in that Act added to the Book of Common-Prayer, it was now legally in force again; as was afterwards declared in Parliament, upon a Question that was raised about it by *Bonner*.

The

1559. Debates about the Act of Uniformity.

The Bill that was put in on the 15*th.* of *February*, concerning the new Service, being laid aside, a new one was framed, and sent up by the Commons on the 18*th.* of *April*, and debated in the House of Lords: *Heath* made a long Speech against it, rather Elegant than Learned; "He enlarged much on the several Changes which had been made in "King *Edward*'s time: he said, that both *Cranmer* and *Ridley* changed "their Opinions in the matter of Christ's presence: he called *Ridley* "the most notable learned Man that was of that way. These Changes "he imputed to their departing from the Standard of the Catholick "Church: he complained much of the robbing of Churches, the breaking "of Images, and the Stage-Plays made in mockery of the Catholick Re- "ligion. Upon all these Reasons he was against the Bill. The Bishop of *Chester* spake also to it: "He said, the Bill was against both Faith and Cha- "rity: that Points once defined were not to be brought again into que- "stion; nor were Acts of Parliament Foundations for a Churches Be- "lief: he enlarged on the Antiquity of their Forms; and said, it was "an insolent thing to pretend that our Fathers had lived in Ignorance. "The Prophets oftentimes directed the *Israelites* to ask of their Fathers. "Matters of Religion could not be understood by the Laity. It was "of great consequence to have their Faith well grounded. *Jeroboam* "made *Israel* to sin, when he set up a new way of Worship: and not "only the Orthodox, but even the *Arrian* Emperors ordered, that "points of Faith should be examined in Councils. *Gallio* by the light of "Nature knew that a Civil Judge ought not to meddle with matters of "Religion: In the Service-Book that was then before them, they "had no Sacrifice for their Sins, nor were they to adore Christ in "the Host; and for these reasons he could not agree to it: but if any "thought he spoke this because of his own concern, or pitied him for "what he might suffer by it, he would say in the words of our Saviour "*Weep not for me, Weep for your selves.*

After him spake *Feckham* Abbot of *Westminster*; "He proposed three "Rules by which they should judge of Religion; its Antiquity, its "constancy to it self, and the influence it had on the Civil Government: "he said the old Religion began in the time of King *Lucius*, according "to *Gildas*; the Book now proposed, was not used before the two last "years of King *Edward*: the one was always the same, the other was "changed every second year, as appeared in the point of the Presence "of Christ in the Sacrament: there had been great Order and Obe- "dience in Queen *Maries* Reign; but now every where great Insolen- "ces were committed by the People, with some very indecent Pro- "phanations of the most holy things: he recommended to them, in "St. *Austins* words, the adhering to the Catholick Church: the very "name *Catholick*, which Hereticks had not the confidence to assume, "shewed their Authority. The Consent of the whole Church in all "Ages, with the perpetual Succession of Pastors in St. *Peter*'s Chair, "ought to weigh more with them, than a few new Preachers, who had "distracted both *Germany* and *England* of late.

Thus I have given the substance of their Speeches, being all that I have seen of that side. I have seen none at all on the other side; tho it is not probable but some were made in defence of the Service, as well as these were against it. But upon this Occasion I shall set down the

1559. substance of the second Paper, which the Reformed Divines had prepared on the second point, for the Conference about the Authority of every particular Church to change ortake away Ceremonies. I do not put it in the Collection, because I have not that which the Papists prepared in Opposition to it. But the heads of this Paper were as followeth.

Arguments for the Changes made in the Service.

"It is clear by the Epistles which St. *Paul* writ to the *Corinthians* "and other Churches, that every Church has Power in it self to order "the Forms of their Worship, and the administration of the Sacraments "among them, so as might best tend to Order, Edification and Peace. The "like power had also the seven Angels of the Churches, to whom St. "*John* writ. And for the first three Ages, there was no General Meet- "ing of the Church in Synods, but in those times the neighbouring Pa- "stors and Bishops, by mutual advice rather than Authority, ordered "their Affairs: and when Heresies sprung up, they condemned them "without staying for a General Determination of the whole Church. "There were also great differences among them in their Customs, as a- "bout observing *Lent* and *Easter*. Ceremonies grew too soon to a great "number. When Errors or Abuses appeared, private Bishops reformed "their own Dioceses: So those who came in the room of *Arius* Bi- "shops, even when that Heresie was spread over all the East, and the "See of *Rome* it self was defiled with it, yet reformed their own Churches. "*Ambrose* finding the custom of Feasting in Churches on the Anniver- "saries of the Martyrs gave occasion to great Scandals, took it away. "Even in Queen *Maries* time, many of the old Superstitions of Pilgri- "mages and Reliques, which had been abolish'd in King *Henry*'s time, "were not then taken up again: from which they argued, that if some "things might be altered, why not more? So that if there was good "reason to make any Changes, it could not be doubted but that as Hi- "zekiah and *Josiah* had made by their own power, so the Queen might "make Reformations; which were not so much the setting up of new "things, as the restoring of the state of Religion to what it was anciently; which had been brought in by consent of Parliament and Convo- "cation in King *Edward*'s time. The Rules they offer'd in this Paper about Ceremonies, were, that they should not be made necessary part of Worship; that they should not be too many, nor dumb and vain, nor should be kept up for gain and advantage.

These were the Arguments used on both sides: But the Reformed being superior in number, the Bill passed in the House of Lords; the Archbishop of *York*, the Marquess of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Viscount *Mountacute*, the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Ely*, *Coventry*, *Chester*, and *Carlisle*; and the Lords, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, *Wharton*, *Rich*, and *North*, and the Abbot of *Westminster* dissenting. By this Act the new Book was to take place by St. *John Baptist*'s day.

Another Act passed, that the Queen might reserve to her self the Lands belonging to Bishopricks, as they fell void, giving the full value of them in Impropriated Tithes in lieu of them. To this the Bishops dissented on the *7th.* of *April*, when it passed in the House of Lords. But when this came to the Commons, there was great opposition made to it. Many had observed, that in *Edward* the *6th*'s time, under a pretence of giving some Endowments to the Crown, the Courtiers got all the Church Lands divided amongst themselves; so it was believed the us

to be made of this, would be the robbing of the Church, without enriching the Crown. After many days Debate, on the *17th.* of *April*, the House divided, and 90 were against it, but 133 were for it, and so it passed. 1559.

On the *5th.* of *May*, another Bill passed with the like opposition. It was for annexing of all Religious Houses to the Crown. After that there followed some private Acts for declaring the deprivation of the Popish Bishops in King *Edward*'s Time to have been good. When they were restored by Queen *Mary*, the Sentences passed against them, were declared to have been void from the beginning; and so all Leases that were made by *Ridley*, *Poinet*, and *Hooper*, and the Patents granted by the King, of some of their Lands, were annulled. It was particularly remembred in the House of Commons, that *Ridley* had made the confirming of these Leases his last desire, when he was going to be tied to the Stake. The ground on which the Sentences were declared void, was, because the Parties had appealed, though in the Commission, by vertue of which the Delegates deprived them, they were impowered to proceed notwithstanding any Appeal. To this, not only the Bishops, but the Marques of *Winchester*, and the Lords, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, and *North*, dissented.

It shews the great Moderation of this Government, that this Marques, notwithstanding his adhering to the Popish Interest in the House of Lords, was still continued Lord Treasurer; which employment he held fourteen Years after this, and died in the *97th.* Year of his Age, leaving 103 issued from his own Body behind him. He was the greatest instance of good Fortune and Dexterity, that we find in the English History; who continued Lord Treasurer in three such different Reigns, as King *Edward*'s, Queen *Mary*'s, and Queen *Elizabeth*'s were.

There were a Subsidy, and two Tenths, and two Fifteenths given by the Parliament, with the Tonnage and Poundage, for the Queen's Life; and so on the *8th.* of *May* it was dissolved.

There was three Bills that did not pass in the House of Commons, but upon what account they were laid aside, it does not appear. The one was for the Restoring of the Bishops that had been deprived by Queen *Mary*. There were but three of these alive, *Barlow*, *Scory*, and *Coverdale*; the first of these had resigned, and the last, being old, had no mind to return to his Bishoprick: So perhaps it was not thought worth the while to make an Act for one Man's sake, especially since there were so many vacant Bishopricks in the Queen's hands, and more were like to fall. The other Bill was, for the restoring of all Persons that were deprived from their Benefices because they were married. This the Queen ordered to be laid aside; of which *Sands* complained much in his Letter to *Parker*: But yet the Queen took no notice of the Laws formerly made against their Marriage; and promoted many married Priests, particularly *Parker* himself. There was no Law now in force against Clergy-mens marrying; for Queen *Mary* had only repealed the Laws of *Edward* the *6th.* which allowed it, but had made none concerning that Matter: So there was nothing but the Canon Law against it; and that was resolved to be condemned, by continuing that Article of Religion concerning the lawfulness of their Marriage, among those that should be set out. The next Bill, that came to nothing, was a new Act for giving Authority to 32 Persons, to revise the Ecclesiastical Laws, and

Bills that were proposed, but not passed.

1559. and digeſt them into a Body; it was laid aſide at the ſecond Reading in the Houſe of Commons, and has ſlept ever ſince.

The Biſhops refuſe the Oath of Supremacy.

When the Parliament was over, the Oath of Supremacy was ſoon after put to the Biſhops and Clergy. They thought, if they could ſtick cloſe to one another in refuſing it, the Queen would be forced to diſpence with them, and would not at one ſtroke turn out all the Biſhops in *England*. It does not appear how ſoon after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, the Oath was put to them; but it was not long after, for the laſt Collation *Bonner* gave of any Benefice, was on the *6th.* of *May* this Year. The Oath being offered to *Heath*, Archbiſhop of *York*, to *Bonner* of *London*, *Thirleby* of *Ely*, *Bourn* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Chriſtopherſon* of *Chicheſter*, *Bain* of *Litchfield*, *White* of *Wincheſter*, and *Watſon* of *Lincoln*, *Oglethorpe* of *Carliſle*, *Turbervile* of *Exeter*, *Pool* of *Peterburgh*, *Scot* of *Cheſter*, *Pates* of *Worceſter*, and *Goldwell* of St. *Aſaph*, they did all refuſe to take it: So that only *Kitchin* Biſhop of *Landaf* took it. There was ſome hope of *Tonſtall*; ſo it was not put to him til *September*, but he being very old, choſe to go out with ſo much Company, more for the decency of the thing, than out of any ſcruple he could have about the Supremacy for which he had formerly writ ſo much. They were upon their refuſal put in Priſon for a little while; but they had all their Liberty ſoon after, except *Bonner*, *White*, and *Watſon*. There were great Complaints made againſt *Bonner*, that he had, in many things, in the proſecution of thoſe that were preſented for Hereſie, exceeded what the Law allowed; ſo that it was much deſired to have him made an Example. But as the Queen was of her own nature Merciful, ſo the Reformed Divines had learned in the Goſpel, not *to render Evil for Evil*, nor to ſeek Revenge; and as *Nazianzen* had of old exhorted the Orthodox, when they had got an Emperor that favoured them, not to retaliate on the *Arrians* for their former Cruelties: So they thought it was for the honour of their Religion, to give this real demonſtration of the Conformity of their Doctrine, to the Rules of the Goſpel, and of the Primitive Church, by avoiding all Cruelty and Severity, when it looked like Revenge.

Vita Parkeri.

The Queens gentleneſs to them.

All this might have been expected from ſuch a Queen, and ſuch Biſhops. But it ſhewed a great temper in the whole Nation, that ſuch a Man as *Bonner* had been, was ſuffered to go about in ſafety, and was not made a Sacrifice to the Revenge of thoſe who had loſt their near Friends by his means. Many things were brought againſt him, and *White*, and ſome other Biſhops; upon which the Queen promiſed to give a Charge to the Viſitors, whom ſhe was to ſend over *England*, to enquire into theſe things; and after ſhe had heard their Report, ſhe ſaid, ſhe would proceed as ſhe ſaw cauſe: by this means ſhe did not deny juſtice, but gained a little time to take off the Edg that was on Mens Spirits, who had been much provoked by the ill uſage they had met with from them.

Heath was a Man of a generous temper, and ſo was well uſed by the Queen, for as he was ſuffered to live ſecurely at his own Houſe in *Surrey*, ſo ſhe went thither ſometimes to viſit him. *Tonſtall* and *Thirleby* lived in *Lambeth* with *Parker*, with great freedom and eaſe; the one was Learned and good natured, the other was a Man of Buſineſs: but too eaſie and flexible. *White* and *Watſon* were moroſe ſullen Men; to which their Studies, as well as their Tempers, had diſpoſed them; for they were

much given to Scholaſtical Divinity, which inclined Men to be Cinical, to over-value themſelves, and deſpiſe others. *Chriſtopherſon* was a good Grecian, and had tranſlated *Euſebius* and the other Church Hiſtorians into Latin, but with as little fidelity, as may be expected from a Man violently addicted to a Party. *Bain* was learned in the Hebrew, which he had profeſſed at *Paris*, in the Reign of *Francis* the Firſt. All theſe choſe to live ſtill in *England*; only *Pates*, *Scot*, and *Goldwell*, went beyond Sea. After them went the Lord *Morley*, Sir *Francis Englefield*, Sir *Robert Peckham*, Sir *Thomas Shelley*, and Sir *John Gage*; who it ſeems, deſired to live where they might have the free exerciſe of their Religion: And ſuch was the Queens gentleneſs, that this was not denied them, tho ſuch favour had not been ſhewed in Queen *Maries* Reign. *Feckham* Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, was a charitable and generous Man, and lived in great eſteem in *England*. Moſt of the Monks returned to a Secular courſe of Life, but the Nunns went beyond Sea. 1559.

A Viſitation and Injunctions ordered by the Queen.

Now the Queen intended to ſend *Injunctions* over *England*, and in the end of *June* they were prepared. There was great difficulty made about one of them; the Queen ſeemed to think the uſe of Images in Churches, might be a means to ſtir up Devotion, and that at leaſt it would draw all People to frequent them the more: for the great meaſure of her Councils was, to unite the whole Nation into one way of Religion. The Reformed Biſhops and Divines oppoſed this vehemently; they put all their Reaſons in a long Writing which they gave her concerning it; the Preface and Concluſion of which will be found in the *Collection*. Collection Number 6.

'They proteſted they could not comply with that, which, as it was 'againſt their own Conſciences, ſo it would prove a Snare to the Igno-'rant: they had often preſſed the Queen in that Matter; which, it 'ſeems, ſtuck long with her: They prayed her not to be offended with 'that Liberty they took, thus to lay their Reaſons before her, it being 'a thing which Chriſtian Princes had at all times taken well from their 'Biſhops. They deſired her to commit that Matter to the Deciſion of 'a Synod of Biſhops and Divines, and not to do ſuch a thing meerly 'upon ſome Political Conſiderations; which as it would offend many, 'ſo it would reflect much on the Reign of her moſt Godly Brother, and 'on thoſe who had then removed all Images, and had given their Lives 'afterwards for a Teſtimony to the Truth.

The Queen inclined to retain Images in Churches.

'The ſubſtance of their Reaſons, (which for their length I have not 'put in the *Collection*) is, That the ſecond Commandment forbids the 'making of any Images, as a reſemblance of God. And *Deut.* 27. 'there was a Curſe pronounced on thoſe *who made an Image, an abomi-'nation to the Lord, and put it in a ſecret place*; which they expounded 'of ſome *Sacraria* in private Houſes: and *Deut.* 4. among the Cautions '*Moſes* gives to the People of *Iſrael* to beware of Idolatry; this is one, '*that they do not make an Image*, for the uſe of theſe does naturally dege-'nerate into Idolatry: The Jews were ſo ſenſible of this after the Capti-'vity, that they would die, rather than ſuffer an Image to be put in their 'Temple. The Book of *Wiſdom* calls an Image, A *Snare for the feet 'of the Ignorant*. St. *John* charged thoſe he writ to, to *beware of Idols*. 'So *Tertullian* ſaid, It was not enough to beware of Idolatry towards 'them, but of the very Images themſelves. And as *Moſes* had charged 'the People not to lay a ſtumbling-block in the way of the Blind; ſo

Reaſons brought againſt it.

'it

1559. 'it was a much greater sin to leave such a Trap for the weak Multitude. 'This was not for Edification, since it fed the Superstition of the Weak 'and Ignorant, who would continue in their former dotage upon them, 'and would alienate others from the Publick Worship; so that be- 'tween those that would separate from them if they were continued, 'and the Multitude that would abuse them, the number of those that 'would use them aright, would be very inconsiderable: The outward 'splendor of them would be apt to draw the minds of the Worship- 'pers, if not to direct Idolatry, yet to staring and distraction of 'Thoughts. Both *Origen* and *Arnobius* tell us, That the Primitive Chri- 'stians had no Images at all. *Ireneus* accused the *Gnosticks* for carrying 'about the Image of Christ. St. *Austin* commends *Varro*, for saying 'that the old *Romans* worshipped God more chastly, without the use 'of any Images. *Epiphanius* tore a Veil with an Image on it; and *Se-* 'renus broke Images in *Gregory* the Great's Time. *Valens* and *Theodo-* 'sius, made a Law against the Painting or Graving of the Image of 'Christ: And the use of Images in the Eastern Churches, brought those 'distractions on that Empire, that laid it open to the Invasions of the 'Mahometans.

These reasons prevailed with the Queen, to put it into her Injunctions, to have all Images removed out of the Church.

The Injunctions given by King *Edward*, at his first coming to the Crown, were all renewed, with very little variation. To these some things were added, of which I shall give account.

The Heads of the Injunctions.

'It was no where declared, neither in the Scriptures, nor by the Pri- 'mitive Church, that Priests might not have Wives; upon which, many 'in King *Edward*'s Time had married. Yet great offence was given by 'the indecent Marriages that some of them then made. To prevent the 'like Scandals for the future, it was ordered, That no Priest or Deacon 'should marry without Allowance from the Bishop of the Diocess, and 'two Justices of the Peace, and the consent of the Womans Parents or 'Friends. All the Clergy were to use Habits, according to their De- 'grees in the Universities; the Queen declaring, that this was not done 'for any Holiness in them, but for Order and Decency. No Man 'might use any Charm, or consult with such as did. All were to resort 'to their own Parish Churches, except for an extraordinary Occasion. 'Inn-Keepers were to sell nothing in the Times of Divine Service. None 'were to keep Images, or other Monuments of Superstition, in their 'Houses. None might Preach, but such as were licensed by their Or- 'dinary. In all Places, they were to examine the Causes, why any 'had been in the late Reign Imprisoned, Famished, or put to Death, 'upon the pretence of Religion; and all Registers were to be searched 'for it. In every Parish the Ordinary was to name three or four dis- 'creet Men, who were to see that all the Parishioners did duly resort on 'Sundays and Holy-days to Church; and those who did it not, and 'upon admonition did not amend, were to be denounced to the Ordi- 'nary. On *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, the Common-Prayer and Litany 'was to be used in all Churches. All slanderous words, as *Papist*, *He-* 'retick, *Schismatick*, or *Sacramentary*, were to be forborn, under severe 'pains. No Books might be printed without a License from the 'Queen, the Arch-Bishop, the Bishop of *London*, the Chancellor of

'the

'the Universities, or the Bishop, or Arch-Deacon of the Place where 1559.
'it was printed. All were to kneel at the Prayers, and to shew a Re-
'verence when the Name of *Jesus* was pronounced. Then followed
'an Explanation of the Oath of Supremacy, in which the Queen de-
'clared that she did not pretend to any Authority for the ministring of
'Divine Service in the Church, and that all that she challenged was
'that which had at all times belonged to the Imperial Crown of *Eng-*
'*land*; that she had the Soveraignty and Rule over all manner of Per-
'sons under God, so that no Forreign Power had any Rule over them;
'and if those who had formerly appeared to have Scruples about it, took
'it in that sence, she was well pleased to accept of it, and did acquit
'them of all Penalties in the Act. The next was about Altars and Com-
'munion-Tables; she ordered, that for preventing of Riots, no Altar
'should be taken down, but by the consent of the Curate and Church-
'Wardens; that a Communion-Table should be made for every Church,
'and that on Sacrament days it should be set in some convenient Place in
'the Chancel; and at other Times should be placed where the Altar had
'stood. The Sacramental Bread was ordered to be round and plain,
'without any Figure on it, but somewhat broader and thicker than the
'Cakes formerly prepared for the Mass. Then the form of bidding
'Prayer was prescribed, with some variation from that in King *Edward's*
'Time; for whereas to the Thanksgiving for God's Blessings to the
'Church in the Saints departed this Life, a Prayer was added, *That they with*
'*us, and we with them, may have a glorious Resurrection*; now those words,
'*they with us*, as seeming to import a Prayer for the Dead, were left out.

For the Rule about Church-men Marrying, those who reflected on it, said, They complained not of the Law, but as St. *Jerom* did in the making a Law in his Time, they complained of those that had given occasion for it. Ministers wearing such Apparel as might distinguish them from the Laity, was certainly a means to keep them under great restraint, upon every indecency in their Behaviour, laying them open to the Censures of the People; which could not be, if they were habited so, as that they could not be distinguished from other Men: and humane nature being considered, it seems to be a kind of Temptation to many, when they do but think their disorders will pass unobserved. Bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, was thought a fit expression of their grateful acknowledging of our Saviour, and an owning of his Divinity: And as standing up at the Creed, or at the *Gloria Patri*, were solemn expressions of the Faith of Christians; So since *Jesus* is the Name by which Christ is expressed to be our Saviour, it seemed a decent piece of acknowledging our Faith in him, to shew a Reverence when that was pronounced; not as if there were a peculiar sanctity or vertue in it, but because it was his proper Name, *Christ* being but an Application added to it. By the Queen's care, to take away all words of Reproach, and to explain the Oath of Supremacy; not only clearing any ambiguity that might be in the words, but allowing Men leave to declare in wat sense they swore it, the moderation of her Government did much appear; in which, instead of inventing new Traps to catch the Weak, which had been practised in other Reigns, all possible care was taken to explain things so, that they might be as comprehensive to all Interests as was possible. They

Reflections made on the Injunctions.

reckoned,

1559. reckoned, if that Age could have been on any terms separated from the Papacy, though with allowance for many other superstitious Conceits, it would once unite them all; and in the next Age they would be so educated, that none of those should any more remain. And indeed this Moderation had all the effect that was designed by it for many Years, in which the Papists came to Church, and to the Sacrament. But afterwards, it being proposed to the King of *Spain*, then ready to engage in a War with the Queen, upon the account of her supporting of the *United Provinces*, that he must first divide *England* at home, and procure from the Pope a Sentence against the Queen, and a condemnation of such Papists as went to the English Service; and that for the maintaining and educating of such Priests as should be his Tools to distract the Kingdom, he was to found Seminaries at *Doway*, *Louain*, and St. *Omers*, from whence they might come over hither, and disorder the Affairs of *England*: The prosecution of those Counsels rais'd the Popish Party among us, which has ever since distracted this Nation, and has oftner than once put it into most threatning convulsive Motions, such as we feel at this day.

The first high Commission.

After the Injunctions were thus prepared, the Queen gave out Commissions for those who should visit all the Churches of *England*: in which they lost no time, for the New Book of Service was by Law to take place on St. *John Baptist*'s day; and these Commissions were signed that same day. One of those Commissions, which was for the Arch-Bishoprick and Province of *York*, is put into the *Collection*. It was granted to the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Derby*, and some others, among whom Dr. *Sands* is one.

Collection Number 7.

The Preamble sets forth, 'That God having set the Queen over the 'Nation, she could not render an account of that Trust, without 'endeavouring to propagate the True Religion with the right 'way of worshipping God in all her Dominions; therefore she in- 'tending to have a General Visitation of her whole Kingdom, impow- 'red them, or any two of them, to examine the true State of all the 'Churches in the Northern Parts; to suspend or deprive such Clergy- 'men as were unworthy, and to put others into their Places, to pro- 'ceed against such as were obstinate, by Imprisonment, Church Cen- 'sure, or any other legal way. They were to reserve Pensions for such 'as would not continue in their Benefices, but quitted them by Resig- 'nation; and to examine the condition of all that were Imprisoned on 'the account of Religion, and to discharge them; and to restore all 'such to their Benefices, as had been unlawfully turned out in the late 'Times.

This was the first High Commission that was given out; that for the Province of *Canterbury* was, without doubt, of the same nature. The prudence of reserving Pensions for such Priests as were turned out, was much applauded; since thereby they were kept from extream want, which might have set them on to do mischief; and by the Pension which was granted them upon their good Behaviour, they were kept under some awe, which would not have been otherwise. That which was chiefly condemned in these Commissions, was, the Queen's giving the Visitors Authority to proceed by Ecclesiastical Censures, which seemed a great stretch of her Supremacy: but it was thought, that the Queen

Queen might do that, as well as the Lay-Chancellors did it in the Ecclesiastical Courts; so that one Abuse was the excuse for another. 1559.

These Visiters having made Report to the Queen of the Obedience given to the Laws and her Injunctions, it was found, that of 9400 Beneficed Men in *England*, there were no more but fourteen Bishops, six Abbots, twelve Deans, twelve Arch-Deacons, fifteen Heads of Colledges, fifty Prebendaries, and eighty Rectors of Parishes, that had left their Benefices upon the Account of Religion. So compliant were the Papists generally. And indeed the Bishops after this time had the same apprehension of the danger into which Religion was brought, by the juglings of the greatest part of the Clergy, who retained their affections to the old Superstition, that those in King *Edward*'s time had: So that if Queen *Elizabeth* had not lived so long as she did, till all that Generation was dead, and a new set of Men better educated and principled, were grown up and put in their rooms; and if a Prince of another Religion had succeeded before that time, they had probably turned about again to the old Superstitions as nimbly as they had done before in Queen *Mary*'s days. That which supported the superstitious Party in King *Edward*'s time most, was, that many great Bishops did secretely favour and encourage them: Therefore it was now resolved to look well to the filling of the vacant Sees.

Parker's unwillingness to accept of the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*.

It has been said before, that *Parker* was sent for to *London* by the Queens Order, and the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* was offered him: he was, upon that, cast into such a perplexity of mind, that he was out of measure grieved at it. As soon as he was returned home, he writ a Letter to the Lord-Keeper; which, with all the other Letters that passed in this matter, I have put into the *Collection*: "He professed he never "had less joy of a Journey to *London*, and was never more glad to get "from it, than upon his last being there. He said, It was necessary to fill "that See with a Man that was neither Arrogant, Faint-hearted, nor Co- "vetous; an Arrogant Man would perhaps divide from his Brethren in "Doctrine, whereas the whole strength of the Church depended on "their Unity; but if there should be Heart-burnings among them, and "the private quarrels, that had been beyond Sea, should be brought "home, the Peace of the Church would be lost, and the Success of all "their Design would be blasted: and if a faint-hearted man were put "in, it would raise the Spirits of all their Adversaries; A Covetous "Man was good for nothing. He knew his own unfitness both of Body "and Mind so well, that though he should be sorry to offend him, and "Secretary *Cecil*, whom he honoured above all men in the World, and "more sorry to displease the Queen; yet he must above all things a- "void God's Indignation, and not enter into a Station into which he "knew he could not carry himself so as to answer it either to God, or "the World for his Administration. And if he must go to Prison for his "obstinate untowardness, (with which it seems they had threatned him) "he would suffer it rather with a quiet conscience, than accept of an "Imployment which they could not discharge. He said, he intended by "God's Grace never to be of that Order, neither higher nor lower. "He knew what he was capable of: he was poor, and not able to en- "ter on such a station; he had a Rupture which made him that he could "not stir much; therefore he desired some place in the University,

Collection Number 8.

1559. "where he might wear out his Life tolerably. He knew he could not "answer their Expectation, which made him so importunate not to be "raised so high: He said, he had great apprehensious of Differences like "to fall out among themselves; which would be a pleasant diversion to "those of the Church of *Rome*: he saw some men were men still, even "after all their teaching in the School of Affliction. He protested he "did not seek his own private gain or ease; he had but two or three "years more of life before him, and did not intend to heap up for his "Children. This he writ the first of *March*.

The business of the Parliament made this Motion to be laid aside, till that was dissolved; and then on the 17*th.* of *May* the Lord-Keeper wrote to him concerning it: He told him, that he saw by a Resolution taken that day in the Queens Presence, that it would be very hard for his Friends to get him delivered from that Charge. For his own part, if he knew a man to whom the Characters in his Letter did agree better than to himself, he should be for preferring of such a one; but knowing no such, he must be still for him. On the 19*th.* after that, the Lord Keeper and Secretary *Cecil*, signed a Letter in the Queens Name, requiring him to come up; and after that, they sent a second Command to him to come to Court, on the 28*th.* of the Month. He came up, but again excused himself. Yet at last, being so often pressed, he writ to the Queen her self, "protesting that extream Necessity forced him to "trouble her, both out of Conscience to God, and regard to her Ser- "vice: he knew his great unworthiness for so high a Function; there- "fore as on his Knees he humbly besought her to discharge him of this "Office, which did require a Man of more Learning, Virtue, and "Experience, then he perfectly knew was in himself. He lamented "his being so meanly qualified, that he could not serve her in that "high Station; but in any other inferiour Office he should be ready to "discharge his Duty to her, in such a Place as was suitable to his infir- "mity. But in the conclusion he submitted himself to her pleasure. In the end he was with great difficulty brought to accept of it. So on the 8*th.* day of *July* the *Conge d'Elire* was sent to *Canterbury*; and upon that, on the 22*d.* of *July* a *Chapter* was summoned to meet the first of *August*; where the Dean and Prebendaries meeting, they, according to a method often used in their Elections, did by a Compromise refer it to the Dean to name whom he pleased: and he naming Doctor *Parker*, according to the Queens Letter, they all confirmed it, and published their Election, singing *Te Deum* upon it. On the 9*th.* of *September* the Great Seal was put to a Warrant for his Consecration, directed to the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Landaffe*, and to *Barlow*, and *Scory* (stiled only Bishops, not being then elected to any Sees) requiring them to Consecrate him. From this it appears, that neither *Tonstal*, *Bourn*, nor *Pool* were at that time turned out: It seems there was some hope of gaining them to obey the Laws, and so to continue in their Sees.

He is Consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

This matter was delay'd to the 6*th.* of *December*. Whether this flow'd from *Parker*'s unwillingness to engage in so high a Station, or from any other secret Reason, I do not know. But then, the three Bishops last named refusing to do it, a new Warrant passed under the Great Seal, to the Bishop of *Landiff*, *Barlow* Bishop Elect of *Chichester*, *Scory* Bishop Elect

...nted for Richard Chiſwell at the Roſe and Crowne in S.t Pauls Church yard.

Elect of *Hereford*, *Coverdale* late Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Hodgkins* Biſhop Suffragan of *Bedford*, *John* Suffragan of *Thetford*, and *Bale* Biſhop of *Oſſory*; that they, or any four of them, ſhould Conſecrate him. So by virtue of this, on the 9*th.* of *December*, *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgkins* met at the Church of St. *Mary le Bow*; where, according to the Cuſtom, the *Conge d' Elire*, with the Election, and the Royal Aſſent to it, were to be brought before them: and theſe being read, Witneſſes were to be cited to prove the Election lawfully made; and all who would object to it were alſo cited. All theſe things being performed according to Law, and none coming to object againſt the Election, they Confirmed it according to the uſual manner. On the 17*th.* of *December* *Parker* was Conſecrated in the Chappel at *Lambeth*, by *Barlow*, *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Hodgkins*, according to the Book of Ordinations made in King *Edward*'s time: Only the Ceremony of putting the Staff in his hands was left out of the Office, in this Reign. He being thus Conſecrated himſelf, did afterwards Conſecrate Biſhops for the other Sees: namely, *Grindal* Biſhop of *London*, *Cox*, that had been King *Edward*'s Almoner, Biſhop of *Ely*, *Horn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Sandys* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Merick* Biſhop of *Bangor*, *Young* Biſhop of S. *Davids*, *Bullingham* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Jewel* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, (the great Ornament of that Age for Learning and Piety) *Davis* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, *Gueſt* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Berkley* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Bentham* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Alley* Biſhop of *Exeter*, and *Par* Biſhop of *Peterborough*. *Barlow* and *Scory* were put into the Sees of *Chicheſter*, and *Hereford*. And ſometime after this, in *February* 1561. *Young* was tranſlated from St. *Davids* to *York*; there being now no hopes of gaining *Heath* to continue in it; which it ſeems had been long endeavoured, for it was now two years that that See had been in vacancy. In like manner, after ſo long waiting to ſee if *Tonſtal* would conform, there being now no more hope of it, in *March* 1561. *Pilkington* was made Biſhop of *Dureſme*. *Beſt* was afterwards made Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and *Downham* Biſhop of *Cheſter*. 1559.

I have given the more diſtinct Account of theſe Promotions, becauſe of a moſt malicious Slander with which they were aſperſt in after-times. It was not thought on for forty years after this. But then it was forged, and publiſh'd, and ſpread over the World, with great confidence, That *Parker* himſelf was not legally or truly Conſecrated. The Author of it was ſaid to be one *Neale*, that had been ſometime one of *Bonner*'s Chaplains. The Contrivance was, that the Biſhop of *Landaff* being required by *Bonner* not to Conſecrate *Parker*, or to give Orders in his Diocеſs, did thereupon refuſe it: Upon that the Biſhops Elect being met in *Cheapſide* at the *Nags-head*-Tavern, *Neale*, that had watch'd them thither, peep'd in through an hole of the Door, and ſaw them in great diſorder, finding the Biſhop of *Landaff* was intractable. But (as the Tale goes on) *Scory* bids them all kneel, and he laid the Bible upon every one of their Heads or Shoulders, and ſaid, *Take thou Authority to Preach the Word of God ſincerely*, and ſo they roſe up all Biſhops. This Tale came ſo late into the World, that *Sanders*, and all the other Writers in Queen *Elizabeths* time, had never heard of it: otherwiſe we may be ſure they would not have concealed it. And if the thing had been true, or if *Neale* had but pretended that he had ſeen any ſuch thing, The Fable of the Nags-head confuted.

1559. there is no reason to think he would have suppressed it. But when it might be presumed that all those persons were dead that had been present at *Parker*'s Consecration, then was the time to invent such a Story; for then it might be hoped that none could contradict it. And who could tell but that some who had seen Bishops go from *Bow*-Church to dine at that Tavern with their Civilians, as some have done after their Confirmation, might imagine that then was the time of this *Nags-head Consecration*. If it were boldly said, one or other might think he remembred it. But as it pleased God, there was one then living that remembred the contrary. The old Earl of *Nottingham*, who had been at the Consecration, declared it was at *Lambeth*, and described all the Circumstances of it, and satisfied all reasonable men that it was according to the Form of the Church of *England*. The Registers both of the See of *Canterbury*, and of the Records of the Crown, do all fully agree with his Relation. For as *Parker*'s *Conge d' Elire*, with the Queens Assent to his Election, and the Warrant for his Consecration, are all under the Great Seal: So upon the Certificate made by those who Consecrated him, the Temporalties were restored by another Warrant also enrolled; which was to be shewed in the House of Lords when he took his Place there. Besides that the Consecrations of all the other Bishops made by him, shew that he alone was first Consecrated without any other. And above all other Testimonies, the Original Instrument of Archbishop *Parker*'s Consecration lies still among his other Papers in the Library of *Corpus Christi* Colledge at *Cambridge*, which I saw and read. It is so manifestly an Original Writing, as any that I ever had in my hands: I have put it in the *Collection*, for the more full discovery of the Impudence of that Faction. But it served those ends for which it was designed. Weak people hearing it so positively told by their Priests, came to believe it; and I have my self met with many that seemed still to give some credit to it, after all that clear Confutation of it, made by the most Ingenious and Learned Bishop *Bramhall*, the late Primate of *Ireland*. Therefore I thought it necessary to be the larger in the Account of this Consecration; and the rather, because of the influence it hath into all the Ordinations that have been since that time derived down in this Church.

Collection Number 9.

Some excepted against the Canonicalness of it, because it was not done by all the Bishops of the Province, and three of the Bishops had no Sees when they did it, and the fourth was only a Suffragan-Bishop. But to all this it was said, That after a Church had been over-run with Heresie, those Rules, which were to be observed in its more setled state, were always superseded; as appears particularly when the *Arrian* Bishops were turned out of some great Sees, for the Orthodox Bishops did then ordain others to succeed them, without judging themselves bound by the Canons in such Cases. And Bishops that had been rightly Consecrated, could certainly derive their own Character to others, whether they were actually in Sees or not. And a Suffragan-Bishop, being Consecrated in the same manner that other Bishops were, tho he had a limited Jurisdiction, yet was of the same Order with them. All these things were made out with a great deal of Learning by *Mason*, who upon the publishing of that Fiction, wrote in Vindication of the English Ministry.

Thus

Thus were the Sees filled, the Worſhip Reformed, and the Queens Injunctions ſent over *England*. Three things remained yet to be done. The firſt was, to ſet out the Doctrine of the Church, as it had been done in King *Edward*'s time. The ſecond was, to Tranſlate the Bible, and publiſh it with ſhort notes. And the third was, To regulate the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. The Biſhops therefore ſet about theſe. And for the firſt, though they could not, by publick Authority, ſet out the Articles of the Church till they met in a Convocation; yet they ſoon after prepared them. And for the preſent, they agreed on a ſhort Profeſſion of their Doctrine, which all Incumbents were obliged to read and publiſh to their People. This will be found in the *Collection*, copied from it, as it was then printed. 1559. Collection Number 11.

In the Articles made in King *Edward*'s Reign, which I have put in the *Collection*, the Reader will find on the Margent the differences between thoſe and theſe marked. In the third Article, the explanation of Chriſt's deſcent to Hell was left out. In that about the Scriptures, they now added an enumeration of the Canonical and Apocryphal Books; declaring, that ſome Leſſons were read out of the latter, for the Inſtruction of the People, but not for the confirmation of the Doctrine. About the Authority of the Church, they now added, That the Church had power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and had Authority in Controverſies of Faith; but ſtill ſubordinate to the Scripture.

In the Article about the Lords Supper, there is a great deal left out, for inſtead of that large refutation of the Corporal Preſence, from the impoſſibility of a Bodies being in more places at once; from whence it follows, that ſince Chriſt's Body is in Heaven, the faithful ought not to believe or profeſs a Real or Corporal Preſence of it in the Sacrament. In the new Articles, it is ſaid, *That the Body of Chriſt is given and received after a Spiritual manner; and the means by which it is received, is Faith.* But in the Original Copy of theſe Articles, which I have ſeen ſubſcribed by the hands of all that ſate in either Houſe of Convocation, there is a further addition made. The Articles were ſubſcribed with that Precaution which was requiſite in a matter of ſuch conſequence; for before the Subſcriptions, there is ſet down the number of the Pages, and of the Lines in every Page of the Book, to which they ſet their hands. M. SS. C. Cor. Chriſt. Cant.

In that Article of the Euchariſt, theſe words are added, *Chriſtus in Cœlum aſcendens, corpori ſuo immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abſtulit: Humanæ enim naturæ veritatem, juxta ſcripturas perpetuo retinet, quam in uno & definito loco eſſe, & non in multa vel omnia ſimul loca diffundi, oportet: Quum igitur Chriſtus in Cœlum ſublatus, ibi uſque ad finem Seculi ſit permanſurus, atque inde, non aliunde, (ut loquitur Auguſtinus) venturus ſit ad judicandum vivos & mortuos, non debet quiſquam fidelium, Carnis ejus & Sanguinis realem & corporalem (ut loquuntur) præſentiam in Euchariſtia, vel credere vel profiteri.* In Engliſh thus: 'Chriſt, when 'he aſcended into Heaven, made his Body Immortal, but took not from 'it the nature of a Body: For ſtill it retains, according to the Scriptures, the verity of a humane Body; which muſt be always in one 'definite place, and cannot be ſpread into many, or all places at once. Since then Chriſt being carried up to Heaven, is to remain there to the end of the World, and is to come from thence, and from no place 'elſe, An Explanation of Chriſt's Preſence in the Sacrament.

1559. 'else, (as says St. *Austin*) to judge the Quick and the Dead; None of 'the Faithful ought to believe or profess the real, or (as they call it) 'the corporal Presence of his Flesh and Blood in the Eucharist.

But this in the Original is dasht over with *minium*; yet so, that it is still legible. The secret of it was this; The Queen and her Council studied, (as hath been already shewn) to unite all into the Communion of the Church: and it was alleadged, that such an expres definition against a Real Presence, might drive from the Church many who were still of that Perswasion; and therefore it was thought to be enough to condemn Transubstantiation, and to say, that Christ was present after a Spiritual manner, and received by Faith; to say more, as it was judged superfluous, so it might occasion Division. Upon this, these words were, by common consent, left out: And in the next Convocation, the Articles were subscribed without them, of which I have also seen the Original.

But 'tis suppressed.

This shews that the Doctrine of the Church, subscribed by the whole Convocation, was at that time contrary to the belief of a Real or Corporal Presence in the Sacrament; only it was not thought necessary or expedient to publish it. Though from this silence, which flowed not from their Opinion, but the Wisdom of that Time, in leaving a Liberty for different Speculations, as to the manner of the Presence; some have since inferred, that the chief Pastors of this Church, did then disapprove of the Definition made in King *Edward*'s Time, and that they were for a Real Presence.

For the Translating of the Bible, it was divided into many Parcels. The *Pentateuch* was committed to *William Alley* Bishop of *Exeter*. The Books from that, to the second of *Samuel*, were given to *Richard Davis*, who was made Bishop of St. *Davids*, when *Young* was removed to *York*. All from *Samuel*, to the second Book of *Chronicles*, was assigned to *Edwin Sandys*, then Bishop of *Worcester*. From thence to the end of *Job*, to one whose Name is marked *A. P. C.* The Book of the *Psalms* was given to *Thomas Bentham*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*. The *Proverbs* to one who is marked *A. P.* The *Song of Solomon* to one marked *A. P. E.* All from thence to the *Lamentations of Jeremy*, was given to *Robert Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*. *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*, to *Bentham*. From thence to *Malachi*, to *Grindal* Bishop of *London*. The *Apocrypha* to the Book of *Wisdom*, was given to *Barlow* Bishop of *Chichester*, and the rest of it, to *Parkhurst* Bishop of *Norwich*. The *Gospels*, *Acts*, and *Epistle* to the *Romans*, were given to *Richard Cox* Bishop of *Ely*. The *Epistles* to the *Corinthians*, to one marked G. G. I know not to whom the rest of the *New Testament* was assigned. All these Allotments I gather from the Bible it self, as it was afterwards set out by *Parker*. What Method they followed in this Work, I cannot discover; unless the Rules afterwards given in King *James* his Time, when the Translation was revived, were copied from what was now done: which Rules, for the curiosity of the thing, I shall put in the *Collection*, as I copied it from *B. Ravis*'s Paper. They were given with that care that such a matter required. There were many Companies appointed for every parcel of the Scripture, and every one of a Company was to translate the whole Parcel: then they were to compare them together; and when any Company had finished their Part, they were

Collection Number 10.

to communicate it to the other Companies. So it is like, that at this Time those several Bishops that had undertaken the Translation, did associate to themselves Companies, with whose assistance they perfected it afterwards; and when it was set out, at the end of every Section, the initial Letters of his Name, that had translated it, were printed, as *W. E. E. W.* for *Will. Exon*, and *Edwin Wigorn*; and so in the rest. In what Year this was first printed, I am not so well assured. For I have not seen the first Impression of it, but I believe it was in the Year 1561, or soon after it; for the Almanack prefixed for the Moveable Feasts, begins with that Year. 1559.

As for the Canons and Rules of the Church Government, they were not so soon prepared. There came out some in the Year 1571. and more in the Year 1597. and a far larger Collection of them in the first Year of King *James*'s Reign. But this Matter has yet wanted its chief force; for Penitentiary Canons have not been set up, and the Government of the Church is not yet brought into the Hands of Church-men. So that in this Point the Reformation of the Church wants some part of its finishing, in the Government and Discipline of it.

Thus did Queen *Elizabeth* again recover the Reformation of Religion: and it might have been expected, that under such moderate and wise Councils, things should have been carried with that Temper, that this Church should have united in its endeavours to support it self, and become the Bulwark of the Reformation, and the Terror of *Rome*. But that Blessing was, by the sins of the Nation, the Passions of some, the Interests of others, and the Weakness of the greatest part, in a great measure denied us. The Heats that had been raised beyond Sea, were not quite forgotten; and as some Sparks had been kindled about Clergy-mens Habits in King *Edward*'s Reign; so, though *Hooper* and *Ridley* had buried that Difference in their Ashes, it broke out again concerning the Vestments of the Inferior Clergy. Other things were also much contested, Some were for setting up Ecclesiastical Courts in every Parish, for the exercising of Discipline against scandalous Persons; others thought this might degenerate into Faction. These lesser Differences were craftily managed by some who intended to improve them so far, that they might have the Church-Lands divided among them, and they carried their Heats further in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, then one would imagine, that considers the temper of that Government. But since that, still by many Degrees, and many Accidents in the Civil Government, they are now grown to that height; that, though considering the Grounds on which they have been, and still are maintained, they appeared to be of no great force or moment: Yet if the Animosities and Heats that are raised by them, are well examined, there is scarce any probable hopes left of composing those Differences, unless our Lawgivers do vigorously apply themselves to it. The beginnings of the Divisions of this Church.

The Reformation in Scotland.

Having given this Account of the Establishment of the Reformation here in *England* under Queen *Elizabeth*: I have, in some sort discharged my self of the Design of my Engagement in this Work: but since the Settlement of Religion in *Scotland* was made the same Year, I shall next give

1559. give some account of that; which I do with the more assurance, having met with several important things relating to it in *Melvil's Memoires*, that are in none of the printed Books. When the Treaty began for a Peace between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, the secret Reason of making it, was, to root out Heresie, so much was expressed in the Preamble to it, that to extirpate Heresie, to have a General Council called, and the Church fully Reformed, both from Errors and Abuses, those Princes had entred into a firm Peace.

The Cardinal of *Lorrain* writ to his Sister the Queen, Regent of *Scotland*; that now, since they were making Peace, they were resolved to purge the World of Heresie. He also writ to the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* to the same effect. The Queen Regent was much confounded at this. She was now forced to break her Faith with those who had served her Interests hitherto; and to whom she had often promised, that they should not be troubled for their Consciences. The danger was also very great from their Combination, since the Queen of *England* would certainly assist them; both because the Religion was the same in both Countries; and because, by dividing that Kingdom, she would secure the North of *England* from the mischief *Scotland* could do it, if moved and set on to it by *France*. But the Bishops in *Scotland*, shutting their Eyes upon all Dangers, resolved by some signal Instance, to strike a Terror into the People.

The Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*, having gathered a meeting of many Bishops, Abbots, and Divines, brought before them one *Walter Mill*, an old decrepit Priest, who had long given over saying Mass, and had preached in several places of the Country. They had in vain dealt with him to recant; so now he was brought to his Trial. They objected Articles to him, about his asserting the lawfulness of Priests Marriages; denying the seven Sacraments; saying the Mass was Idolatry; denying the Presence of Christs Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament; and condemning the Office of Bishops; speaking against Pilgrimages; and teaching privately in Houses.

Mills Martyrdom.

To these he answered beyond all their Expectation; for he was so old and infirm, that they thought he could say nothing. He said, 'He 'esteemed Marriage a blessed Bond, and free for all men to enter into 'it; and that it was much better for Priests to marry, than to vow 'Chastity and not keep it, as they generally did. He said, He knew 'no Sacraments, but Baptism and the Lords Supper; the rest he left 'them. He said, The Priests sole communicating was, as if a Lord 'should invite many to Dinner, and ring a Bell for them to come; but 'when they came, should turn his back on them, and eat all himself. 'He said, That Christ was only spiritually in the Sacrament; and that 'there was no other Sacrifice, but that which he offered on the Cross. 'He held, That they were Bishops indeed, who did the Work of 'Bishop; and not they who sought only their sensual Pleasures, and 'neither regarded the Word of God, nor their Flocks. He knew 'Pilgrimages had been much abused, and great Uncleanness was com- 'mitted, under the colour of going to them; but there was no ground 'for them in Scripture.

Upon these Answers he was required to recant; but he said, he knew he was to die once, and what they intended to do with him,

wiſhed they would do it ſoon. Upon this, he was declared an obſtinate Heretick. But the Country was ſo alienated from them, that they could not find a Man to burn him; and he that had the Juriſdiction in that Regality, refuſed to execute the Sentence. Yet at laſt, one of the Arch-biſhops Servants was gotten to undertake it; but in the whole Town, they could find none that would ſell them a Cord to tie him to the Stake; ſo they were forced to put it off till the next day; and then, ſince none other could be had, the Arch-biſhop ſent the Cords of his own Pavilion for that uſe. When *Mill* was brought to the Stake, he ſaid, he would not go up of his own accord, becauſe he would not be acceſſary to his own Death; but if they would put their hand to him, they ſhould ſee how chearfully he ſhould do it. That being done, he went up, and ſaid, *I will go in to the Altar of God.* He exhorted the People to be no more ſeduced by the Lyes of their Prieſts, but to depend upon Chriſt and his Mercy; for whoſe Doctrine, as many Martyrs had offered up their Lives, ſo he bleſſed God that had ſo honoured him to call him to give this Teſtimony, for whoſe Glory he moſt willingly offered up his Life. When the Fire was ſet to him, he called to the People to Pray for him, and continued to cry, *Lord have mercy on me*, till he could ſpeak no more. 1559.

His Suffering was much reſented by the Inhabitants of St *Andrews*, who raiſed a great heap of Stones in the place where he was burnt, for a Memorial of it; and though the Prieſts ſcattered them often, they renewed them ſtill, till a Watch was ſet about it. The Nation was much provoked by it.

In all parts of *Scotland*, and eſpecially in the Towns, and in the Families of the Nobility and Gentry, the Reformation had been received, and ſecretly profeſſed. So they began now to conſult what to do. They had many meetings in ſeveral places; and finding their Intereſt was great over the Kingdom, they entred into Confederacies to maintain the true Religion.

Before the Parliament met laſt Year, they had ſent a Petition to the Queen Regent, 'That the Worſhip of God might be in the Vulgar 'Tongue, and the Communion might be given in both Kinds: That 'there ſhould be great care taken in the Election of Miniſters, that it 'might be according to the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church; and 'that ſcandalous Miniſters might be removed, and more worthy Men 'put in their places.

But the Queen Regent, to keep them in hopes till the Dolphin ſhould be acknowledged *King of Scotland*, promiſed they ſhould not be hindred to have Prayers in their own Tongue, ſo they would keep no publick Aſſemblies in *Edinburgh* and *Leith*.

In the Parliament, they propoſed the abrogating of the Laws for Church-mens proceedings againſt Hereticks; and that none ſhould be condemned of Hereſie, but according to the Word of God; with ſome other Limitations of the Severities againſt them. But the Queen ſtill gave them good hopes; only ſhe ſaid, ſhe could not agree to thoſe things, by reaſon of the oppoſition that would be made by the Spiritual Eſtate: But ſhe ſuffered them to read a Proteſtation in Parliament, declaring their deſires of a Reformation; and that if, upon the denial of it, Abuſes were removed violently, they were not to be blamed, who had begun thus in a modeſt way to Petition for it.

1559. This Year it was become visible that she resolved to proceed to extremities. She ordered all the reformed Preachers to appear at *Sterling* the 10*th.* of *May*. When this was done, the Earl of *Glencarn* went to her in the Name of the rest, and asked her the reason of that way of proceeding. She answered him in passion, 'That maugre them and all 'that would take part with them, the Ministers should be banished Scot-'*land*, though they preached as soundly as St. *Paul* did. Upon this he remembred her of the Promises she had often made them: to which she 'answered, 'That the Promises of Princes should be no further strained 'than seem'd convenient to them to perform. *Glencarn* replied, if she 'would keep no Promises, they would acknowledge her no more, but 'renounce their Obedience to her.

A Revolt began at St. *Johnstoun.* That very night she heard that in the Town of St. *Johnstoun*, the People had Sermons openly in their Churches. Upon that she ordered the Lord *Ruthven* to go and reduce that Town: He answered, he could not govern their Consciences: Upon which, she vowed she would make him and them both repent it. The Ministers were coming from all parts, accompanied with many Gentlemen, to appear on the Day to which they were cited. The Queen hearing that, sent word to them to go home, for she would not proceed in the Citation. Many of them upon that returned to their homes, but others went to St. *Johnstoun*: Yet upon their not appearing, she made them all be declared Rebels, contrary to her Promise: This made many leave her, and go over to them at St. *Johnstoun*. The People began there first to break Images; and then they fell into the Houses of the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, where they found much more Wealth than agreed with their pretended Poverty. They also pulled down a great House of the *Carthusians*, with so much haste, that within two days there was not one Stone left to shew where it had stood: but yet the Prior was suffered to carry away the Plate. All that was found in these Houses, besides what the Monks carried away, was given to the Poor. The Queen, hearing this, resolved to make that Town an Example, and sent over all the Kingdom to gather the French Souldiers together, with such others as would joyn with her in this Quarrel. But the Earl of *Glencarn* with incredible haste came to their assistance, with 2500 Men: And there were gathered in all, in and about the Town, 7000 Men. The Queen, seeing it now turned to an open Rebellion, employed the Earl of *Argile* and the Prior of St. *Andrews* to treat with them. An Oblivion for what was past was agreed on: The Queen was to come to St. *Johnstoun*, without her French-men: and the matters of Religion were to be referred to a Parliament. Upon this, she went thither; but carried French-men with her, and put a Garrison in the Town; and proceeded to the Fining of many, and the Banishing of others. Being pressed with her Promise, she said, 'The Promises of 'Princes ought not to be strictly urged, and those were not to be kept 'that were made to Hereticks; she declared that she would take it on 'her Conscience, to kill and undo all that Sect, and make the best excuse she could when it was done. Upon this, all the Nation forsook her: and in many other places they went on to cleanse the Churches and pull down Monasteries.

When the News of this came to the Court of *France*, it was at first not right

rightly understood. The Queen Regent represented it, as if it had been a Design to shake off the French Power; and desired a great Force to reduce them. The King then saw too late, that the Constable had given him good Advice, in diswading the Match with *Scotland*, and fearing to be intangled in a long chargeable War, he resolved to send one thither to know the true occasion of these Stirs. So the Constable proposed to him the sending of *Melvil*, by whom he had understood, that the reason of all their disorders was the Queen's breaking her Word to them in the matters of Religion. He carried *Melvil* to the King, and in his presence gave him Instructions, to go to *Scotland*, and see what was the true cause of all these disorders; and particularly, how far the Prior of St. *Andrews*, (afterwards the Earl of *Murray*,) was engaged in them; and if he, by secret ways, could certainly find there was nothing in it but Religion, that then he should give them Assurances of the free Exercise of it, and press them not to engage any further till he was returned to the French Court, where he was promised to find a great Reward for so important a Service: but he was not to let the Queen Regent understand his business. He found upon his going into *Scotland*, that it was even as he had formerly heard; that the Queen Regent was now much hated and distasted by them: but that upon an Oblivion of what was passed, and the free Exercise of their Religion for the future, all might be brought to peace and quiet. But before he came back, the King of *France* was dead, the Constable in disgrace, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* governed all: So he lost his Labour and Reward, which ye valued much less, being a generous and vertuous Man, than the Ruine that he saw coming on his Country.

1559.

The French King intends to grant liberty of Religion.

But is killed.

The Lords that were now united against the Queen Mother came and took *St. Johnstown*. From thence they went to *Stirling*, and *Edinburgh*: and every where they pulled down Monasteries; all the Country declared on their side; so that the Queen Regent was forced to fly to *Dunbar*-Castle. The Lords sent to *England* for Assistance, which the Queen readily granted them. They gave out, that they desired nothing but to have the French driven out, and Religion setled by a Parliament. The Queen Regent seeing all the Country against her, and apprehending that the Queen of *England* would take advantage from these Stirrs to drive her out of *Scotland*, was content to agree to a Truce; and to summon a Parliament to meet on the 10*th* of *January*. But the new King of *France* sent over Mr. *de Croque*, with a high threatning Message, that he would spend the whole Revenue of *France* rather than not be revenged on them that raised these Tumults in *Scotland*. The Lords answered, that they desired nothing but the liberty of their Religion: and that being obtained, they should be in all other things his most obedient Subjects. The Queen Regent having gotten about 2000 Men from *France*, fortified *Leith*; and in many other things broke the Truce. There came over also some Doctors of the *Sorbonne* to dispute with the Ministers, because they heard the Scotish Clergy were scarce able to defend their own Cause. The Lords gathered again, and seeing the Queen Regent had so often broke her Word to them, they entred into Consultation to deprive her of her Regency. Their Queen was not yet of Age; and in her Minority, they pretended that the Government of the Kingdom belonged to the States: and therefore

A Truce agreed to in *Scotland*.

1559. The Queen Regent is deposed.

fore they gathered together many of her Male-administrations, for which they might the more colourably put her out of the Government. The things they charged on her were chiefly these: 'That she had without Law begun a War in the Kingdom, and brought in Strangers to subdue it; had governed without the consent of the Nobility, embased the Coin to maintain her Souldiers; had put Garrisons in free Towns, and had broke all Promises and Terms with them. Thereupon they declared her to have fallen from her Regency, and did suspend her Power, till the next Parliament. So now it was an irreconcileable Breach. The Lords lay first at *Edinburgh*, and from thence retired afterwards to *Sterling*: Upon which the French came and possessed themselves of the Town, and set up the Mass again in the Churches. Greater Supplies came over from *France* under the Command of the Marquess of *Elbeuf*, one of the Queen Regent's Brothers; who, though most of his Fleet were dispersed, yet brought to *Leith* 1000 Foot, so that there were now above 4000 French Souldiers in that Town. But what Accession of strength soever the Queen Regent received from these, she lost as much in *Scotland*; for now almost the whole Country was united against her; and the French were equally heavy to their Friends and Enemies. They marched about by *Sterling* to waste *Fife*, where there were some small Engagements between them and the Lords of the Congregation.

The *Scots* implore the Q. of *Englands* Aid.

But the *Scots*, seeing they could not stand before that force that was expected from *France* the next Spring, sent to Queen *Elizabeth* to desire her Aid openly; for the secret Supplies of Money and Ammunition, with which she hitherto furnished them, would not now serve the Turn. The Council of *England* apprehended that it would draw on a War with *France*: yet they did not fear that much; for that Kingdom was falling into such Factions, that they did not apprehend any great danger from thence till their King was of Age. So the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent to *Berwick*, to treat with the Lords of the Congregation; who were now headed by the Duke of *Chattelherhault*. On the 27th of *February* they agreed on these Conditions: 'They were to be sure 'Allies to the Queen of *England*; and to assist her, both in *England* and '*Ireland*, as she should need their help. She was now on the other hand 'to assist them to drive the *French* out of *Scotland*: after which they 'were still to continue in their obedience to their Natural Queen. 'This League was to last during their Queen's Marriage to the French 'King, and for a year after: and they were to give the Queen of Eng- 'land Hostages, who were to be changed every six Months.

This being concluded, and the Hostages given, the Lord *Grey* marched into *Scotland* with 2000 Horse, and 6000 Foot. Upon that, the Lords sent and offered to the Queen Regent, that if she would send away the *French* Forces, the *English* should likewise be sent back, and they would return to their Obedience.

Leith is besieged by the *English*.

This not being accepted, they drew about *Leith* to besiege it. In one Sally which the *French* made, they were beaten back with the loss of 300 men. This made the *English* more secure, thinking the French would no more come out: but they understanding the ill order that was kept, sallied out again, and killed near 500 of the *English*. This made them more watchful for the future. So the Siege being formed

formed, a Fire broke out in *Leith*, which burnt down the greateſt part of the Town: the *Engliſh* playing all the while on them, diſtracted them ſo, that the Souldiers being obliged to be on the Walls, the Fire was not eaſily quenched. Hereupon the *Engliſh* gave the Aſſault, and were beaten off with ſome loſs: but the Duke of *Norfolk* ſent a ſupply of 2000 men more, with the aſſurance of a great Army, if it was neceſſary; and charged the Lord *Gray*, not to quit the Siege till the *French* were gone. Ships were alſo ſent to lye in the *Frith*, to block them up by Sea. The *French* apprehending the total loſs of *Scotland*, ſent over *Monluc* Biſhop of *Valence* to *London*, to offer to reſtore *Calais* to the Queen of *England*, if ſhe would draw her Forces out of *Scotland*. She gave him a quick Anſwer on the ſudden her ſelf, that ſhe did not value that Fiſh-Town, ſo much as ſhe did the quiet of *Britain*. But the *French* deſiring that ſhe would mediate a Peace between them and the *Scots*, ſhe undertook that, and ſent Secretary *Cecil* and Dr. *Wotton* into *Scotland* to conclude it. As they were on the way, the Queen Regent died in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, on the 10*th* of *June*. She ſent for ſome of the chief Lords before her death, and deſired to be reconciled to them; and asked them pardon for the Injuries ſhe had done them. She adviſed them to ſend both the *French* and *Engliſh* Souldiers out of *Scotland*; and prayed them to continue in their Obedience to their Queen. She alſo ſent for one of their Preachers, *Willock*, and diſcourſed with him about her Soul, and many other things, and ſaid unto him, that ſhe truſted to be ſaved only by the Death and Merits of *Jeſus Chriſt*; and ſo ended her Days: which if ſhe had done a year ſooner, before theſe laſt Paſſages of her Life, ſhe had been the moſt univerſally lamented Queen that had been in any time in *Scotland*. For ſhe had governed them with great Prudence, Juſtice, and Gentleneſs; and in her own Deportment, and in the order of her Court, ſhe was an Example to the whole Nation: but the Directions ſent to her from *France*, made her change her Meaſures, break her Word, and engage the Kingdom in War; which rendred her very hateful to the Nation. Yet ſhe was often heard to ſay, that if her Counſels might take place, ſhe doubted not to bring all things again to perfect Tranquillity and Peace.

1559.

The Queen Regent of *Scotland* dies.

The Treaty between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*, was ſoon after concluded. The *French* were to be ſent away within Twenty days; an Act of Oblivion was to be confirmed in Parliament; the Injuries done to the Biſhops and Abbots were referred to the Parliament; Strangers and Church-men were no more to be truſted with the chief Offices; and a Parliament was to meet in *Auguſt* for the confirming of this. During the Queen's abſence the Nation was to be governed by a Council of Twelve: of theſe the Queen was to name ſeven, and the States five: the Queen was neither to make Peace nor War, but by the Advice of the Eſtates, according to the ancient Cuſtom of the Kingdom. The *Engliſh* were to return, as ſoon as the *French* were gone: and for the matter of Religion, that was referred to the Parliament: and ſome were to be ſent from thence to the King and Queen, to ſet forth their deſires to them: and the Queen of *Scotland* was no more to uſe the Arms and Title of *England*. All theſe Conditions were agreed to on the 8*th* of *July*; and ſoon after, both the *French* and *Engliſh* left the Kingdom.

A Peace is concluded.

In

1559. Reformation is ſetled in *Scotland* by Parliament.

In *Auguſt* thereafter the Parliament met, where four Acts paſſed; one for the aboliſhing of the Popes Power. A ſecond, For the repealing of all Laws made in favour of the former Superſtition. A third, For the puniſhing of thoſe that ſaid or heard Maſs. And the fourth was, A Confirmation of the Confeſſion of Faith; which was afterwards ratified and inſerted in the Acts of Parliament, held *Anno* 1567. It was penned by *Knox*, and agrees, in almoſt all things, with the *Geneva* Confeſſion.

Of the whole Temporalty, none but the Earl of *Athol*, and the Lords *Somerville* and *Borthick* diſſented to it: They ſaid, they would believe as their Fathers had done before them. The Spiritual Eſtate ſaid nothing againſt it. The Abbots ſtruck in with the Tyde, upon aſſurance, that their Abbies ſhould be converted to Temporal Lordſhips, and be given to them. Moſt of the Biſhops, ſeeing the Stream ſo ſtrong againſt them, complied likewiſe; and to ſecure themſelves, and enrich their Friends or Baſtards, did dilapidate all the Revenues of the Church, in the ſtrangeſt manner that has ever been known; and yet, for moſt of all theſe Leaſes and Alienations, they procured from *Rome* Bulls to confirm them; pretending at that Court, that they were neceſſary for making Friends to their Intereſt in *Scotland*.

Great numbers of theſe Bulls I my ſelf have ſeen and read: So that after all the noiſe that the Church of *Rome* had made of the Sacrilege in *England*, they themſelves confirmed a more entire waſte of the Churches Patrimony in *Scotland*; of which there was ſcarce any thing reſerved for the Clergy. But our Kings have ſince that time, uſed ſuch effectual endeavours there, for the recovery of ſo much as might give a juſt encouragement to the Labours of the Clergy; that univerſally the inferiour Clergy is better provided for in no Nation than in *Scotland*; for in Glebe and Tythes, every Incumbent is by the Law provided with at leaſt 50 *l. Sterling* a Year: which in proportion to the cheapneſs of the Country, is equal to twice ſo much in moſt parts of *England*. But there are not among them ſuch Proviſions for encouraging the more Learned and deſerviug Men, as were neceſſary. When theſe Acts of the Scotiſh Parliament were brought into *France* to be confirmed, they were rejected with much ſcorn; ſo that the Scots were in fear of a new War. But the King of *France* dying in the beginning of *December*, all that Cloud vaniſhed; their Queen being now only Dowager of *France*, and in very ill terms with her Mother-in-law Queen *Katherine de Medici*, who hated her, becauſe ſhe had endeavoured to take her Husband out of her hands, and to give him up wholly to the Counſels of her Uncles. So ſhe being ill uſed in *France*, was forced to return to *Scotland*, and govern there in ſuch manner, as the Nation was pleaſed to ſubmit to.

Francis the 2d died.

Thus had the Queen of *England* ſeparated *Scotland* entirely from the Intereſts of *France*, and united it to her own: And being engaged in the ſame Cauſe of Religion, ſhe ever after this, had that influence on all Affairs there, that ſhe never received any diſturbance from thence, during all the reſt of her glorious Reign. In which, other Accidents concurred to raiſe her to the greateſt Advantages in deciding Foreign Conteſts that ever this Crown had.

In *July* after she came to the Crown, *Henry* the Second of *France*, was unfortunately wounded in his Eye at a Tilting, the Beaver of his Helmet not being let down; so that he died of it soon after. His Son *Francis* the Second succeeding, was then in the *16th.* Year of his Age, and assumed the Government in his own Name; but put it into the hands of his Mother, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Guise*. The Constable was put from the Court, the Princes of the Blood were not regarded, but all things were carried by the Cardinal and his Brother; between whom, and the Queen-Mother, there arose great misunderstandings, which proved fatal to the Queen of *Scotland*; for she, being much engaged with her Uncles, and having an Ascendant over her Husband, did so divide him from his Mother, that before he died, she had only the shadow of the Government. This she remembred ever after against her Daughter-in-Law, and took no care of her afterwards in all her Miseries. 1559. The Civil Wars of *France.*

But the Prince of *Conde*, with the Admiral, and many others, resolving to have the Government in their Hands, engaged some Lawyers to examine the point of the King's Majority: These writ several Books on that Subject, to prove that two and twenty was the soonest that any King had been ever held to be of Age to assume the Government: and that no Strangers, nor Women, might be admitted to it by the Law of *France*, but that it belonged to the Princes of the Blood, during the King's Minority; who were to manage it by the Advice of the Courts of Parliament, and the three Estates. So that the Design now concerned between these great Lords, to take the King out of their hands who disposed of him, was grounded on their Laws: Yet as this Design was laying all over *France*, Papists and Protestants concurring in it, it was discovered by a Protestant, who thought himself bound in Conscience to reveal it. Upon this, the Prince of *Conde* and many others were seized on; and had not the King's Death, in the beginning of *December* 1560. saved him, the Prince himself, and all the Heads of that Party, had suffered for it.

But upon his Death, *Charles* the Ninth that succeeded him, being but eleven Years Old, the King of *Navarre* was declared Regent; and the Queen Mother, who then hated the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, united herself to him and the Constable, and drew the weak Regent into her Interests. Upon this, some Lawyers examining the Power of the Regent, found that the other Princes of the Blood were to have their share of the Government with him; and that he might be checkt by the Courts of Parliament, and was subject to an Assembly of the three Estates.

In *July*, the next Year, there was a severe Edict passed against the Protestants, to put down all their Meetings, and banish all their Preachers. The Execution of it was was put into the hands of the Bishops; but the greater part of the Nation would not bear it.

So in *January* thereafter, another Edict passed, in a great Assembly of the Princes of the Blood, the Privy Counsellors, and eight Courts of Parliament, for the free exercise of that Religion; requiring the Magistrates to punish those who should hinder or disturb their Meetings. Soon after this, the Duke of *Guise* and his Brother, reconciled themselves to the Queen Mother, and resolved to break that Edict. This

was

1559. was begun by the Duke of *Vassy*, where a Meeting of the Protestants being gathered, his Servants disturbed them; they began with reproachful Words, from these it went to Blows, and throwing of Stones; and by one of them the Duke was wounded: for which his Men took a severe Revenge, for they killed sixty of them, and wounded two hundred, sparing neither Age nor Sex. After this, the Edict was every where broken. Many Lawyers were of Opinion, that the Regent could not do it, and that the People might lawfully follow the next Prince of the Blood in defence of the Edict.

Upon this, his Brother, the Prince of *Conde* gathered an Army. In the beginning of the War, the King of *Navarre* was killed at the Siege of *Roan*; so that, by the Law, the Prince of *Conde* ought to have succeeded him in the Regency; and thus the Wars that followed after this, could not be called Rebellion; since the Protestants had the Law and the first Prince of the Blood of their side, to whom the Government did of right belong.

Thus began the Civil Wars of *France*, which lasted above thirty Years; in all which time, the Queen of *England*, by the Assistance she sent them, sometimes of Men, but for the most part, of Money and Ammunition, did support the Protestant Interest with no great Charge to her self. And by that, she was not only secured from all the Mischief which so powerful a Neighbour could do her, but had almost the half of that Kingdom depending on her.

The Wars of the *Netherlands.*

The State of the *Netherlands* afforded the like Advantages in those Provinces; where the King of *Spain*, finding the Proceedings of the Bishops were not effectual for the Extirpation of Heresie, their Sees being so large, intended to have founded more Bishopricks, and to have set up the Courts of Inquisition in those Parts; and apprehending some opposition from the Natives, he kept Garrisons of *Spaniards* among them, with many other things, contrary to the *Lætus Introitus*, that had been agreed to, when he was received to be their Prince.

The People finding all Terms broken with them, and that by this Agreement they were disengaged from their Obedience, if he broke those Conditions, did shake off his Yoke. Upon which followed the Civil Wars of the *Netherlands*, that lasted likewise above thirty Years. To them the Queen gave assistance; at first more secretly, but afterwards wore openly: and as both they and the French Protestants were assisted with men out of *Germany*, which were generally led by the brave, but seldom fortunate, *Casimir*, Brother to the Elector Palatine, so the money that payed them, was for most part furnished from *England*.

And thus was Queen *Elizabeth* the Arbiter of all the Neighbouring parts of Christendom. She at home brought the Coin to a true Standard: Navigation prospered; Trade spread, both in the Northern Seas to *Arch-Angel*, and to the East and West *Indies*; and in her long Wars with *Spain*, she was always Victorious. That great *Armada*, set out with such assurance of Conquest, was, what by the Hand of Heaven in a Storm, what by the unweildiness of their Ships, and the nimbleness of Ours, so shattered and sunk, that the few remainders of it returned with irrecoverable shame and loss to *Spain* again. She reigned in the Affections of her People, and was admired for her Knowledge

Verus

Vertues, and Wiſdom, by all the World. She always ordered her Councils ſo, that all her Parliaments were ever ready to comply with them; for in every thing ſhe followed the true Intereſt of the Nation. She never asked Subſidies, but when the neceſſity was viſible; and when the Occaſions that made her demand any, vaniſhed, ſhe diſcharged them. 1559.

She was admired even in *Rome* it ſelf, where *Sixtus* the fifth uſed to ſpeak of her, and the King of *Navarre*, as the only Princeſs that underſtood what it was to Govern; and prophanely wiſhed, he might enjoy her but one night, hoping they would beget a New *Alexander* the Great between them. But if that had been, and the Child had taken after the Father, it would have been more like *Alexander* the Sixth. *Vita de Sixto* 5.

Notwithſtanding all the Attempts of *Rome* againſt her Perſon and Government, ſhe ſtill lived and triumphed. In the firſt ten Years of her Reign, all things were carried with ſuch moderation, that there was no ſtir about Religion. Pope *Pius* the Fourth, reflecting on the capricious and high Anſwer his mad Predeceſſor had made to her Addreſs, ſent one *Parpalia* to her, in the ſecond Year of her Reign, to invite her to joyn her ſelf to that See, and he would diſannul the Sentence againſt her Mothers Marriage; confirm the Engliſh Service, and the uſe of the Sacrament in both Kinds. But ſhe ſent the Agent word to ſtay at *Bruſſels*, and not to come over. The ſame Treatment met Abbot *Martinengo*, who was ſent the Year after with the like Meſſage. From that Time, all Treaty with *Rome* was entirely broken off. *Pius* the Fourth proceeded no further; but his Succeſſor, *Pius* the Fifth, reſolved to contrive her Death, as he that writ his Life relates. *Catena.*

The unfortunate Queen of *Scotland*, upon the Wars in her Country, was driven to ſeek ſhelter in *England*, where it was at firſt reſolved to uſe her well, and to reſtore her to her Crown and Country; as will appear by two Papers, which for their Curioſity, being Originals, I have put into the *Collection*. The one is the Advice that Sir *Henry Mildmay* gave about it: the other is a long Letter written concerning it by the Earl of *Leiceſter* to the Earl of *Suſſex*. They were given me by that moſt ingenious and vertuous Gentleman, Mr. *Evelyn*, who is not ſatisfied to have advanced the knowledge of this Age, by his own moſt uſeful and ſucceſsful Labours, about Planting, and divers other ways, but is ready to contribute every thing in his Power to perfect other Mens Endeavours. Collection Number 12.

But while the Engliſh Council intended to have uſed the Queen of *Scotland* well, her own officious Friends, by the frequent Plots that were in a Succeſſion of many Years carried on, ſometimes by open Rebellion, as in the North of *England*, and in *Ireland*, but more frequently by ſecret Attempts, brought on her the Calamities of a long Imprisonment, and Death in the Concluſion.

Her Death was the greateſt blemiſh of this Reign, being generally cenſured by all the Age, except by Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, who was a Man that delighted in cruel Executions, and ſo concluded her to be a happy Woman that had the pleaſure to cut off a Crowned Head. But Queen *Elizabeth*'s own preſervation from the many Deſigns that were *Vita de Sixto* 5.

1559. against her Life, made it in some sort, if not necessary, yet more excusable in her: especially that unfortunate Queen having her self cherished the Plot of *Babington* and *Ballard*, and having set her Hand to the Letters that were written to them about it, though she still denied that, and cast the blame of it on her Secretaries; who (as she said) had gotten her Hand to them without her Knowledge. The Pope had deposed the Queen (as will appear by his Sentence, which I have put in the Collection; Collection Number 13.) and the Queen of *Scotland* being the next Heir to the Crown, and a zealous Papist, those of that Religion, hoped by destroying the Queen, to set her in her room; which put *England* in no small disorder, by Associations, and other means that were used for preserving the Queen, and destroying the Popish Interest. The Rebellions and Plots in *England* and *Ireland*, were not a little supported by the Assistance of King *Philip* of *Spain*, who did all he could to embroil the Queens Affairs at home, though still without Success. But the steps of the Queen's Proceedings both against Papists and Puritans, are so set out by her great and wise Secretary, Sir *Francis Walsingham* in so clear a manner, that I shall set it down here as a most important piece of History; being written by one of the wisest and most vertuous Ministers that these latter Ages have produced. He wrote it in French to one Monsieur *Critoy* a French-man, of which I have seen an English Copy, taken (as is said) from the Original.

Walsingham's Letter concerning the Queens proceedings against both Papists and Puritans.

SIR,

'WHereas you desire to be Advertized, touching the proceedings 'here in Ecclesiastical Causes, because you seem to note in them 'some Inconstancy and Variation, as if we inclined sometimes to one 'side, and sometimes to another; and as if that Clemency and Lenity 'were not used of late, that was used in the beginning: all which you 'imputed to your own superficial understanding of the Affairs of this 'State, having, notwithstanding her Majesties doings in singular Reverence, as the real Pledges which she hath given unto the World of her 'Sincerity in Religion, and of her Wisdom in Government well merriteth. I am glad of this Occasion, to impart that little I know in that 'matter unto you, both for your own satisfaction, and to the end you 'may make use thereof, towards any that shall not be so modestly and so 'reasonably minded, as you are. I find therefore her Majesties Proceedings to have been grounded upon two Principles.

'The one, that Consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and 'reduced by force of Truth, with the aid of Time, and use of all good 'means of Instruction and Perswasion.

'The other, that Causes of Consciences when they exceed their 'bounds, and grow to be matter of Faction, loose their Nature, and 'that Sovereign Princes ought distinctly to punish their Practices and 'Contempt, though coloured with the pretence of Conscience and 'Religion.

'According to these Principles, her Majesty at her coming to the 'Crown, utterly disliking the Tyranny of *Rome*, which had used by 'Terror and Rigour to settle Commandments of Mens Faiths and

'Co

'Conſciences. Though as a Princeſs of great Wiſdom and Magnanimity, 1559.
'ſhe ſuffered but the exerciſe of one Religion; yet her proceedings to-
'wards the Papiſts, was with great Lenity: expecting the good Effects
'which time might work in them; and therefore her Majeſty revived
'not the Laws made in the 28*th.* and 35*th.* of her Fathers Reign, where-
'by the Oath of Supremacy might have been offered at the King's Plea-
'ſure to any Subject, ſo he kept his Conſcience never ſo modeſtly to
'himſelf, and the refuſal to take the ſame Oath, without further Cir-
'cumſtances was made Treaſon. But contrariwiſe, her Majeſty not
'liking to make Windows into Mens Hearts and ſecret Thoughts, ex-
'cept the abundance of them did overflow into overt and expreſs Acts,
'or Affirmations, tempered her Law ſo, as it reſtraineth every manifeſt
'diſobedience, in impugning and impeaching, adviſedly and maliciouſly,
'her Majeſties ſupreme Power, maintaining and extolling a Foreign
'Juriſdiction: And as for the Oath, it was altered by her Majeſty into
'a more grateful Form; the hardneſs of the Name and Appellation of
'*Supream Head*, was removed; and the Penalty of the refuſal thereof,
'turned only to diſablement to take any Promotion, or to exerciſe any
'Charge, and yet of liberty to be reinveſted therein, if any Man ſhould
'accept thereof, during his Life. But after, when *Pius Quintus* ex-
'communicated her Majeſty, and the Bulls of Excommunication were
'publiſhed in *London*, whereby her Majeſty was in a ſort proſcribed,
'and that thereupon, as upon a principal Motive or Preparative, fol-
'lowed the Rebellion in the North; yet becauſe the ill Humours of
'the Realm were by that Rebellion partly purged, and that ſhe feared
'at that time no Foreign Invaſion, and much leſs the Attempt of any
'within the Realm, not back'd by ſome potent Power, and Succour from
'without, ſhe contented her ſelf to make a Law againſt that ſpecial
'caſe of bringing in and publiſhing of any Bulls, or the like Inſtruments;
'Whereunto was added a Prohibition upon pain, not of Treaſon, but
'of an inferior degree of Puniſhment, againſt the bringing of the
'*Agnus Dei's*, and ſuch other Merchandice of *Rome*, as are well known
'not to be any eſſential part of the Romiſh Religion, but only to
'be uſed in practice, as Love-Tokens, to inchant and bewitch the
'peoples Affections, from their Allegiance to their natural Soveraign.
'In all other Points, her Majeſty continued her former Lenity: but
'when about the 20*th* Year of her Reign, ſhe had diſcovered in the
'King of *Spain*, an intention to Invade her Dominions; and that a
'principal part of the Plot, was to prepare a Party within the Realm,
'that might adhere to the Foreigner; and that the Seminaries began
'to bloſſom, and to ſend forth daily, Prieſts, and profeſſed Men, who
'ſhould by Vow taken at *Shrift*, reconcile her Subjects from their Obe-
'dience; yea, and bind many of them to attempt againſt her Majeſties
'Sacred Perſon; and that, by the Poiſon which they ſpread, the Hu-
'mours of moſt Papiſts were altered, and that they were no more Pa-
'piſts in Conſcience, and of Softneſs, but Papiſts in Faction: Then
'were there new Laws made, for the puniſhment of ſuch as ſhould
'ſubmit themſelves to ſuch Reconcilements, or Renunciation of Obe-
'dience: And becauſe it was a Treaſon carried in the Clouds, and in
'wonderful ſecrecy, and come ſeldom to light; and that there was no

1559. ‘ preſuſpicion thereof ſo great, as the Recuſancy to come to Divine
‘ Service, becauſe it was ſet down by their Decrees, that to come to
‘ Church before Reconciliation, was to live in Schiſm; but to come to
‘ Church after Reconcilement, was abſolute heretical and damnable.
‘ Therefore there were added Laws containing Puniſhment pecuniary,
‘ *videlicet*, ſuch as might not enforce Conſciences, but to enfeeble and
‘ impoveriſh the means of thoſe about whom it reſteth indifferent and
‘ ambiguous, whether they were reconciled or not: and when, not-
‘ withſtanding all this Proviſion, the Poiſon was diſperſed ſo ſecretly,
‘ as that there was no means to ſtay it, but by reſtraining the Mer-
‘ chants that brought it in. Then laſtly, There was added a Law,
‘ whereby ſuch ſeditious Prieſts, of new Erection, were exiled; and
‘ thoſe that were at that time in the Land, ſhipped over, and ſo
‘ commanded to keep hence upon pain of Treaſon. This hath been
‘ the proceeding, though intermingled, not only with ſundry Exam-
‘ ples of her Majeſties Grace towards ſuch as in her Wiſdom ſhe knew
‘ to be Papiſts in Conſcience, and not Faction and Singularity, but al-
‘ ſo with extraordinary mitigation towards the Offenders in the higheſt
‘ Degree, committed by Law, if they would but proteſt, that if in
‘ caſe this Realm ſhould be invaded with a Forreign Army, by the Pope's
‘ Authority, for the Catholick Cauſe, as they term it, they would take
‘ part with her Majeſty, and not adhere to her Enemies.

‘ For the other Party, which have been offenſive to the State, though
‘ in another Degree, which named themſelves *Reformers*, and we com-
‘ monly call *Puritans*, this hath been the proceeding towards them: A
‘ great while, when they enveighed againſt ſuch Abuſes in the Church,
‘ as Pluralities, Non-reſidence, and the like, their Zeal was not condem-
‘ ned, only their Violence was ſometime cenſured. When they refu-
‘ ſed the uſe of ſome Ceremonies and Rites, as Superſtitious, they were
‘ tolerated with much connivancy and gentleneſs; yea, when they cal-
‘ led in queſtion the ſuperiority of Biſhops, and pretended to a Demo-
‘ cracy into the Church; yet their Propoſitions were here conſidered,
‘ and by contrary Writings debated and diſcuſſed. Yet all this while, it
‘ was perceived that their Courſe was dangerous, and very popular: as
‘ becauſe Papiſtry was odious, therefore it was ever in their Mouths,
‘ that they ſought to purge the Church from the Reliques of Papiſtry;
‘ a thing acceptable to the people, who love ever to run from one ex-
‘ tream to another.

‘ Becauſe multitude of Rogues, and Poverty was an Eye-ſore, and a
‘ diſlike to every Man; therefore they put into the peoples head, that
‘ if Diſcipline were planted, there ſhould be no Vagabonds nor Beg-
‘ gars, a thing very plauſible: and in like manner they promiſed the
‘ people many of the impoſſible Wonders of their Diſcipline; beſides,
‘ they opened to the people a way to Government, by their Conſiſtory,
‘ and Preſbytery; a thing, though in conſequence no leſs prejudicial to
‘ the Liberties of private men, than to the Soveraignity of Princes; yet
‘ in firſt ſhew very popular. Nevertheleſs this, except it were in ſome
‘ few that entred into extream contempt, was born with, becauſe they
‘ pretended in dutiful manner to make Propoſitions, and to leave it to
‘ the Providence of God, and the Authority of the Magiſtrate.

'But now of late Years, when there iſſued from them that affirmed, the conſent of the Magiſtrate was not to be attended; when under pretence of a Confeſſion, to avoid Slander and Imputations, they combined themſelves by Claſſes and Subſcriptions, when they deſcended into that vile and baſe means of defacing the Government of the Church, by ridiculous Paſquils, when they begun to make many Subjects in doubt to take Oaths, which is one of the Fundamental parts of Juſtice in this Land, and in all Places; when they began both to vaunt of their ſtrength, and number of their Partizans and Followers, and to uſe Cominations that their Cauſe would prevaile, though Uproar and Violence, then it appeared to be no more Zeal, no more Conſcience, but meer Faction and Diviſion: And therefore though the State were compelled to hold ſomewhat a harder hand to reſtrain them than before, yet was it with as great moderation, as the Peace of the State or Church could permit. And therefore, Sir, to conclude, conſider uprightly of theſe Matters, and you ſhall ſee, her Majeſty is no more a Temporizer in Religion: It is not the Succeſs Abroad, nor the Change of Servants here at Home, can alter her; only as the things themſelves alter, ſhe applyed her Religious Wiſdom to Methods correſpondent unto them; ſtill retaining the two Rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with Conſciences, and yet in diſcovering Faction from Conſcience, and Softneſs from Singularity. Farewel. 1559.

Your loving Friend,

F. Walſingham.

THUS I have proſecuted what I at firſt undertook, the Progreſs of the *Reformation*, from its firſt and ſmall beginnings in *England*, till it came to a compleat ſettlement in the time of this Queen. Of whoſe Reign, if I have adventured to give any Account, it was not intended ſo much for a full Character of her and her Councils, as to ſet out the great and viſible Bleſſings of God that attended on her; the many Preſervations ſhe had, and that by ſuch ſignal Diſcoveries, as both ſav'd her Life and ſecured her Government; and the unuſual happineſs of her whole Reign, which raiſed her to the Eſteem and Envy of that Age, and the Wonder of all Poſterity. It was wonderful indeed, that a Virgin Queen could rule ſuch a Kingdom, for above 44 Years, with ſuch conſtant ſucceſs, in ſo great tranquility at Home, with a vaſt encreaſe of Wealth, and with ſuch Glory abroad. All which may juſtly be eſteemed to have been the Rewards of Heaven, crowning that Reign with ſo much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Reformation of Religion.

The end of the third Book; and the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of *England.*

The

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FINIS.

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THE Year of our Lord 1537, was a Prince born to King *Henry* the 8*th*, by *Jane Seimour* then Queen; who within few days after the Birth of her Son, died, and was buried at the Caſtle of *Windſor*. This Child was Chriſtned by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*. Afterwards was brought up till he came to ſix Years old among the Women. At the ſixth Year of his Age he was brought up in Learning by Maſter Doctor *Cox*, who was after his Almoner, and *John Cheeke* Maſter of Arts, two well-learned Men, who ſought to bring him up in learning of Tongues, of the Scripture, of Philoſophy, and all Liberal Sciences. Alſo *John Bellmaine* Frenchman, did teach him the French Language. The tenth Year not yet ended, it was appointed he ſhould be created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Count Palatine of *Cheſter*: At which time, being the Year of our Lord 1547, the ſaid King died of a Dropſie as it was thought. After whoſe Death incontinent came *Edward* Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, to convy this Prince to *Enfield*, where the Earl of *Hartford* declared to him, and his younger Siſter *Elizabeth*, the Death of their Father.

Here he begins anew again.

AFter the Death of King *Henry* the 8*th*, his Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, was come to at *Hartford*, by the Earl of *Hartford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe; for whom before was made great preparation that he might be created Prince of *Wales*, and afterward was brought to *Enfield*, where the Death of his Father was firſt ſhewed him; and the ſame day the Death of his Father was ſhewed in *London*, where was great lamentation and weeping: and ſuddenly he proclaimed King. The next day, being the of . He was brought to the *Tower* of *London*, where he tarried the ſpace of three weeks; and in the mean ſeaſon the Council ſat every day for the performance of the Will, and at length thought beſt that the Earl of *Hartford* ſhould be made Duke of *Somerſet*, Sir *Thomas Seimour* Lord *Sudley*, the Earl of *Eſſex* Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and divers Knights ſhould be made Barons, as the Lord *Sheffield*, with divers others. Alſo they thought beſt to chuſe the Duke of *Somerſet* to be Protector of the Realm, and Governour of the King's Perſon during his Minority; to which all the Gentlemen and Lords did agree, becauſe he was the King's Uncle on his Mothers ſide. Alſo in this time the late King was buried at *Windſor* with much ſolemnity, and the Officers broke their Staves,

hurling them into the Grave; but they were reſtored to them again when they came to the *Tower*. The Lord *Liſle* was made Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord Great Chamberlainſhip was given to him; and the Lord *Sudley* made Admiral of *England*: all theſe things were done, the King being in the *Tower*. Afterwards all things being prepared for the Coronation, the King then being but nine Years old, paſſed through the City of *London*, as heretofore hath been uſed, and came to the Palace of *Weſtminſter*; and the next day came into *Weſtminſter-Hall*. And it was asked the People, Whether they would have him to be their King? Who anſwered; Yea, yea: Then he was crowned King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and all the reſt of the Clergy and Nobles; and Anointed, with all ſuch Ceremonies as were accuſtomed, and took his Oath, and gave a General Pardon, and ſo was brought to the Hall to Dinner on *Shroveſunday*, where he ſat with the Crown on his Head, with the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Protector; and all the Lords ſat at Boards in the Hall beneath, and the Lord Marſhal's Deputy, (for my Lord of *Somerſet* was Lord-Marſhal) rode about the Hall to make room; then came in Sir *John Dimock* Champion, and made his Challenge, and ſo the King drank to him, and he had the Cup. At night the King returned to his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, where there was Juſts and Barriers; and afterward order was taken for all his Servants being with his Father, and being with the Prince, and the Ordinary and Unordinary were appointed. In the mean ſeaſon Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Brother to my Lord of *Warwick*, being in the *Paunſie*, met with the *Lion*, a principal Ship of *Scotland*, which thought to take the *Paunſie* without reſiſtance; but the *Paunſie* approached her, and ſhe ſhot, but at length they came very near, and then the *Paunſie* ſhooting off all one ſide, burſt all the overlop of the *Lion*, and all her Tackling, and at length boarded her and took her; but in the return, by negligence, ſhe was loſt at *Harwich-Haven*, with almoſt all her Men.

* Should be *March*.

In the Month of * *May* died the French King called *Francis*, and his Son called *Henry* was proclaimed King. There came alſo out of *Scotland* an Ambaſſador, but brought nothing to paſs, and an Army was prepared to go into *Scotland*. Certain Injunctions were ſet forth, which took away divers Ceremonies, and Commiſſions ſent to take down Images, and certain Homilies were ſet forth to be read in the Church. Dr. Smith of *Oxford* recanted at *Pauls* certain Opinions of the Maſs, and that Chriſt was not according to the Order of *Melchiſedeck*. The Lord *Seimour* of *Sudley* married the Queen, whoſe Name was *Katherine*, with which Marriage the Lord Protector was much offended.

There was great preparation made to go into *Scotland*, and the Lord Protector, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Gray*, and Mr. *Brian*, went with a great number of Nobles and Gentlemen to *Barwick*; where the firſt day after his coming, he muſtered all his Company, which were to the number of 13000 Footmen, and 5000 Horſemen. The next day he marched on into *Scotland*, and ſo paſſed the *Peaſe*; then he burnt two Caſtles in *Scotland*, and ſo paſſed a ſtreight of a Bridg, where 300 Scots Light-horſemen ſet upon him behind his, who were diſcomfited. So he paſſed to *Muſſelburgh*, where the firſt day after he came, he went up to the Hill, and ſaw the Scots, thinking them

them, as they were indeed at leaſt 36000 Men; and my Lord of *Warwick* was almoſt taken, chaſing the Earl of *Huntley*, by an Ambuſh, but he was reſcued by one *Bertivell*, with twelve Hagbuttiers on Horſeback, and the Ambuſh ran away.

The 10*th* day of *September*, the Lord Protector thought to get the Hill, which the Scots ſeeing, paſſed the Bridg over the River of *Muſſelburgh*, and ſtrove for the higher Ground, and almoſt got it; but our Horſemen ſet upon them, who although they ſtayed them, yet were put to flight, and gathered together again by the Duke of *Somerſet*, Lord Protector, and the Earl of *Warwick*, and were ready to give a new Onſet. The *Scots* being amazed with this, fled their ways, ſome to *Edinburgh*, ſome to the Sea, and ſome to *Dalkeith*; and there were ſlain 10000 of them, but of Engliſhmen 51 Horſemen, which were almoſt all Gentlemen, and but one Footman. Priſoners were taken, the Lord *Huntley* Chancellor of *Scotland*, and divers other Gentlemen; and ſlain of *Lairds* 1000. And Mr. *Brian*, *Sadler*, and *Vane*, were made Bannerets.

After this Battel *Broughtie-Crag* was given to the Engliſhmen, and *Hume*, and *Roxburgh*, and *Heymouth*; which were fortified, and Captains were put in them, and the Lord of *Somerſet* rewarded with 500 *l.* Lands. In the mean ſeaſon, *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was, for not receiving the Injunctions, committed to Ward. There was alſo a Parliament called, wherein all Chaunteries were granted to the King, and an extream Law made for Vagabonds, and divers other things. Alſo the *Scots* beſieged *Broughty-Crag*, which was defended againſt them all, by Sir *Andrew Dudley* Knight, and oftentimes their Ordnance was taken and marred.

YEAR II.

A Triumph was, where ſix Gentlemen did challenge all Comers, at Barriers, Juſts, and Tournay; and alſo that they would keep a Fortreſs with thirty, with them againſt an hundred, or under, which was done at *Greenwich*.

Sir *Edward Bellingam* being ſent into *Ireland* Deputy, and Sir *Anthony St. Leger* revoked, he took *O-Canor*, and *O-Mor*, bringing the Lords that rebelled into ſubjection; and *O-Canor* and *O-Mor* leaving their Lordſhips, had apiece an 100 *l.* Penſion.

The Scots beſieged the Town of *Haddington*, where the Captain, Mr. *Willford*, every day made iſſues upon them, and ſlew divers of them. The thing was very weak, but for the Men, who did very manfully. Oftentimes Mr. *Holcroft* and Mr. *Palmer*, did victual it by force, paſſing through the Enemies; and at laſt the *Rhinegrave* unawares ſet upon Mr. *Palmer*, which was there with near a thouſand and five hundred Horſemen, and diſcomfited him, taking him, Mr. *Bowes* Warden of the Weſt-Marches, and divers other, to the number of 400, and ſlew a few. (Upon St. *Peter*'s day, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was committed to the *Tower*.) Then they made divers Brags, and they had the like made to them. Then went the Earl of *Shrewsbury* General of the Army, with 22000 Men, and burnt divers Towns and Fortreſſes; which the Frenchmen and Scots hearing, levied their Siege in the

the Mouth of *September*; in the levying of which, there came one to *Tiberio*, who as then was in *Haddington*, and setting forth the weakness of the Town, told him, That all Honour was due to the Defenders, and none to the Assailers; so the Siege being levied, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* entred it, and victualled, and reinforced it. After his departing by Night, there came into the Outer Court, at *Haddington*, 2000 Men armed, taking the Townsmen in their Shirts; who yet defended them, with the help of the Watch, and at length, with Ordnance, issued out upon them, and slew a marvellous number, bearing divers Assaults, and at length drove them home, and kept the Town safe.

A Parliament was called, where an Uniform Order of Prayer was instituted, before made by a number of Bishops and learned Men gathered together in *Windsor*. There was granted a Subsidy, and there was a notable Disputation of the Sacrament in the Parliament-House. Also the Lord *Sudley*, Admiral of *England*, was condemned to Death, and died in *March* ensuing. Sir *Thomas Sharington* was also condemned for making false Coin, which he himself confessed. Divers also were put in the *Tower*.

Year III.

Hume-Castle was taken by Night, and Treason, by the Scots. Mr. *Wilford*, in a Skirmish, was left of his Men, sore hurt and taken. There was a Skirmish at *Broughty-Craig*, wherein Mr. *Lutterell*, Captain there, Mr. *Dudley*, did burn certain Villages, and took *Monsieur de Toge* Prisoner. The Frenchmen by Night assaulted *Boulingberg*, and were manfully repulsed, after they had made Faggots with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rosin, Powder, and Wildfire, to burn the Ships in the Haven of *Bolein*, but they were driven away by the *Boloners*, and their Faggots taken.

In Mr. *Bowes* place, who was Warden of the West-Marches, was put the Lord *Dacres*; and in the Lord *Gray*'s place, the Earl of *Rutland*; who after his coming entred *Stotland*, and burnt divers Villages, and took much Prey. The People began to rise in *Wiltshire*, where Sir *William Herbert* did put them down, over-run, and slew them. Then they rose in *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, *Kent*, *Glocestershire*, *Suffolk*, *Warwickshire*, *Essex*, *Hartfordshire*, a piece of *Leicestershire*, *Worcestershire*, and *Rutlandshire*, where by fair persuasions, partly of honest Men among themselves, partly by Gentlemen, they were often appeased; and because certain Commissions were sent down to pluck down Inclosures, they did rise again. The French King perceiving this, caused War to be proclaimed; and hearing that our Ships lay at *Jersey*, sent a great number of his Galleys, and certain Ships, to surprise our Ships; but they being at anchor, beat the French, that they were fain to retire with the loss of 1000 of their Men.

At the same time the French King passed by *Bolein* to *New-Haven*, with his Army, and took *Blackness*, by Treason, and the *Almain* Camp; which done, *New-Haven* surrendred. There were also in a Skirmish, between 300 English Footmen, and 300 French Horsemen, six Noblemen slain. Then the French King came with his Army to *Bolein*,

Bollein, which they seeing, razed *Boulingberg*; but because of the Plague, he was compelled to retire, and *Chastilion* was left behind, as Governor of the Army. In the mean season, because there was a rumour that I was Dead, I passed though *London*.

After that they rose in *Oxfordshire*, *Devonshire*, *Norfolk*, and *Yorkshire*. To *Oxford*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* was sent with 1500 Horsemen and Footmen; whose coming, with the assembling of the Gentlemen of the Country, did so abash the Rebels, that more than half of them ran their ways, and other that tarried, were some slain, some taken, and some hanged. To *Devonshire*, the Lord Privy-Seal was sent who with his Band, being but small, lay at *Honington*, whiles the Rebels besieged *Exeter*, who did use divers pretty Feats of War, for after divers Skirmishes, when the Gates were burnt, they in the City did continue the Fire till they had made a Rampier within; also after, when they were undermined, and Powder was laid in the Mine, they within drowned the Powder and the Mine, with Water they cast in; which the Lord Privy-Seal having thought to have gone to inforce them a by-way, of which the Rebels having spial, cut all the Trees betwixt St. *Mary Outrie* and *Exeter*; for which cause the Lord Privy-Seal burnt that Town, and thought to return home: The Rebels kept a Bridg behind his Back, and so compelled him, with his small Band, to set upon them, which he did, and overcame them, killing 600 of them, and returning home without any loss of Men. Then the Lord *Gray*, and *Spinola*, with their Bands, came to him, and afterward *Gray*, with 200 of *Redding*, with which Bands he being reinforced, came to raise the Siege at *Exeter*, for because they had scarcity of Victual; and as he passed from *Honington*, he came to a little Town of his own, whither came but only two ways, which they had reinforced with two Bullwarks made of Earth, and had put to the defence of the same about 2000 Men; and the rest they had laid, some at a Bridg called *Honington-Bridg*, partly at a certain Hedg in a High-Way, and the most part at the Siege of *Exeter*. The Rereward of the Horsemen, of which *Travers* was Captain, set upon the one Bullwark, the Waward and Battail on the other; *Spinola*'s Band kept them occupied at their Wall: At length *Travers* drove them into the Town, which the Lord Privy-Seal burnt. Then they ran to a Bridg thereby, from whence being driven, there were in a plain about 900 of them slain.

The next day they were met about other 2000 of them, at the entry of a High-Way, who first desired to talk, and in the mean season fortified themselves; which being perceived, they ran their ways, and that same Night the City of *Exeter* was delivered of the Siege. After that they gathered at *Launston*, to whom the Lord Privy-Seal, and Sir *Will. Herbert* went and overthrew them, taking their chief Heads and executing them. Nevertheless some sailed to *Bridgwater*, and went about Sedition, but were quickly repressed. Hitherto of *Devonshire*. At this time the Black Gally was taken. Now to *Norfolk*; The People suddenly gathered together in *Norfolk*, and increased to a great number, against whom the Lord Marques of *Northampton* was sent, with the number of 1060 Horsemen, who winning the Town of *Norwich*, kept it one day and one night; and the next day in the morning, with the loss of 100 Men, departed out of the Town, among whom the

the Lord *Sheffield* was ſlain. There were taken divers Gentlemen, and Servingmen, to the number of thirty; with which Victory, the Rebels were very glad; but afterward hearing that the Earl of *Warwick* came againſt them, they began to ſtay upon a ſtrong plot of Ground upon a Hill near to the Town of *Norwich*, having the Town confederate with them. The Earl of *Warwick* came with the number of 6000 Foot, and 1500 Horſemen, and entred into the Town of *Norwich*; which having won it, was ſo weak that he could ſcarcely defend it; and often-times the Rebels came into the Streets, killing divers of his Men, and were repulſed again; yea, and the Townſmen were given to Miſchief themſelves: So having endured their Aſſaults three days, and ſtopped their Victuals, the Rebels were conſtrained, for lack of Meat, to remove; whom the Earl of *Warwick* followed with 1000 Almains, and his Horſemen, leaving the Engliſh Footmen in the Town, and overcame them in plain Battel, killing 2000 of them, and taking *Ket* their Captain, who in *January* following was hang'd at *Norwich*, and his Head hanged out; *Ket*'s Brother was taken alſo, and puniſhed alike. In the mean ſeaſon *Chaſtilion* beſieged the Peer of *Bolloin* made in the Haven, and after long Battery, 20000 ſhot or more, gave aſſault to it, and were manfully repulſed; nevertheleſs they continued the Siege ſtill, and made often Skirmiſhes, and falſe Aſſaults, in which they won not much. Therefore ſeeing they profited little that way, they planted Ordnance againſt the Mouth of the Haven, that no Victual might come to it; which our Men ſeeing, ſet upon them by Night and ſlew divers Frenchmen, and diſmounted many of their Peeces; nevertheleſs the French came another time and planted their Ordnance toward the Sand-ſide of the Sand-Hills, and beat divers Ships of Victuallers at the Entry of the Haven; but yet the Engliſhmen, at the King's adventure, came into the Haven and refreſhed divers times the Town. The Frenchmen ſeeing they could not that way prevail, continued their Battery but ſmally, on which before they had ſpent 1500 Shot in a day, but loaded a Galley with Stones and Gravel, which they let go in the Stream to ſink it; but or e're it ſunk, it came near to one Bank, where the *Bulloners* took it out, and brought the Stones to reinforce the Peer. Alſo at *Guines* was a certain Skirmiſh, in which there was about an 100 Frenchmen ſlain, of which ſome were Gentlemen and Noblemen. In the mean ſeaſon in *England* roſe great Stirs, like to increaſe much if it had not been well foreſeen. The Council, about nineteen of them, were gathered in *London*, thinking to meet with the Lord Protector, and to make him amend ſome of his Diſorder. He fearing his State, cauſed the Secretary, in my Name, to be ſent to the Lords, to know for what Cauſe they gathered their Powers together; and if they meant to talk with him, that they ſhould come in a peaceable manner. The next morning, being the 6th of *October* and *Saturday*, he commanded the Armour to be brought down out of the Armoury of *Hampton-Court*, about 500 Harneſſes, to Arm both his and My Men, with all the Gates of the Houſe to be Rampeir'd, People to be raiſed: People came abundantly to the Houſe. That night, with all the People, at nine or ten of the Clock of the night, I went to *Windſor*, and there was Watch and Word kept every night. The Lords ſat in open Places of *London*, calling for Gentlemen before them, and declaring

declaring the Cauſes of Accuſation of the Lord Protector, and cauſed the ſame to be proclaimed. After which time few came to *Windſor*, but only mine own Men of the Guard, whom the Lords willed, fearing the Rage of the People ſo lately quieted. Then began the Protector to treat by Letters, ſending Sir *Philip Hobbey*, lately come from his Ambaſſage in *Flanders*, to ſee to his Family, who brought in his return a Letter to the Protector, very gentle, which he delivered to him, another to Me, another to my Houſe, to declare his Faults, Ambition, Vain-Glory, entring into raſh Wars in my Youth, negligent looking on *New-Haven*, enriching of himſelf of my Treaſure, following of his own Opinion, and doing all by his own Authority, *&c.* Which Letters were openly read, and immediately the Lords came to *Windſor*, took him, and brought him through *Holborn* to the *Tower*. Afterward I came to *Hampton-Court*, where they appointed, by My conſent, ſix Lords of the Council to be Attendant on Me, at leaſt two and four Knights; Lords, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*, the Lords, *Ruſſel*, *St. John*, and *Wentworth*; Knights, Sir *Andr. Dudley*, Sir *Edw. Rogers*, Sir *Tho. Darcy*, and Sir *Tho. Wroth*. After I came through *London* to *Weſtminſter*. The Lord of *Warwick* made Admiral of *England*. Sir *Thomas Cheiney* ſent to the Emperor for Reſief, which he could not obtain. Maſter *Wotton* made Secretary. The Lord Protector by his own Agreement and Submiſſion, loſt his Protectorſhip, Treaſurerſhip, Marſhalſhip, all his Moveables, and more, 2000 *l.* Land, by Act of Parliament. The Earl of *Arundel* committed to his Houſe, for certain Crimes of ſuſpicion againſt him, as plucking down of Bolts and Locks at *Weſtminſter*, giving of My Stuff away, *&c.* and put to Fine of 12000 *l.* to be paid 1000 *l.* Yearly; of which he was after relieved.

Alſo Mr. *Southwell* committed to the *Tower* for certain Bills of Sedition, written with his Hand, and put to fine of 500 *l.* Likewiſe Sir *Tho. Arundel*, and ſix, then committed to the *Tower* for Conſpiracies in the Weſt Places. A Parliament, where was made a manner to Conſecrate, Prieſts, Biſhops, and Deacons. Mr. *Paget* ſurrendring his Comptrolerſhip, was made Lord *Paget* of *Beaudeſert*, and cited into the Higher Houſe by a Writ of Parliament. Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, before Vice-chamberlain, made Comptroller. Sir *Thomas Darcy* made Vice-chamberlain. *Guidotty* made divers Errands from the Conſtable of *France* to make Peace with us; upon which were appointed four Commiſſioners to Treat; and they, after long Debatement, made a Treaty as followeth.

Anno 1549. *Mart.* 24.

Peace concluded between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*. By our Engliſh ſide, *John* Earl of *Bedford*, Lord Privy Seal, Lord *Paget de Beaudeſert*, Sir *William Petre* Secretary, and Sir *John Maſon*. On the French ſide, *Monſieur de Rochepot*, *Monſieur Chaſtilion*, *Guilluart de Mortier*, and *Boucherel de Sany*, upon theſe Conditions, That all Titles, Tribute, and Defences, ſhould remain; That the Faults of one Man, except he be not puniſhed, ſhould not break the League. That the Ships of Merchandize ſhall paſs to and fro: That Pirats ſhall be called

back, and Ships of War. That Priſoners ſhall be delivered of both ſides. That we ſhall not War with *Scotland*. That *Bolein*, with the pieces of New Conqueſt, and two Baſilisks, two Demy-Cannons, three Culverins, two Demy-Culverins, three Sacres, ſix Faulcons, 94 Hagbutts, a Crook, with Wooden Tailes, and 21 Iron Pieces; and *Lauder*, and *Dunglaſs*, with all the Ordnance ſave that that came from *Haddington*, ſhall, within ſix Months after this Peace proclaimed, be delivered; and for that the French to pay 200000 Scutes within three days after the delivery of *Bolein*, and 200000 Scutes on our Lady Day in Harveſt next enſuing; and that if the Scots razed *Lauder*, and we ſhould raze *Roxburg* and *Heymouth*. For the performance of which, on the *7th* of *April*, ſhould be delivered at *Guiſneſs* and *Ardres*, theſe Hoſtages;

Marqueſs *de Means*.	My Lord of *Suffolk*.
Monſieur *Trimoville*.	My Lord of *Hartford*.
Monſieur *D' Anguien*.	My Lord *Talbot*.
Monſieur *Monmorency*.	My Lord *Fitzwarren*.
Monſieur *Henandiere*.	My Lord *Martavers*.
Vicedam *de Chartres*.	My Lord *Strange*.

Alſo that at the delivery of the Town, Ours ſhould come home, and at the firſt Payment three of theirs; and that if the Scots raze *Lauder* and *Dunglaſs*, We muſt raze *Roxburgh* and *Heymouth*, and none after fortify them, with comprehenſion of the Emperor.

25. This Peace, *Anno* 1550, proclaimed at *Calais* and *Bolein*.

29. In *London*, Bonefires.

30. A Sermon in Thankſgiving for Peace, and *Te Deum* ſung.

31. My Lord *Somerſet* was delivered of his Bonds, and came to Court.

April.

2. The Parliament prorogued to the ſecond day of the Term in *October* enſuing.

3. *Nicholas Ridley*, before of *Rocheſter*, made Biſhop of *London*, and received his Oath.

Thomas Thirlby, before of *Weſtminſter*, made Biſhop of *Norwich*, and received his Oath.

4. The Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, before a vehement affirmer of Tranſubſtantiation, did preach againſt it at *Weſtminſter* in the preaching place.

Removing to *Greenwich* from *Weſtminſter*.

6. Our Hoſtages paſſed the Narrow Seas between *Dover* and *Calais*.

7. Monſieur *de Fermin*, Gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, paſſed from the French King by *England* to the Scotch Queen, to tell her of the Peace.

An Ambaſſador came from *Guſtave* the Swediſh King, called *Andrew*, for a ſurer Amity touching Merchandize.

9. The Hoſtages delivered on both the ſides, for the Ratification of the League with *France* and *Scotland*; for becauſe ſome ſaid to Monſieur *Rochfort* Lieutenant, that Monſieur *de Guiſe*, Father to the Marqueſs of *Means*, was dead, and therefore the delivery was put over a day.

8. My

8. My Lord *Warwick* made General-Warden of the North, and Mr. *Herbert* Preſident of *Wales*; and the one had granted to him 1000 Marks Land, the other 500; and Lord *Warwick* 100 Horſemen at the King's Charge.

9. Licences ſigned for the whole Council, and certain of the Privy Chamber to keep among them 2340 Retainers.

10. My Lord *Somerſet* taken into the Council. *Guidotti* the beginner of the talk for Peace, recompenſed with Knightdom, 1000 Crowns Reward, 1000 Crowns Penſion, and his Son with 250 Crowns Penſion. Certain Priſoners for light Matters diſmiſſed; agreed for delivery of French Priſoners taken in the Wars. *Peter Vane* ſent Ambaſſador to *Venice*. Letters directed to certain Iriſh Nobles, to take a blind Legat coming from the Pope, calling himſelf Biſhop of *Armagh*. Commiſſions for the delivery of *Bulloin*, *Lauder*, and *Dunglaſs*.

6. The *Flemings* Men of War would have paſſed our Ships without vailing Bonet; which they ſeeing, ſhot at them, and drove them at length to vail Bonet, and ſo depart.

11. Monſieur *Trimaul*, Monſieur *Vicedam de Char*, and Mouſieur *Heraudie*, came to *Dover*, the reſt tarried at *Calais* till they had leave.

13. Order taken, that whoſoever had Benefices given them, ſhould preach before the King in or out of Lent, and every *Sunday* there ſhould be a Sermon.

16. The three Hoſtages aforeſaid came to *London*, being met at *Deleford* by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Lord *Bray*, with divers other Gentlemen, to the Number of 20, and Servingmen an 100, and ſo brought into the City, and lodged there, and kept Houſes every Man by himſelf.

18. Mr. *Sidney* and Mr. *Nevel* made Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Commiſſion given to the Lord *Cobham* Deputy of *Callais*, *William Peter* chief Secretary, and Sir *John Maſon* French Secretary, to ſee the French King take his Oath, with certain Inſtructions; and that Sir *John Maſon* ſhould be Ambaſſador Legier.

Commiſſion to Sir *John Davies*, and Sir *William Sharrington*, to receive the firſt Paiment, and deliver the Quittance.

19. Sir *John Maſon* taken into the Privy-Council, and *William Thomas* made Clerk of the ſame.

Whereas the Emperor's Ambaſſador deſired leave, by Letters Patents, that my Lady *Mary* might have Maſs; it was denied him. And where he ſaid we broke the League with him, by making Peace with *Scotland*; it was Anſwered, That the French King, and not I, did comprehend them, ſaying, that I might not invade them without occaſion.

10. *Lauther* being beſieged of the Scots, the Captain hearing that the Peace was proclaimed in *England*, delivered it, as the Peace did will him, taking Sureties, that all the Bargains of the Peace ſhould be kept.

18. Monſieur *de Guiſe* died.

20. Order taken for the Chamber, that three of the Outer Privy-Chamber Gentlemen ſhould always be here, and two lie in the Palace, and fill the Room of one of the four Knights; that the Squires ſhould be diligent in their Office; and five Grooms ſhould be always preſent, of which one to watch in the Bed-Chamber.

21. The Marqueſs de *Means*, the Duke *de Anguien*, and the Conſtable's Son, arrived at *Dover*.

23. Monſieur *Trimoville*, and the *Vicedam* of *Chartres*, and Monſieur *Henaudy*, came to the Court, and ſaw the Order of the Garter, and the Knights, with their Sovereign, receive the Communion.

24. Certain Articles touching a ſtreighter Amity in Merchandize, ſent to the King of *Sweeden*, being theſe.

Firſt; *If the King of* Sweeden *ſent Bullion, he ſhould have our Commodities, and pay no Toll.*

Secondly; *He ſhould bring Bullion to none other Prince.*

Thirdly; *If he brought Oxymus, and Steel, and Copper*, &c. *he ſhould have our Commodities, and pay Cuſtom as an Engliſhman.*

Fourthly; *If he brought any other, he ſhould have free entercourſe, paying Cuſtom as a Stranger*, &c.

It was anſwered, to the Duke of *Brunſwick*, that whereas he offered Service with 10000 Men of his Land, that the War was ended; and for the Marriage of my Lady *Mary* to him, there was talk for her Marriage with the Infant of *Portugal*; which being determined, he ſhould have anſwer.

25. Lord *Clinton* Captain of *Bulloin*, having ſent away before all his Men ſaving 1800, and all his Ordnance, ſaving that the Treaty did reſerve, iſſued out of the Town with theſe 1800, delivering it to Monſieur *Chaſtilion*, receiving of him the ſix Hoſtages Engliſh, an Acquittance for delivery of the Town, and ſafe Conduct to come to *Calais*; whither when he came, he placed 1800 in the Emperors Frontiers.

27. The Marqueſs *du Means*, *Count d' Anguien*, and the Conſtable's Son, were received at *Black-Heath* by my Lord of *Rutland*, my Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, my Lord *Bray*, my Lord *Liſle*, and divers Gentlemen, with all the Penſionaries, to the number of an hundred, beſide a great number of Servingmen.

It was granted, that my Lord of *Somerſet* ſhould have all his moveable Goods and Leaſes, except thoſe that be already given.

The King of *Sweden*'s Ambaſſador departed home to his Maſter.

29. The Count *d' Anguien*, Brother to the Duke of *Vendoſme*, and next Heir to the Crown after the King's Children; the Marqueſs de *Means*, Brother to the Scotch Queen; and Monſieur *Montmorency*, the Conſtable's Son came to the Court, where they were received with much Muſick at Dinner.

26. Certain were taken that went about to have an Inſurrection in *Kent*, upon *May*-day following; and the Prieſt, who was the chief Worker, ran away into *Eſſex*, where he was laid for.

30. *Dunglaſs* was delivered as the Treaty did require.

May.

2. *Joan Bocher*, otherwiſe called *Joan of Kent*, was burnt, for holding, *That Chriſt was not Incarnate of the Virgin* Mary; being condemned the Year before, but kept in hope of Converſion; and the 30th of *April*, the Biſhop of *London*, and the Biſhop of *Ely*, were to perſwade her; but ſhe withſtood them, and reviled the Preacher that preached at her Death.

The first Payment was payed at *Calais*, and received by Sir *Thomas Dennis*, and Mr. *Sharington*.

4. The Lord *Clinton*, before Captain of *Bollein*, came to Court, where after Thanks, he was made Admiral of *England*, upon the Surrender of the Earl of *Warwick*'s Patent: He was also taken into the Privy-Council, and promised further Reward. The Captain also, and Officers of the Town, were promised Rewards. Monsieur *de Brisay* passed also by the Court to *Scotland*, where at *Greenwich* he came to the King, telling him, That the French King would see that if he lacked any Commodity that he had, he would give it him; and likewise would the Constable of *France*, who then bore all the Swing.

5. The Marques *de Means* departed to *Scotland* with Monsieur *de Brisy*, to acquaint the Queen of the death of the Duke of *Guise*.

6. The Master of *Ayrskin*, and Monsieur *Morret*'s Brother, came out of *Scotland* for the Acceptation of the Peace, who after had Passport to go into *France*.

7. The Council drew a Book for every Shire, who should be Lieutenants in them, and who should tarry with Me; but the Lieutenants were appointed to tarry till *Chastilions*, *Sarcy*, and *Boucherels* coming, and then to depart.

9. Proclamation was made, That the Souldiers should return to their Mansions; and the Mayor of *London* had charge to look through all the Wards, to take them and send them to their Countries.

The Debt of 30000 *l.* and odd Money, was put over an Year, and there was bought 2500 Cinquetales of Powder.

11. Proclamation was made, That all Wooll-winders should take an Oath that they would make good Cloth there, as the Lord Chancellor would appoint them, according to an Act of Parliament made by *Edward* the Third.

7. The Lord *Cobham*, the Secretary *Petre*, and Sir *John Mason* came to the French King to *Amiens*, going on his Journey, where they were received of all the Nobles, and so brought to their Lodgings, which were well dressed.

10. The French King took the Oath for the Acceptation of the Treaty.

12. Our Ambassadors departed from the French Court, leaving Sir *John Mason* as Legier.

14. The Duke of *Somerset* was taken into the Privy-Chamber, and likewise was the Lord Admiral.

15. It was appointed that all the Light-Horsemen of *Bollein*, and the Men of Arms, should be payed their Wages, and be led by the Lord Marques of *Northampton*, Captain of the Pensioners; and all the Guard of *Bollein* under the Lord Admiral. Also that the chiefest Captains should be sent, with 600 with them, to the strengthning of the Frontiers of *Scotland*.

The comprehension of Peace with *Scotland* was accepted so far as the League went, and Sealed.

16. The Master of *Ayrskin* departed into *France*.

17. Removing from *Westminster* to *Greenwich*.

18. The French *King* came to *Bollein* to visit the Pieces lately delivered to him, and to appoint an Order, and staying things there; which done, he departed.

19. *Peter*

19. *Peter Vane* went as Ambaſſador to *Venice*, and departed from the Court with his Inſtructions.

20. The Lord *Cobham* and Sir *William Petre*, came home from their Journey, delivering both the Oath, and the Teſtimonial of the Oath witneſſed by divers Noblemen of *France*; and alſo the Treaty ſealed with the Great Seal of *France*: and in the Oath was confeſſed, That I was Supream Head of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*, and alſo King of *Ireland*.

23. Monſieur *Chaſtilion*, and *Mortier*, and *Boucherel*, accompanied with the Rhinegrave, *Dandelot* the Conſtable's ſecond Son, and *Chanault* the Legier, came to *Dureſm-place*, where in their Journey they were met by Mr. Treaſurer, and 60 Gentlemen, at *Woollwich*, and alſo ſaluted with great Peals, at *Wollwich*, *Debtford*, and the *Tower*.

24. The Ambaſſor came to Me preſenting the Legier; and alſo delivering Letters of Credence from the French King.

25. The Ambaſſadour came to the Court, where they ſaw Me take the Oath for the Acceptation of the Treaty; and afterwards dined with Me: and after Dinner ſaw a Paſtime of ten againſt ten at the Ring, whereof on the one ſide were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Vicedam, the Lord *Liſle*, and ſeven other Gentlemen apparalled in Yellow. On the other, the Lord *Strange*, Monſieur *Hennady*, and the eight other in blew.

26. The Ambaſſador ſaw the baiting of the Bears and Bulls.

27. The Ambaſſadors, after they had hunted, ſat with me at Supper.

28. The ſame went to ſee *Hampton-Court*, where they did Hunt, and the ſame Night return'd to *Dureſm-place*.

25. One that by way of Marriage had thought to aſſemble the People, and ſo to make an Inſurrection in *Kent*, was taken by the Gentlemen of the Shire, and afterward puniſhed.

29. The Ambaſſadors had a fair Supper made them by the Duke of *Somerſet*; and afterward went into the *Thames*, and ſaw both the Bear hunted in the River, and alſo Wild-fire caſt out of Boats, and many pretty Conceits.

30. The Ambaſſadors took their leave, and the next day departed.

June.

3. The King came to *Shein*, where was a Marriage made between the Lord *Liſle* the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son, and the Lady *Ann* Daughter to the Duke of *Somerſet*; which done, and a fair Dinner made, and Dancing finiſhed, the King and the Ladies went into two Anti-Chambers made of Boughs, where firſt he ſaw ſix Gentlemen of one ſide, and ſix of another, run the courſe of the Field twice over. Their Names here do follow.

The Lord *Edward*. Sir *John Appleby*, &c.

And afterwards came three Maſters of one ſide, and two of another, which ran four Courſes apiece. Their Names be;

Lad

Last of all came the Count of *Regunete*, with three *Italians*, who ran with all the Gentlemen four Courses, and afterwards fought at Tourney; and so after Supper he returned to *Westminster*.

4. Sir *Robert Dudley*, third Son to the Earl of *Warwick*, married Sir *John Robsarts* Daughter; after which Marriage, there were certain Gentlemen that did strive who should first take away a Gooses Head which was hanged alive on two cross Posts.

5. There was Tilt and Tournay on foot, with as great Staves as they run withal on Horseback.

6. Removing to *Greenwich*.

8. The Gests of my Progress were set forth, which were these; from *Greenwich* to *Westminster*, from *Westminster* to *Hompton-Court*, from *Hampton-Court* to *Windsor*, from *Windsor* to *Guilford*, from *Guilford* to *Oatland*, from *Oatland* to *Richmond*, &c.

Also the Vicedam made a great Supper for the Duke of *Somerset* and the Marques of *Northampton*, with divers Masques and other Concetts.

9. The Duke of *Somerset*, Marques of *Northampton*, Lord Treasurer, *Bedford*, and the Secretary *Petre*, went to the Bishop of *Winchester* to know to what he would stick. He made answer, That he would obey and set forth all things set forth by Me and my Parliament; and if he were troubled in Conscience, he would reveal it to the Council, and not reason openly against it.

The first Payment of the Frenchmen, was laid up in the *Tower* for all Chances.

10. The Books of my Proceedings were sent to the Bishop of *Winchester*, to see whether he would set his Hand to it, or promise to set it forth to the People.

11. Order was given for Fortifying and Victualling *Cales* for four Months; and also Sir *Henry Palmer* and Sir—*Alce*, were sent to the Frontiers of *Scotland*, to take a view of all the Forts there, and to report to the Council where they thought best to fortify.

12. The Marques *de Means* came from *Scotland* in Post, and went his way into *France*.

13. Commissions were signed to Sir *William Herbert*, and thirty other, to intreat of certain Matters in *Wales*, and also Instructions to the same, how to behave himself in the Presidentship.

14. The Surveyor of *Calais* was sent to *Calais*, first to raze the Walls of *Risbank* toward the Sand-hills, and after to make the Wall massy again, and the round Bullwark to change to a pointed one, which should run twenty foot into the Sea, to beat the Sand-hills, and to raze the Mount. Secondly, To view *Marbridge*, to make an high Bullwark in the midst, with Flankers, to beat through all the streight; and also four Sluces to make *Calais* Haven better. Afterwards he was bid to go to *Guisnes*, where first he should take away the three-cornerd Bullwark to make the outward Wall of the Keep, and to fill the space between the Keep and the said outward Wall with the foresaid Bulwark, and to raise the Old Keep that it might defend the Town. Also he was bid to make *Parson's* Bulwark, where it is now, round, without Flankers, both pointed, and also with six Flankers to bear hard to the Keep.

Atwood

Atwood and *Lambert* were ſent to take view of *Allderny*, *Silly*, *Jerſey*, *Garnſey*, and the Iſle of *Gitto*.

The Duke of *Somerſet*, with five others of the Council, went to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: to whom he made this Anſwer; *I having deliberately ſeen the Book of* Common-Prayer, *although I would not have made it ſo my ſelf, yet I find ſuch things in it as ſatisfieth my Conſcience, and therefore I will both execute it my ſelf, and alſo ſee other my Pariſhioners to do it.*

This was ſubſcribed by the foreſaid Counſellors, that they heard him ſay theſe words.

16. The Lord Marqueſs, Mr. *Herbert*, the Vicedam *Henandit*, and divers other Gentlemen, went to the Earl of *Warwick*'s, where they were honourably received; and the next day they ran at the Ring a great number of Gentlemen.

19. I went to *Debtford*, being bidden to Supper by the Lord *Clinton*: where before Supper I ſaw certain Men ſtand upon the end of a Boat, without holding of any thing, and ran one at another, till one was caſt into the Water. At Supper Monſieur *Vicedam* and *Henandit* ſupped with me. After Supper was there a Fort made upon a great Lighter on the *Thames* which had three Walls, and a Watch-Tower; in the midſt of which Mr. *Winter* was Captain, with forty or fifty other Souldiers in Yellow and Black. To the Fort alſo appertained a Gallery of Yellow Colour, with Men and Ammunition in it for defence of the Caſtle: Wherefore there came four Pinaces with their Men in White, handſomely dreſſed; which intending to give aſſault to the Caſtle, firſt drove away the Pinace, and after with Clods, Squibs, Canes of Fire-Darts made for the nonce, and Bombards, aſſaulted the Caſtle; and at length came with their Pieces, and burſt the outer Walls of the Caſtle, beating them off the Caſtle into the ſecond Ward, who after iſſued out and drove away the Pinaces, ſinking one of them, out of which all the Men in it, being more than twenty, leaped out and ſwam in the *Thames*; Then came the Admiral of the Navy, with three other Pinaces, and won the Caſtle by Aſſault, and burſt the top of it down, and took the Captain and under Captain. Then the Admiral went forth to take the Yellow Ship, and at length claſped with her, took her, and aſſaulted alſo her top, and won it alſo by compulſion, and ſo returned home.

20. The Mayor of *London* cauſed the Watches to be encreaſed every night, becauſe of the great Frays, and alſo one Alderman to ſee good Rule kept every Night.

22. There was a privy ſearch made through all *Suſſex* for all Vagabonds, Gipſies, Conſpirators, Propheſiers, all Players, and ſuch like.

24. There were certain in *Eſſex* about *Rumford*, went about a Conſpiracy, which were taken, and the Matter ſtayed.

25. Removing to *Greenwich*.

23. Sir *John Yates*, Sheriff of *Eſſex*, went down with Letters to ſee the Biſhop of *London*'s Injunctions performed, which touched plucking down of Superaltaries, Altars, and ſuch like Ceremonies and Abuſes.

29. It was appointed that the Germans ſhould have the *Auſtin-Friers* for their Church to have their Service in, for avoiding of all Sects of *Anabaptiſts*, and ſuch-like.

17. The French Queen was delivered of a third Son, called *Monſieur d' Angouleſme*.

13. The Emperor departed from *Argentin* to *Auguſta*.

30. *John Poynet* made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and received his Oath.

July.

5. There was Mony provided to be ſent into *Ireland*, for payment of the Souldiers there; and alſo Orders taken for the diſpatch of the Strangers in *London*.

7. The Maſter of *Arskin* paſſed into *Scotland* coming from *France*. Alſo the French Ambaſſador did come before Me, firſt after ſhewing the Birth of *Monſieur d' Angouleſme*; afterward declaring, That whereas the French King had for my ſake let go the Priſoners at St. *Andrews*, who before they were taken, had ſhamefully murdered the Cardinal, he deſired that all Scots that were Priſoners might be delivered. It was anſwered, That all were delivered. Then he moved for one called the Arch-biſhop of *Glaſgow*; who ſince the Peace, came diſguiſed without Paſport, and ſo was taken. It was anſwered, That we had no Peace with *Scotland*, ſuch, that they might paſs our Country, and the Maſter of *Erskin* affirmed the ſame.

8. It was agreed that the 200 that were with Me, and 200 that were with Mr. *Herbert*, ſhould be ſent into *Ireland*; Alſo that the Mint ſhould be ſet a-work that it might coin 24000 *l.* a Year, and ſo bear all my Charges in *Ireland* for this Year, and 10000 *l.* for my Coffers.

9. The Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord Treaſurer, Sir *William Herbert*, and the Secretary *Petre*, went to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* with certain Articles ſigned by Me and the Council, containing the confeſſing of his Pink, the Supremacy, the eſtabliſhing of Holy Days, the aboliſhing of ſix Articles, and divers other, whereof the Copy is in the Council-Cheſt; whereunto he put his Hand, ſaving to the Confeſſion.

10. Sir *William Herbert* and Secretary *Petre* were ſent unto him, to tell him, I marvelled that he would not put his Hand to the Confeſſion. To which he made anſwer, That he would not put his Hand to the Confeſſion, for becauſe he was Innocent, and alſo the Confeſſion was but the Preface of Articles.

11. The Biſhop of *London*, the Secretary *Petre*, Mr. *Cecil*, and *Goderick*, were commanded to make certain Arcicles according to the Laws, and to put in the Submiſſion.

12. It was appointed, That under the Shadow of preparing for the Sea-Matters, there ſhould be ſent 5000 *l.* to the Proteſtants to get their good Will.

14. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* did deny the Articles that the Biſhop of *London* and the other had made.

13. Sir *John Yates* was ſent into *Eſſex* to ſtop the going away of the Lady *Mary*, becauſe it was credibly informed that *Scipperus* ſhould ſteal her away to *Antwerp*; divers of her Gentlemen were there, and *Scipperus* a little before came to ſee the Landing-places.

16. It was appointed that the two hundred with the Duke of *Somerſet*, and two hundred with the Lord Privy-Seal, and four hun-

dred with Maſter *St. Legier*, ſhould be ſent to the Sea-Coaſt.

17. It was agreed, that on *Wedneſday* next, We ſhould go in one day to *Windſor* and dine at *Sion*.

18. It was thought beſt that the Lord *Bowes* ſhould tarry in his Wardenſhip ſtill, and the Earl of *Warwick* ſhould tarry here and be recompenſed.

19. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was ſequeſtred from his Fruits for three Months.

20. *Hooper* was made Biſhop of *Gloceſter*. The Merchants were commanded to ſtay as much as they could their vent into *Flanders*, becauſe the Emperor had made many ſtreight Laws againſt them that profeſſed the Goſpel.

21. A Muſter was made of the *Boulonois*, who were fully paid for all paſt, and a Month to come. Sir *John Wallop*, *Francis Hall*, and Doctor *Coke*, were appointed Commiſſioners to appoint the Limits between Me and the French King.

23. Removing to *Windſor*.

22. The Secretary *Petre*, and the Lord Chancellor, were appointed to go to the Lady *Mary*, to cauſe her to come to *Oking*, or to the Court.

25. It was appointed, that half the French King's Paiment ſhould be beſtowed on paying 10000 *l.* at *Calais*, [illegible] in *Ireland*, 10000 *l.* in the North, 2000 *l.* in the Admiralty, ſo that every Crown might go for one of our Nobles.

27. Becauſe the Rumour came ſo much of *Scipperus* coming, it was appointed that they of the Admiralty ſhould ſee my Ships in readineſs.

26. The Duke of *Somerſet* went to ſet Order in *Oxfordſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Wiltſhire*, and *Hampſhire*.

28. The Lady *Mary*, after long communication, was content to come to *Leez* to my Lord Chancellor, and then to *Hunſdon*; but ſhe utterly denied to come to the Court or *Oking* at that time.

31. The Earl of *Southampton* died.

14. *Andrew Dory* took the City of —— in *Africa*, from the Pirat *Dragutte*, who in the mean ſeaſon burnt the Country of *Genoa*.

8. The Emperor came to *Ausburg*.

Auguſt.

4. Mr. *St. Legier* was appointed, by Letters Patents, to be Deputy there; and had his Commiſſion, Inſtructions, and Letters to the Nobles of *Ireland* for the ſame purpoſe.

5. The ſame Deputy departed from the Caſtle of *Windſor*.

6. The Duke of *Somerſet* departed to *Redding* to take an Order there.

7. It was appointed, that of the Mony delivered to Me by the French King, there ſhould be taken 100000 Crowns to pay 10000 *l.* at *Calais*, 10000 in the North, and 2000 in the Admiralty, and 8000 in *Ireland*.

8. *Monſieur Henaudy* took his leave to depart to *Calais*, and ſo upon the Paiment to be delivered Home; and *Tremoville* being ſick, went in a Horſe-Litter to *Dover*.

9. The French Ambaſſador came to *Windſor*, to ſue for a Paſſport for the Dowager of *Scotland*; which being granted, ſo ſhe came [illegible]

a Friend; he required 300 Horſe to paſs, with 200 Keepers, which was not wholly granted, but only that 200 Horſe, with an 100 Keepers in one Company, coming into this Realm, as ſhould be appointed, ſhould, without let, paſs into *France*, and not return this way.

11. The *Vicedam* of *Chartres* ſhewed his Licenſe to tarry here, with a Letter written to the ſame purpoſe.

10. The Ambaſſador of *France* departed not a little contented with his gentle Anſwers.

12. Removing to *Guilford*.

13. The Parliament was Prorogued to the 20*th* of *February* next following.

Mr. *Cook* Maſter of Requeſts, and certain other Lawyers, were appointed to make a ſhort Table of the Laws and Acts that were not wholly unprofitable, and preſent it to the Board.

The Lord Chancellor fell ſore ſick, with forty more of his Houſe, ſo that the Lady *Mary* came not thither at that time.

14. There came divers Advertiſements from *Chamberlain*, Ambaſſadour with the Queen of *Hungary*, that their very intent was to take away the Lady *Mary*, and ſo to begin an Outward War, and an Inward Conſpiracy; inſomuch that the Queen ſaid *Scipperus* was but a Coward, and for fear of one Gentleman that came down, durſt not go forth with his Enterpriſe to my Lady *Mary*.

16. The Earl of *Maxwell* came down to the North-Border with a good Power to overthrow the *Gremes*, who were a certain Family that were yielded to Me; but the Lord *Dacre* ſtood before his Face with a good Band of Men, and ſo put him from his Purpoſe, and the Gentlemen, called *Gremes*, skirmiſhed with the ſaid Earl, ſlaying certain of his Men.

17. The Council appointed, among themſelves, That none of them ſhould ſpeak in any Man's behalf for Land to be given, Reverſion of Offices, Leaſes of Manours, or extraordinary Annuities, except for certain Captains who ſerved at *Bolein*, their Anſwer being deferred till *Michaelmaſs* next.

18. A Proclamation that till *Michaelmaſs* all Strangers that ſued for Penſions ſhould go their way.

20. Romoving to *Oking*.

15. The ſecond Paiment of the French was paied, and *Henaudy* and *Tranville* delivered.

21. 8000 *l.* of the laſt Paiment was appointed to be paied to the Diſpatch of *Calais*, and 5000 at the North.

24. 10000 *l.* was appointed to be occupied to win Mony to pay the next Year, pay the outward Pays; and it was promiſed that the Mony ſhould double every Month.

26. Removing to *Oatlands*.

27. *Andrea Doria* gave a hot Aſſault to the Town of —— in *Africa* kept by the Pirat called *Drogute*, but was repulſed by the Townſmen.

29. The Pirat gave a hot Aſſault to *Andrea Doria* by Night, and ſlew the Captain of *Thames*, with divers other notable Men.

31. The Duke *Maurice* made anſwer to the Emperor, That if the Council were not free, he would not come at it.

September.

2. *Maclamore* in *Ireland* before a Rebel, by the means of Mr. *Bale-ſon*, ſurrendred himſelf and gave Pledges.

6. Mr. *Wotton* gave up his Secretary ſhip, and Mr. *Cecil* got it of him.

8. Removing from *Nonſuch*.

13. Removing from *Oatlands*.

22. A Proclamation was ſet forth, by the which it was commanded; 1. That no kind of Victual, no Wax, Tallow, Candles, nor no ſuch thing ſhould be carried over, except to *Calais*, putting in Sureties to go thither. 2. That no Man ſhould buy or ſell the ſelf-ſame things again, except Broakers, who ſhould not have more than ten quarters of Grain at once. 3. That all Juſtices ſhould divide themſelves into Hundreds, Rapes, and Wapentakes, to look in their Quarters what ſuperfluous Corn were in every Barn, and appoint it to be ſold at a reaſonable price. Alſo that one of them muſt be in every Market to ſee the Corn brought. Furthermore, whoever ſhipped over any Thing aforeſaid to the Parts beyond Sea, or *Scotland*, after eight days following the publication of the Proclamation, ſhould forfeit his Ship, and the Ware therein, half to the Lord of the Franchize, and half to the finder thereof; whoſo bought to ſell again after the day aforeſaid, ſhould forfeit all his Goods, Farms, and Leaſes, to the uſe, one half of the Finder, the other of the King; whoſo brought not in Corn to Market as he was appointed, ſhould forfeit 10 *l.* except the Purveyours took it up, or it were ſold to his Neighbours.

25. Letters ſent out to the Juſtices of the Peace for the due execution thereof.

18. *Andrea Doria* had a repulſe from the Town of * in *Africa*, and loſt many of his Men, and the Captain of *Thames*, and nevertheleſs left not yet the Siege. * *Afrodiſium.*

24. Order was given for the Victualing of *Calais*.

26. The Lord *Willoughby*, Deputy of *Calais*, departed and took his journey thitherward.

28. The Lord Treaſurer ſent to *London* to give Order for the preſervation of the City, with help of the Mayor.

Whereas the Emperor required a Council, they were content to receive it, ſo it were free and ordinary, requiring alſo that every Man might be reſtored to his Right, and a general Peace proclaimed. They deſired alſo, that in the mean ſeaſon no Man might be reſtrained to the his faſhion of Religion.

18. The Emperor made Anſwer, That the Council ſhould be to the Glory of God, and Maintenance of the Empire at *Trent*; He knew no Title to any of his Territories, Peace he deſired, and in the mean ſeaſon would have them obſerve the Interim and laſt Council of *Trent*; he would alſo that they of *Breme* and *Hamburgh*, with their Aſſociates, ſhould leave their Seditions, and obey his Decrees.

21. *George* Duke of *Mecklenburgh* came with 8000 Men of War to the City of *Magdeburgh*, being Proteſtant; againſt whom went forth the Count of *Mansfield*, and his Brother, with 6000 Men, and eight Guns, to drive him from Pillage; but the other abiding the Brunt, put the Count to flight, took his Brother Priſoner, and ſlew 3000 Men, as it is reported.

Octo-

October.

4. Removing to *Richmond.*
5. The Parliament Prorogued to the 20*th* of *January.*
6. The French King made his entry into *Roan.*
10. It was agreed that *York*, Maſter of one of the *Mints* at the *Tower*, ſhould make his Bargain with Me, *viz.* To take the Profit of Silver riſing of Bullion that he himſelf brought, ſhould pay all my Debts, to the Sum of 1200000 *l.* or above, and remain accountable for the Overplus, paying no more but 6 *s.* and 6 *d.* the Ounce, till the Exchange were equal in *Flanders*, and after 6 *s.* and 2 *d.* Alſo that he ſhould declare all his Bargains to any ſhould be appointed to overſee him, and leave off when I would: For which I ſhould give him 15000 *l.* in Preſt, and leave to carry 8000 *l.* over-Sea to abaſe the Exchange.
16. Removing to *Weſtminſter.*
19. Prices were ſet of all kind of Grains, Butter, Cheeſe, and Poultry-Ware, by a Proclamation.
20. The Frenchmen came to *Sandefield* and *Fins-wood*, to the number of 800, and there on my Ground did ſpoil my Subjects that were relieved by the Wood.
26. The French Ambaſſador came to excuſe the foreſaid Men, ſaying, They thought it not meet that that Wood ſhould be ſpoiled of us, being thought and claimed as theirs, and therefore they lay there.
24. There were 1000 Men embarqued to go to *Calais*, and ſo to *Guiſnes*, and *Hammes*, *Riſhumbee*, *Newmanbridge*, the Cauſie and the Bulwarks, with Victual for the ſame.

November.

19. There were Letters ſent to every Biſhop to pluck down the Altars.
20. There were Letters ſent down to the Gentlemen of every Shire, for the obſervation of the laſt Proclamation touching Corn, becauſe there came none to the Markets, commanding them to puniſh the Offenders.
29. Upon the Letters written back by the ſame, the ſecond Proclamation was aboliſhed.

December.

15. There was Letters ſent for the taking of certain Chaplains of the Lady *Mary* for ſaying Maſs, which ſhe denied.
19. *Berthwick* was ſent to the King of *Denmark*, with privy Inſtructions for the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* to his Son.
20. There was appointed a Band of Horſemen divided amongſt the Nobles.

An 100 to the Duke of *Somerſet.*
Fifty to my Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton.*

Lord Marqueſs of *Dorſet.*	To the Earl of *Warwick.*
Earl of *Wiltſhire.*	
Lord *Wentworth.*	Lord Privy-Seal.
Lord Admiral.	
Lord *Paget.*	Mr. *Herbert.*
Mr. *Sadler.*	
Mr. *Darcy.*	Mr. Treaſurer.

24. Removing

24. Removing to *Greenwich*.

26. Peace concluded between the Emperor and the Scots.

January.

6. The Earl of *Arundel* remitted of 8000 *l.* which he ought to have payed for certain Faults he had committed within 12 Years.

7. There was appointed, for becauſe the Frenchmen did go about practice in *Ireland*, that there ſhould be prepared four Ships, four Barques, four Pinaces, and twelve Victualers, to take three Havens; of which two were on the South-ſide toward *France*, and one in *James Cannes* the Scottiſh Country, and alſo ſend and break the foreſaid Conſpiracies.

10. Three Ships being ſent forth into the Narrow Seas, took certain Pirats, and brought them into *England*, where the moſt part was hanged.

27. *Monſieur de Lanſac* came from the French King by way of requeſt, to ask that *Coumilis*, the fiſhing of the *Tweed*, *Edrington*, the Ground debatable, and the Scotch Hoſtages that were put here in the King my Father's days, ſhould be delivered to the Scots, that they might be ſuffered to Traffique, as though they were in Peace, and that all Intereſt of the foreſaid Houſes ſhould be delivered to the Scots. Alſo that thoſe Priſoners which were bound to pay their Ranſoms before the Peace laſt concluded, ſhould not enjoy the benefit of the Peace.

18. The Lord *Cobham* was appointed to be General Lieutenant in *Ireland*.

30. Letters written to Mr. *St. Lieger* to repair to the South parts of *Ireland* with his Force.

February.

3. Mr. *Croſtis* appointed to go into *Ireland*, and there with *Rogers* and certain Artificers, to take the Havens aforeſaid, and begin ſome Fortification.

5. Divers Merchants of *London* were ſpoken withal for proviſion of Corn out of *Danſick*, about 40000 Quarters.

10. *Mountford* was commanded to go to provide for certain proportions of Victual for the Ships that ſhould go into *Ireland*.

11. Alſo for Proviſion to be ſent to *Barwick* and the North parts.

16. *Whaley* was examined, for perſwading divers Nobles of the Realm to make the Duke of *Somerſet* Protector at the next Parliament, and ſtood to the denial, the Earl of *Rutland* affirming it manifeſtly.

13. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, after a long trial, was depoſed of his Biſhoprick.

20. Sir *William Pickering* Kt. was diſpatched to the French King for Anſwer to *Monſieur de Lanſac*, to declare, That although I had right in the foreſaid Places, yet I was content to ſurrender them, under Conditions to be agreed on by Commiſſioners on both ſides; and for the laſt Articles I agreed without condition.

25. The Lord Marqueſs *Dorſet* appointed to be Warden of the North-Borders, having three Sub-Wardens, the Lord *Ogle*, &c. in the Eaſt, and the Lord *Coniers* in the Weſt. Alſo Mr. *Auger* had the charge for victualling *Calais*.

28. The Learned Man *Bucerus* died at *Cambridg*; who was two days after

after buried in St. *Mary*'s Church at *Cambridg*; all the whole University, with the whole Town, bringing him to the Grave, to the number of 3000 Persons. Also there was an Oration of Mr. *Haddon* made very eloquently at his Death, and a Sermon of * after that Master *Redmen* made a third Sermon; which three Sermons made the People wonderfully to lament his Death. Last of all, all the Learned Men of the University made their Epitaphs in his praise, laying them on his Grave. * Dr. *Parker.*

March.

3. The Lord *Wentworth* Lord Chamberlain, died about ten of the Clock at Night, leaving behind him sixteen Children.

1. Sir *John York* made great loss about 2000 *l.* weight of Silver, by Treason of English Men which he brought for Privation of the Mints. Also *Judd* 1500, and also *Tresham* 500; so the whole came to 4000 *l.*

February.

20. The Frenchmen came with a Navy of 160 Sail into *Scotland*, loaden with provision of Grain, Powder, and Ordnance; of which fifteen great Ships perished on *Ireland* Coast, two loaden with Artillery, and fourteen with Corn.

Also in this Month the Deputy there set at one, certain of the West Lords that were at variance.

March.

10. Certain new Fortifications were devised to be made at *Calais*; That at *Graveling* the Water should be let in in my Ground, and so should fetch a compass by the six Bolwarks to *Guisnes*, *Hammes*, and *Newnam-bridg*; and that there should be a Wall of eight foot high, and six broad of Earth, to keep out the Water, and to make a great Marsh about the Territories of *Calais* 37 miles long. Also for Flankers at the Keep of *Guisnes*, willed to be made a three-cornered Bulwark at the Keep to keep it. Furthermore, at *Newnam-bridg*, a massy Wall to the French-side there, as was a Green. Besides, at the West Gittie there should be another Gittie, which should defend the Victuallers of the Town always from Shot from the Sand-hills.

5. Mr. *Archer* had 2000 *l.* in Mony, wherewith he provided out of *Flanders* for *Calais* 2000 Quarters of Barley, 500 of Wheat.

18. The Lady *Mary*, my Sister, came to me at *Westminster*, where after Salutations, she was called, with my Council, into a Chamber; where was declared how long I had suffered her Mass, in hope of her reconciliation, and how now being no hope, which I perceived by her Letters, except I saw some short amendment I could not bear it. She answered, That her Soul was God's, and her Faith she would not change, nor dissemble her Opinion with contrary doings. It was said, I constrained not her Faith, but willed her not as a King to Rule, but as a Subject to obey; and that her Example might breed too much inconvenience.

19. The Emperor's Ambassador came with a short Message from his Master of War, if I would not suffer his Cousin, the Princess, to use her Mass. To this was no answer given at this time.

20. The Bishops of *Canterbury*, *London*, *Rochester*, did consider, to give license to sin, was Sin; to suffer and wink at it for a time might be born, so all haste possible might be used.

23. The

23. The Council having the Biſhop's Anſwers, ſeeing my Subjects taking their vent in *Flanders*, might put the whole Realm in danger. The *Flemings* had Cloth enough for a Year in their hand, and were kept far under the danger of the Papiſts; the 1500 Cinquetales of Powder I had in *Flanders*, the Harneſs they had for preparation of the Gendarmory, the Goods my Merchants had there at the *Woolfleet*, decreed to ſend an Ambaſſador to the Emperor, Mr. *Wotton*, to deny the matter wholly, and perwade the Emperor in it, thinking, by his going, to win ſome time for a preparation of a Mart, convenience of Powder, Harneſs, *&c.* and for the Surety of the Realm. In the mean ſeaſon to puniſh the Offenders, firſt of my Servants that heard Maſs, next of hers.

24. Sir *Anthony Brown* ſent to the *Fleet* for hearing Maſs, with Serjeant *Morgan*, Sir *Clement Smith*, which a Year before heard Maſs, chidden.

25. The Ambaſſador of the Emperor came to have his Anſwer, but had none, ſaving that one ſhould go to the Emperor within a month or two to declare the Matter.

22. Sir *William Pickering* came with great thanks from the French King.

27. Removing to *Greenwich*.

31. A Challenge made by Me, that I, with ſixteen of my Chamber, ſhould run at Baſe, Shoot, and run at the Ring, with any ſeventeen of my Servants Gentlemen in the Court.

Mr. *Croſted* arrived in *Ireland*, and came to *Waterford* to the Deputy, conſulting for Fortification of the Town.

April.

1. The firſt day of the Challenge at Baſe, or Running, the King won.

3. *Monſieur de Lanſac* came again from the French King to go to *Scotland*, for appointing his Commiſſioners on the Scotch ſide, who were the French Ambaſſador in *Scotland*, the Biſhop of——the Maſter of *Erskin*, &c.

Thomas Darcy made Lord *Darcy* of *Chich*, and Lord Chamberlain; for maintenance whereof he had given 100 Merks to his Heirs generally, and 300 to his Heirs Males.

6. I loſt the Challenge at ſhooting at Rounds, and won at Rovers.

7. There were appointed Commiſſioners on my ſide, either the Biſhop of *Litchfield* if he had no Impediment, or *Norwich*, Mr. *Bowes*, Mr. *Bekwith*, and Sir *Thomas Chaloner*.

8. Sir *John Yates* made Vice-chamberlain, and Captain of the Guard, and 120 *l.* Land.

5. *Poinet* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* received his Oath for the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, having 2000 Merk Land appointed to him for his Maintenance.

7. A certain *Arrian* of the Strangers, a Dutch Man, being excommunicated by the Congregation of his Countrymen, was after long diſputation condemned to the Fire.

9. The Earl of *Wiltſhire* had 50 more in my Lord Marqueſs *Dorſet*'s Place, Warden in the North, and my Lord of *Rutland* in my Lord *Wentworth*'s place other fifty.

10. M

10. Mr. *Wotton* had his Instructions made to go withal to the Emperor, to be as Ambassador Legier in Mr. *Morison*'s place, and to declare this Resolution, That if the Emperor would suffer my Ambassador with him, to use his Service, then I would his; if he would not suffer Mine, I would not suffer his. Likewise, that my Sister was my Subject, and should use my Service appointed by Act of Parliament.

Also it was appointed to make 20000 pound weight for necessity somewhat baser, to get gains 16000 *l.* clear, by which the Debt of the Realm might be paid, the Country defended from any sudden Attempt, and the Coin amended.

11. Mr. *Pickering* had his Instructions and Dispatch to go into *France* as Ambassador Legier there, in Mr. *Mason*'s Place, who desired very much to come home; and Mr. *Pickering* had Instructions to tell the French King of the appointing of my Commissioners in *Scotland* aforesaid.

2. They of *Magdeburg* having in *January* last past taken in a conflict the Duke of *Meeklenburg*, and three other Earls, did give an Onset on Duke *Maurice* by Boats on the River, when it overflowed the Country, and slew divers of his Men, and came home safe, receiving a great portion of Victual into the Town.

15. A Conspiracy opened of the *Essex*-men, who within three days after minded to declare the coming of Strangers, and so to bring People together to *Chelmsford*, and then to spoil the Rich Men's Houses if they could.

16. Also of *Londoners* who thought * *Woodcock* to rise on *May*-day against the Strangers of the City, and both the Parties committed to Ward.

* Here the sense is not perfect.

23. The French King, and the Lord *Clinton*, chosen into the Order of the Garter; and appointed that the Duke of *Somerset*, the Marques of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Wiltshire*, and the Earl of *Warwick* should peruse and amend the Order.

24. The Lords sat at *London*, and banqueted one another this day, and three days after, for to shew Agreement amongst them, whereas Discord was bruited, and somewhat to look to the punishment of Tale-bearers, and apprehending of Evil Persons.

25. A Bargain made with the Foulcare for about 60000 *l.* that in *May* and *August* should be paid for the defraying of it. 1. That the Foulcare should put it off for 10 in the 100. 2. That I should buy 2000 Marks weight, at 6 *s.* the ounce, to be delivered at *Antwerp*, and so conveyed over. 3. I should pay 100000 Crowns for a very fair Jewel of his, four Rubies marvelous big, one Orient and great Diamond, and one great Pearl.

27. *Mallet*, the Lady *Mary*'s Chaplain, apprehended and sent to the Tower of *London*.

30. The Lord Marques of *Northampton* appointed to go with the Order, and further Commission of Treaty, and that in Post; having joined with him in Commission, the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Philip Hobbey*, Sir *William Pickering*, and Sir *John Mason* Knights, and two other Lawyers, *Smith* that was Secretary, *&c.*

May.

2. There was appointed to go with my Lord Marqueſs the Earls of *Rutland*, *Worceſter*, and *Ormond*; the Lords *Liſle*, *Fitzwater*, and *Bray*, *Barguenny*, and divers other Gentlemen, to the number of thirty in all.

3. The Challenge at running at the Ring performed; at the which firſt came the King, ſixteen Footmen, and ten Horſemen, in black Silk Coats, pulled out with white Taffety; then all the Lords, having three Men likewiſe apparelled; and all Gentlemen their Footmen in white Fuſtian, pulled out with black Taffety. The other ſide came all in yellow Taffety; at length the yellow Band took it thrice in 120 courſes, and my Band touched often, which was counted as nothing, and took never, which ſeemed very ſtrange, and ſo the Prize was of my Side loſt. After that Tournay followed, between ſix of my Band, and ſix of theirs.

4. It was appointed that there ſhould be but four Men to wait on every Earl that went with my Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton*, three on every Lord, two on every Knight or Gentleman: Alſo that my Lord Marqueſs ſhould in his Diet be allowed for the loſs in his Exchange.

5. The Muſter of the Gendarmoury appointed to be the firſt of *June* if it were poſſible, if not, the 8*th*.

6. The Teſtourn cried down from 12 *d*. to 9 *d*. and the Groat from 4 *d*. to 3 *d*.

9. One *Stewart* a Scotchman meaning to poiſon the young Queen of *Scotland*, thinking thereby to get Favour here, was, after he had been a while in the *Tower* and *Newgate*, delivered on my Frontiers at Calais to the French, for to have him puniſhed there according to his deſert.

10. Divers Lords and Knights ſent for to furniſh the Court at the coming of the French Ambaſſador, that brought hither the Order of St. *Michael*.

12. A Proclamation proclaimed, to give warning to all thoſe that keep any Farms, multitudes of Sheep, above the number limited by the Law, *viz*. 2000; decayed Tenements and Towns, Regratters, Forſtalling Men that ſell dear, having plenty enough, and put Plough Ground to Paſture, and Carriers over-Sea of Victual, That if they leave not theſe Enormities, they ſhall be ſtreightly puniſhed very ſharply, ſo that they ſhould feel the ſmart of it; and to command execution of Laws made for this purpoſe before.

14. There muſtered before Me an hundred Archers, two Arrows apiece, all of the Guard; afterward ſhot together, and they ſhot at a inch Board, which ſome pierced quite, and ſtuck in the other Board; divers pierced it quite thorow with the Heads of their Arrows, the Boards being very well-ſeaſoned Timber. So it was appointed there ſhould be ordinarily 100 Archers, and 100 Halbertiers, either good Wreſtlers, or caſters of the Bar, or Leapers, or Runners, or tall Men of Perſonage.

15. Sir *Philip Hobbey* departed toward *France*, with ten Gentlemen of his own, in Velvet Coats and Chains of Gold.

16. Likewiſe did the Biſhop of *Ely* depart with a Band of Men well furniſhed.

20. A Proclamation made, That whosoever found a Seditious Bill, and did not tear and deface it, should be a partaker of the Bill, and punished as the Maker.

21. My Lord Marques of *Northampton* had Commission to deliver the Order, and to treat of all things, and chiefly of Marriage for Me to the Lady *Elizabeth* his Daughter. First, To have the Dote 12000 Marks a Year, and the Dowry at least 800000 Crowns. The Forfeiture 100000 Crowns at the most if I performed not, and paying that to be delivered; and that this should not impeach the former Covenants with *Scotland*, with many other Branches.

22. He departed himself in Post.

24. An Earthquake was at *Croidon* and *Blechinglee*, and in the most part of *Surrey*, but no harm was done.

30. Whereas before Commandment was given that 160000 *l.* should be Coined of three ounces in the Pound fine, for discharge of Debts, and to get some Treasure, to be able to alter all, now was it stopped, saving only 80000 *l.* to discharge my Debts, and 10000 Mark weight that the *Foulcare* delivered in the last Exchange, at four ounces in the pound.

31. The Musters deferred till after *Midsummer*.

June.

2. It was appointed that I should receive the Frenchmen that came hither at *Westminster*, where was made preparation for the purpose, and four garnish of new Vessels taken out of Church-Stuff, as Miters, and Golden-Missals, and Primers, and Crosses, and Reliques of *Plessay*.

4. Provision made in *Flanders* for Silver and Gold Plate, and Chains to be given to these Strangers.

7. A Proclamation set forth, that Exchange, or Re-exchange, should be made under the Punishment set forth in King *Henry* the Seventh's Time, duly to be executed.

10. *Monsieur Mareschal* departed from the Court to *Bulloigne* in Post, and so hither by Water in his Galleys and Foists.

In this Month, and the Month before, was great Business for the City of *Parma*, which Duke* *Horatio* had delivered to the French King, for the Pope ascited him, as holding it *in capite* of him, whereby he could not alienate it without the Pope's Will; but he came not at his Day, for which cause the Pope and Imperialists raised 8000 Men, and took a Castle on the same River side. Also the French King sent *Monsieur de Thermes*, who had been his General in *Scotland*, with a great piece of his Gendarmory into *Italy*, to help Duke *Horatio*. Furthermore the Turks made great preparation for War, which some feared would at length burst out.

* It should be *Octavio*.

21. I was elected of the Company of St. *Michael* in *France* by the French King and his Order.

23. Agreement made with the Scots for the Borders, between the Commissioners aforesaid, for both the Parties.

In this Month *Dragute*, a Pirat, escaped (*Andrea Doria*, who had closed him in a Creek) by force of his Galley-Slaves, that digged another way into the Sea, and took two of *Andrea*'s Galleys that lay far into the Sea.

14. Pardon given to those Irish Lords that would come in before a

certain day limited by the Deputy; with Advertiſement to the Deputy to make ſharp War with thoſe that would reſiſt; and alſo ſhould adminiſter my Laws every-where.

18. Becauſe of my Charges in Fortifications at *Calais* and *Berwick* ſhould be payed, it was agreed, that beſide the Debt of the Realm 80000 *l.* there ſhould be 40000 *l.* coined, three ounces Fine, nine of Allay; and 5000 pound weight ſhould be coined in a Standard of ſeven ounces Fine at the leaſt.

17. *Soperantio* came as Ambaſſador from *Venice*, in *Daniel Barbaro*'s Place.

16. I accepted the Order of *Monſegnieur Michael* by promiſe to the French Ambaſſador.

17. My Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton* came to *Nants* with the Commiſſioners, and all thoſe Noblemen and Gentlemen that came over-Sea with him.

20. Upon advertiſement of *Scipperus* coming, and rigging of certain Ships in *Holland*; alſo for to ſhew the Frenchmen pleaſure at their coming, all the Navy that lay in *Gillingham-water* was appointed to be rigged, and furniſhed with Ordnance, and lay in the River of *Thames*, to the intent, that if *Scipperus* came afterward, he might be met with, and at leaſt the Frenchmen ſhould ſee the force of my Navy.

22. The Lady *Mary* ſent Letters to the Council, marvelling at the Impriſonment of Dr. *Mallet*, her Chaplain, for ſaying of Maſs before her Houſhold, ſeeing it was promiſed the Emperor's Ambaſſador ſhe ſhould not be moleſted in Religion, but that ſhe and her Houſhold ſhould have the Maſs ſaid before them continually.

24. They anſwered, That becauſe of their Duties to King, Country, and Friends, they were compelled to give her anſwer, That they would ſee, not only him, but alſo all other Maſs-Sayers, and breakers of Order, ſtraitly puniſhed. And that as for promiſe they had, they would give none to make her free from the puniſhment of the Law in that behalf.

18. *Chaſtilion* came to my Lord Marqueſs, and there banqueted him by the way at two times between *Nantes* and *Chaſteau Brian*, where the King lay.

15. *Mendoza*, a Gentleman of the King's Chamber, was ſent to him to conduct him to the Court.

19. My Lord Marqueſs came to *Chaſteau Brian*, where half a mile from the Caſtle there met him——with an hundred Gentlemen, and brought him to the Court, booted and ſpur'd, to the French King.

20. The French King was inveſted with the Order of the Garter in his Bed-Chamber, where he gave a Chain to the Garter worth 200 *l.* and his Gown dreſſed with Auglets worth 25 *l.* The Biſhop of *Ely* making an Oration, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* making him Anſwer. At Afternoon the Lord Marqueſs moved the French King to the Marriage of the Scots Queen to be conſummate, for whoſe hearing he appointed two Commiſſioners.

21. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and of *Chaſtilion*, the Conſtable, the Duke of *Guiſe*, *&c.* were appointed Commiſſioners on the part of *France*, who abſolutely denied the firſt Motion for the Scotch Queen, ſaying, Both they had taken too much Pains, and ſpent too many Lives in

for her. Alſo a concluſion was made for her Marriage to the Dolphin. Then was proponed the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, the French King's eldeſt Daughter; to which they did moſt chearfully aſſent. So after they agreed neither Party to be bound in Conſcience nor Honour, till ſhe were twelve Years of Age and upwards. Then they came to the Dote, which was firſt asked 1500000 Scutes of *France*, at which they made a mock; after for *donatio propter nuptias*, they agreed that it ſhould be as great as hath been given by the King my Father to any Wife he had.

22. Our Commiſſioners came to 1400000 of Crowns, which they refuſed, then to a Million, which they denied; then to 800000 Crowns, which they ſaid they would not agree to.

23. Then our Commiſſioners asked what they would offer? Firſt they offered 100000 Crowns, then 200000, which they ſaid was the moſt, and more than ever was given. Then followed great Reaſonings, and ſhowing of Precedents, but no nearer they would come.

24. They went forward unto the Penalties of the Parties miſliked, after that the King's Daughter were twelve and upwards, which the French offered 100000, 50000 Crowns; or promiſe, that ſhe ſhould be brought, at her Father's Charge, three months before ſhe were twelve, ſufficiently Jewelled and Stuffed. Then Bonds to be delivered alternatively at *London*, and at *Paris*, and ſo forth.

26. The Frenchmen delivered the foreſaid Anſwers written to my Commiſſioners.

July.

1. Whereas certain Flemiſh Ships, twelve Sail in all, ſix tall Men of War, looking for eighteen more Men of War, went to *Diep*, as it was thought, to take *Monſieur le Mareſchal* by the way; order was given, that ſix Ships being before prepared, with four Pinnaces and a Brigandine, ſhould go both to conduct him, and alſo to defend, if any thing ſhould be attempted againſt *England*, by carrying over the Lady *Mary*.

2. A Brigandine ſent to *Diep*, to give knowledg to *Monſieur le Mareſchal* of the *Flemings* coming; to whom all the *Flemings* vailed their Bonnet. Alſo the French Ambaſſador was advertiſed; who anſwered, That he thought him ſure enough when he came into our Streams, terming it ſo.

2. There was a Proclamation ſigned for ſhortning of the fall of the Money to that day; in which it ſhould be proclaimed, and deviſed, that it ſhould be in all places of the Realm within one day proclaimed.

3. The Lord *Clinton* and *Cobham* was appointed to meet the French at *Graveſend*, and ſo to convey him to *Dureſme-place*, where he ſhould lie.

4. I was banqueted by the Lord *Clinton* at *Debtford*, where I ſaw the *Primroſe* and the *Mary Willoughby* launched.

The Frenchmen landed at *Rie*, as ſome thought, for fear of the *Flemings* lying at the *Lands-end*, chiefly becauſe they ſaw our Ships were let by the Wind that they could not come out.

6. Sir *Peter Meutas*, at *Dover*, was commanded to come to *Rie* to meet *Monſieur le Mareſchal*, who ſo did; and after he had delivered his Letters, written with Mine own Hand, and made my Recommendations,

he

he took order for Horſes and Carts for *Monſieur le Mareſchal*, in which he made ſuch Proviſion as was poſſible to be for the ſuddain.

7. *Monſieur le Mareſchal* ſet forth from *Rie*, and in his Journey Mr. *Culpepper*, and divers other Gentlemen, and their Men, to the number of 1000 Horſe, well furniſhed, met him, and ſo brought him to *Maidſton* that Night.

Removing to *Weſtminſter*.

8. *Monſieur le Mareſchal* came to Mr. *Bakers*, where he was very well feaſted and banqueted.

9. The ſame came to my Lord *Cobhams* to Dinner, and at Night to *Graveſend*.

Proclamation made that a Teſtourn ſhould go at 9 *d.* and a Groat at 3 *d.* in all places of the Realm at once.

At this time came the Sweat into *London*, which was more vehement than the Old Sweat; for if one took cold, he died within three hours; and if he eſcaped, it held him but nine hours or ten at the moſt: alſo if he ſlept the firſt ſix hours, as he ſhould be very deſirous to do, then he roved, and ſhould die roving.

11. It grew ſo much, for in *London* the 10*th* day there died 100 in the Liberties, and this day 120; and alſo one of my Gentlemen, another of my Grooms fell ſick and died, that I removed to *Hampton-Court* with very few with Me.

The ſame night came the Mareſchal, who was ſaluted with all my Ships being in the *Thames*, fifty and odd, all with ſhot well furniſhed, and ſo with the Ordnance of the *Tower*. He was met by the Lord *Clinton* Lord Admiral, with forty Gentlemen, at *Graveſend*, and ſo brought to *Dureſme-place*.

13. Becauſe of the Infection at *London*, he came this day to *Richmond*, where he lay with a great Band of Gentlemen, at leaſt 400, as it was by divers eſteemed, where that Night he hunted.

14. He came to Me at *Hampton-Court* at nine of the Clock, being met by the Duke of *Somerſet* at the Wall-end, and ſo conveyed into Me; where after his Maſters Recommendations and Letters, he went to his Chamber on the Queens-ſide, all hanged with Cloth of Arras, and ſo was the Hall, and all my Lodging. He dined with Me that After Dinner, being brought into an Inner-Chamber, he told Me, he was come, not only for delivery of the Order, but alſo for to declare the great Friendſhip the King his Maſter bore Me; which he deſired I would think to be ſuch to Me as a Father beareth to a Son, or Brother to Brother. And altho' there were divers Perſuaſions, as he thought to diſſuade Me from the King his Maſter's Friendſhip; and witleſs men made divers Rumours, yet he truſted I would not believe them. Furthermore, that as good Miniſters on the Frontiers do great good, ſo ill much harm. For which cauſe he deſired no Innovation ſhould be made on things had been ſo long in controverſy by Hand-ſtrokes, but rather by Commiſſioners talk. I anſwered him, That I thanked him for his Order, and alſo his Love, *&c.* and I would ſhew like Love in all Points. For Rumors, they were not always to be believed, and that I did ſometime provide for the worſt, but never did any harm upon the hearing. For Miniſters, I ſaid, I would rather appeaſe theſe Controverſies with Words, than do any thing by Force. So after, he was conveyed to *Richmond* a an. 16.

17. He came to present the Order of *Monsieur Michael*; whereafter with Ceremonies accustomed, he had put on the Garments, he, and *Monsieur Gye* likewise of the Order, came one at my right Hand, the other at my left to the Chappel, where, after the Communion celebrated, each of them kissed my Cheek. After that they dined with Me, and talked after Dinner, and saw some Pastime, and so went home again.

18. A Proclamation made against Regratters, and Forestallers, and the words of the Statute recited, with the Punishment of the Offenders. Also Letters were sent to all Officers and Sheriffs for the executing thereof.

19. Another Proclamation made for punishment of them that would blow Rumours of abasing and enhaunsing of the Coin to make things dear withal.

The same night *Monsieur le Mareschal St. Andre* supped with Me; after Supper saw a dozen Courses, and after I came and made Me ready.

20. The next Morning he came to Me to mine Arraying, and saw my Bed-chamber, and went a hunting with Hounds; and saw me shoot, and saw all my Guards shoot together. He dined with Me, heard Me play on the Lute, Ride; came to Me to my Study; supped with Me, and so departed to *Richmond*.

19. The Scots sent an Ambassador hither for receiving the Treaty, sealed with the Great Seal of *England*, which was delivered him. Also I sent for *Thomas Chaloner*, Clerk of my Council, to have the Seal of them, for Confirmation of the last Treaty at *Northampton*.

17. This day my Lord Marques and the Commissioners coming to treat of the Marriage, offered by later Instructions 600000 Crowns, after 400000 *l.* and so departed for an hour. Then seeing they could get no better, came to the French offer of 200000 Crowns, half to be paid at the Marriage, half six months after that.

Then the French agreed that her Dote should be but 10000 Marks of lawful Mony of *England*.

Thirdly, It was agreed, that if I died, she should not have the Dote, saying, They did that for Friendships-sake without precedent.

19. The Lord Marques having received and delivered again the Treaty sealed, took his leave, and so did all the rest.

At this time was there a bickering at *Parma* between the French and the Papists, for *Monsieur de Thermes*, *Petro Strozi*, and *Fontivello*, with divers other Gentlemen, to the number of thirty, with 1500 Soldiers, entred *Parma*; *Gonzaga* with the Emperor's and Pope's Band, lay near the Town. The French made Sallies, and overcame, slaying the Prince of *Macedonia*, and the *Seignior Baptista* the Pope's Nephew.

22. Mr. *Sidney* made one of the four chief Gentlemen.

23. *Monsieur de Mareschal* came to Me, declaring the King his Master's well-taking my readiness to this Treaty; and also how much his Master was bent that way. He presented *Monsieur Bois Dolphine* to be Ambassador here, as my Lord Marques the 19*th* day did present Mr. *Pickering*.

26. *Monsieur le Mareschal* dined with Me. After Dinner saw the strength of the English Archers. After he had so done, at his departure

I gave him a Diamond from my Finger, worth, by eſtimation, 150*l.* both for Pains, and alſo for my Memory. Then he took his leave.

27. He came to a Hunting to tell Me the News, and ſhew the Letter his Maſter had ſent him, and doubtleſs of *Monſieur Termes* and *Marignan*'s Letters, being Ambaſſador with the Emperor.

28. *Monſieur le Mareſchal* came to Dinner to *Hide-Park*, where there was a fair Houſe made for him, and he ſaw the Courſing there.

30. He came to the Earl of *Warwick*'s, lay there one Night, and was well received.

29. He had his Reward, being worth 3000 *l.* in Gold, of current Mony, *Monſieur de Gye* 1000 *l.* *Monſieur Chenault* 1000 *l.* *Monſieur Movillier* 500 *l.* the Secretary 500 *l.* and the Biſhop *Peregrine* 500 *l.*

Auguſt.

3. *Monſieur le Mareſchal* departed to *Boleign*, and had certain of my Ships to conduct him thither.

9. Four and twenty Lords of the Council met at *Richmond*, to commune of my Siſter *Mary*'s Matter; who at length agreed, That it was not meet to be ſuffered any longer, making thereof an Inſtrument ſigned with their Hands, and ſealed, to be on Record.

11. The Lord Marqueſs, with the moſt part of his Band, came home, and delivered the Treaty Sealed.

12. Letters ſent for *Rocheſter*, *Inglefield*, and *Walgrave*, to come the 13*th* day, but they came not till another Letter was ſent to them the 13*th* day.

14. My Lord Marqueſs's Reward was delivered at *Paris*, worth 500 *l.* my Lord of *Ely*'s 200. Mr. *Hobbey*'s 150; the reſt all about one ſcantling.

14. *Rocheſter*, &c. had commandment neither to hear nor to ſuffer any kind of Service, but the Common and Orders ſet forth at large by Parliament, and had a Letter to my Lady's Houſe from my Council for their Credit, another to her ſelf from Me. Alſo appointed that I ſhould come and ſit at Council when great Matters were debating, or when I would.

This laſt month *Monſieur de Termes*, with 500 Frenchmen, came to *Parma*, and entred ſafely; afterward certain iſſued out of the Town, and were overthrown, as *Scipiaro*, *Dandelot*, *Petro*, and others, were taken, and ſome ſlain; after they gave a Skirmiſh, entred the Camp of *Gonzaga*, and ſpoiled a few Tents, and returned.

15. Sir *Robert Dudley* and *Barnabe* ſworn two of the ſix ordinary Gentlemen. The laſt month the Turks Navy won a little Caſtle in *Sicily*.

17. Inſtructions ſent to Sir *James Croſtes* for divers purpoſes, whoſe Copy is in the Secretary's Hands. The Teſtourn cried down from 9 *d.* to 6 *d.* the Groat from 3 *d.* to 2 *d.* the 2 *d.* to 1 *d.* the Penny to an Half-penny, the Half-penny to a Farthing, *&c.*

1. *Monſieur Termes* and *Scipiero* overthrew three Enſigns of Horſemen at three times; took one Diſpatch ſent from *Don Fernando* to the Pope concerning this War; and another from the Pope to *Don Fernando*; Diſcomfited four Enſigns of Footmen; took the Coun-

Count *Camillo* of *Caſtilion*, and ſlew a Captain of the Spaniards.

22. Removing to *Windſor*.

23. *Rocheſter*, &c. returned, denying to do openly the Charge of the Lady *Mary*'s Houſe for diſpleaſing her.

26. The Lord Chancellor, Mr. Comptroller, the Secretary *Petre*, ſent to do the ſame Commiſſion.

27. Mr. *Coverdale* made Biſhop of *Exeter*.

28. *Rocheſter*, &c. ſent to the *Fleet*.

The Lord Chancellor, *&c.* did that they were commanded to do to my Siſter and her Houſe.

31. *Rocheſter*, &c. committed to the *Tower*.

The Duke of *Somerſet* taking certain that began a new Conſpiracy for the deſtruction of the Gentlemen at *Okingam* two days paſt, executed them with Death for their Offence.

29. Certain Pinaces were prepared to ſee that there ſhould be no conveyance over-Sea of the Lady *Mary* ſecretly done. Alſo appointed that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Chamberlain, the Vice-Chamberlain, and the Secretary *Petre* ſhould ſee, by all means they could, whether ſhe uſed the Maſs; and if ſhe did that, the Laws ſhould be executed on her Chaplains. Alſo that when I came from this Progreſs to *Hampton-Court*, or *Weſtminſter*, both my Siſters ſhould be with Me, till further Order were taken for this purpoſe.

September.

3. The French Ambaſſador came to declare, firſt how the Emperor wronged divers of his Maſter's Subjects and Vaſſals; arreſted alſo his Merchants, and did cloakedly begin War, for he beſieged *Mirandula* round about with Forces he had made in the French King's Country. Alſo he ſlayed certain French Ships going a fiſhing to the *New-found-land*. Furthermore he ſet out a dozen of Ships, which bragged they would take the Dowager of *Scotland*, which thing ſtaied her ſo long at *Diep*. Whereupon his Maſter had taken the whole Fleet of *Antwerp*, conveying it to his Country into his Ports, by 20 Ships he had ſet forth under Baron *de la Garde*. Alſo minded to ſend more help to *Piedmont* and *Mirandula*. For this cauſe he deſired that on my Coaſts the Dowager might have ſafe paſſage, and might be ſecured by my Servants at the Sea-Coaſt if any chance ſhould happen.

He was willed to put it in writing; he ſhewed how the Turks Navy, having ſpoiled a piece of *Sicily*, went to *Malta*, and there took an Iſle adjacent called *Gozo*; from thence they went to *Tripoly*. In *Tranſilvania* *Aſy-Baſſa* was Leader of the Army, and had ſpoiled it wholly.

In *Hungary* the Turks had made a Fort by the Mines to get them. *Magdeburg* was freſhly victualled, and Duke *Maurice* came his way, being ſuſpected that he had conſpired with them there.

4. It was anſwered, to the French Ambaſſador, That the Dowager ſhould in all my Ports be defended from Enemies, Tempeſt, and likewiſe alſo Thanks were given for the News.

5. The Emperor's Ambaſſador came to require, That my Siſter *Mary*'s Officers ſhould be reſtored to their Liberty, and ſhe ſhould have her Maſs till the Emperor was certified thereof.

It was anſwered, That I need not to anſwer except I liſt, becauſe he came without Commiſſion, which was ſeen by the ſhortneſs of the

time since the committing of her Officers, of which the Emperor could not be advertised. He was willed no more to move these Piques, in which he had been often answered, without Commission. He was answered, That the Emperor was by this time advertised, although the Matter pertained not to him. Also that I had done nothing but according to a King's Office herein, in observing the Laws that were so Godly, and in punishing the Offenders. The Promise to the Emperor was not so made as he pretended, affirmed by Sir *Philip Hobbey* being at that time their Ambassador.

6. Deliberation touching the Coin. *Memorandum*, That there were divers Standards nine ounces fine, a few eight ounces fine, as ill as four, because although that was fine, yet a Shilling was reckoned for two Shillings, six ounces, very many four ounces, many also three ounces, 130000 *l.* now of late. Whereupon agreed that the Testourn being called to six Pence, four with help of six should make ten fine, eight fine with help of nine, being fewer than those of eight, should make ten ounces fine, the two ounces of Allay should quit the Charges of Minting; and those of three-pence, being but few, should be turned to a Standard of four of Farthings, and Half-pence, and Pence, for to serve for the poor People, because the Merchants made no Exchange of it, and the Sum was not great. Also to bear the Charges, for because it was thought that few or none were left of nine ounces fine, eight ounces were naught, and six ounces were two ways devised, one without any craft, the other was not fully six, of which kind was not a few.

9. A Proclamation set forth touchiug the Prices of Cattel, of Hogs, Pigs, Beeves, Oxen, Muttons, Butter, aud Cheese, after a reasonable price, not fully so good cheap as it was when the Coin was at the perfectest, but within a fifth part of it, or thereabouts.

10. I removed to *Farnham*.

12. A Proclamatiou set forth touching the Coin, That whereas it was so that Men for Gain melted down the Nine-pence Testourn continually, and the Six-pence; also there should no Person in any wise melt it down, upon pain to incur the Penalty of the Laws.

13. A Letter directed to the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Great Master, and the Master of the Horse, to meet at *London*, for the ordering of my Coin, and the paiment of my Debts; which done, to return, and make report of their Proceedings.

11. War proclaimed in *Britain* between the Emperor and the French, by these Terms, Charles Roy d' Espaigne, et Duc de Milan, leaving out Emperor.

10. Four Towns taken by the French Souldiers that were the Emperor's in *Piedmont Guerra:* from *Amiens* also the Emperor's Country there was spoiled, and 120 Castles or Fortresses taken.

Proclamation made in *Paris* touching the Bulls, that no Man should go for them to *Rome*.

Other Ships also taken by *Prior de Capua* Merchants, to the number of a dozen; *Prior de Capua* had 32 Gallies.

19. The French Ambassador sent this News also, That the Turk had taken *Tripoly*.

20. T

20. The Secretary *Cecil*, and Sir *Philip Hobbey*, ſent to *London* to help the Lord Treaſurer, *&c.* in the Matters of the Biſhops of *Chicheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Dureſme*, and examination of my Siſters Men.

18. Removing to *Windſor*.

20. The Lords at *London* having tried all kinds of Stamping, both of the fineneſs of 9, 8, 6, 4, and 3, proved that without any loſs, but ſufferable, the Coin might be brought to eleven ounces fine: For whereas it was thought before, that the Teſtourn was, through ill Officers and Miniſters, corrupted, it was tried, that it had the valuation juſt by eight ſundry kinds of melting, and 400 *l.* of *Sterling* Mony, a Teſtourn being but Six-pence, made 400 *l.* 11 ounces fine of Mony *Sterling*.

22. Whereupon they reported the ſame, and then it was concluded that the Teſtourn ſhould be eleven ounces fine, the proportion of the Pences according to the Gold; ſo that five Shillings of Silver ſhould be worth five of Gold.

23. Removing to *Oatlands*.

24. Agreed that the Stamp of the Shilling and Six-pence ſhould be on one ſide, a King painted to the Shoulders in Parliament-Robes, with a Chain of the Order. Five Shillings of Silver, and half five Shillings, ſhould be a King on Horſe-back, armed with a naked Sword hard to his Breaſt. Alſo that *York*'s Mint, and *Throgmorton*'s in the *Tower*, ſhould go and work the fine Standard. In the City of *York* and *Canterbury* ſhould the ſmall Mony be wrought of a baſer State. Officers for the ſame were appointed.

A piece of *Barwick* Wall fell, becauſe the Foundation was ſhaken by working of a Bulwark.

28. The Lord Marqueſs of *Dorſet* grieved much with the diſorder of the Marches toward *Scotland*, ſurrendered the Wardenſhip thereof to beſtow where I would.

27. The Wardenſhip of the North given to the Earl of *Warwick*. Removing to *Hampton-Court*.

28. Commiſſioners appointed for ſitting on the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* and *Worceſter*; three Lawyers, and three Civilians.

10. The Imperialiſts took the Suburbs of *Heading*, and burnt them.

26. The Paſſport of the Dowager of *Scotland* was made for a longer time, till *Chriſtmaſs*; and alſo if ſhe were driven, to paſs quietly by Land into *Scotland*.

20. *Monſieur d' Angouleſme* was born; and the Duke of *Vendoſme* had a Son by the Princeſs of *Navarr* his Wife.

30. The Feaſt of *Michaelmaſs* was kept by Me in the Robes of the Order.

October.

1. The Commiſſion for the making of five-Shillings, half-five-Shillings, Groats, and Six-pences, eleven ounces fine, and Pence, with Half-pence, and Farthings, four ounces fine, was followed and ſigned.

5. *Jarnac* came in Poſt for declaration of two things; the one, that the Queen had a third Son of which ſhe was delivered, called *Le Duc d' Angouleſme*, of which the King prayed Me to be God-father. I anſwered, I was glad of the News, and that I thanked him for that I

ſhould be God-father, which was a token of good Will he bare me. Alſo that I would diſpatch for the accompliſhment thereof, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord Admiral of *England*. He ſaid, he came alſo to tell a ſecond Point of the good Succeſs of his Maſters Wars; He told how the laſt month in *Shampaign*, beſide *Sedan*, 1000 Horſe Imperialiſts, with divers Hungarians, *Martin Vanroſſy* being their Captain and Leader, entred the Country; and the Alarm came, the Skirmiſh began ſo hot, that the French Horſe, about two or three hundred Men of Arms, came out and took *Vanroſſy*'s Brother, and ſlew divers. Alſo how in *Piedmont*, ſince the taking of the laſt four Towns, three other were taken, *Monrechia*, *Saluges*, and the Town of *Burges*. The Turks had come to *Naples*, and ſpoiled the Country, and taken *Oſtium* in the Mouth of *Tyberis*. Alſo in *Sicily* he had taken a good Haven and a Town.

6. *Jarnac* departed, having lyen in the Court under my Lodging. The Night before the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter* were depoſed for Contempts.

7. There were appointed to go with the Lord Admiral, Mr. *Nevil*, Mr. *Barnabie*, Gentlemen of the Chamber; Sir *William Stafford*, Sir *Adrian Poinings*, Sir *John Norton*, Sir *John Teri*, Knights; and Mr. *Brook*.

8. Letters directed to the Captains of Gandarms, that they ſhould muſter the 8*th* of *November*, being the *Sunday* after *Hallow-Eve* day.

11. *Henry* Marqueſs of *Dorſet*, created Duke of *Suffolk*; *John* Earl of *Warwick*, created Duke of *Northumberland*; *William* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, created Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*; Sir *William Herbert*, created Earl of *Pembrook*, and Lord of *Cardiff*; Mr. *Sidney*, Mr. *Neal*, Mr. *Cheek*, all three of the Privy-Chamber, made Knights; alſo Mr. *Cecil* one of the two Secretaries.

13. Proclamation ſigned touching the calling in of Teſtourns and Groats, that they that liſt might come to the Mint and have fine Silver of Twelve-pence for two Teſtourns.

3. *Prior de Capua* departed the French King's Service, and went to his Order of Knights in *Malta*, partly for diſpleaſure to the Count *Villars* the Conſtable's Brother-in-Law, partly for that *Malta* was aſſailed often by the Turks.

7. Sir *Thomas Palmer* came to the Earl of *Warwick*, ſince that time Duke of *Northumberland*, to deliver him his Chain, being a very fair one (for every Link weighed an ounce) to be delivered to *Jarnac*, and ſo to receive as much; whereupon in my Lords Garden he declared a Conſpiracy, How at St. *George*'s day laſt, my Lord of *Somerſet*, who then was going to the North, if the Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *William Herbert*, had not aſſured him on his Honour that he ſhould have no hurt, went to raiſe the People, and the Lord *Gray* went before to know who were his Friends. Afterward a Device was made to call the Earl of *Warwick* to a Banquet, with the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and divers others, and to cut off their Heads. Alſo he found a bare Company about them by the way to ſet upon them.

11. He declared alſo, that Mr. *Vane* had 2000 Men in readineſs; Sir *Thomas Arundel* had aſſured my Lord, that the *Tower* was ſafe; Mr. *Partridge* ſhould raiſe *London*, and take the Great Seal with the Apprentices of *London*; *Seymour* and *Hammond* ſhould watch upon

upon him, and all the Horſe of the Gandarms ſhould be ſlain.

13. Removing to *Weſtminſter*, becauſe it was thought this Matter might eaſilier and ſurelier be diſpatched there, and likewiſe all other.

14. The Duke ſent for the Secretary *Cecil* to tell him he ſuſpected ſome ill. Mr. *Cecil* anſwered, That if he were not Guilty, he might be of good courage; if he were, he had nothing to ſay, but to lament him. Whereupon the Duke ſent him a Letter of Defiance, and called *Palmer*, who after denial made of his Declaration, was let go.

16. This morning none was at *Weſtminſter* of the Conſpirators. The firſt was the Duke, who came later than he was wont of himſelf. After Dinner he was apprehended. Sir *Thomas Palmer* on the Tarras walking there, *Hammond* paſſing by Mr. Vice-chamberlain's Door, was called in by *John Piers* to make a Match at Shooting, and ſo taken. *Nudegates* was called for as from my Lord his Maſter, and taken; likewiſe were *John Seimour* and *David Seimour*. *Arundel* alſo was taken, and the Lord *Gray* coming out of the Country. *Vane* upon two ſendings of my Lord in the Morning, fled at the firſt ſending; he ſaid, My Lord was not ſtout, and if he could get home, he cared for none of them all he was ſo ſtrong. But after he was found by *John Piers* in a Stable of his Mans at *Lambeth* under the Straw. Theſe went with the Duke to the Tower this Night, ſaving *Palmer*, *Arundel*, and *Vane*, who were kept in Chambers here apart.

17. The Dutches, *Crane* and his Wife, with the Chamber-keeper, were ſent to the *Tower* for deviſing theſe Treaſons. *James Wingfield* alſo for caſting of Bills ſeditiouſly; alſo Mr. *Partridge* was attaqued, and Sir *James Holcroſt*.

18. Mr. *Baniſter* and Mr. *Vaughan* were attaqued and ſent to the *Tower*, and ſo was Mr. *Stanhope*.

19. Sir *Thomas Palmer* confeſſed that the Gandarms, on the Muſter-day, ſhould be aſſaulted by 2000 Footmen of Mr. *Vane's*, and my Lord's hundred Horſe; beſides his Friends which ſtood by, and the idle People which took his Part. If he were overthrown, he would run through *London*, and cry, **Liberty, Liberty**, to raiſe the Apprentices, and R; if he could, he would go the *Iſle of Wight*, or to *Pool*.

22. The Dowager of *Scotland* was by Tempeſt driven to Land at *Portſmouth*, and ſo ſhe ſent word ſhe would take the benefit of the ſafe Conduct to go by Land, and to ſee Me.

23. She came from *Portſmouth* to Mr. *Whites* Houſe.

24. The Lords ſat in the *Star-Chamber*, and there declared the Matters and Accuſations laid againſt the Duke, meaning to ſtay the minds of the People.

25. Certain German Princes, in the beginning of this Month, deſired Aid in Cauſe of Religion 400000 Dollars, if they ſhould be driven to make ſhift by Neceſſity; and offered the like alſo, if I entred into any War for them; whereupon I called the Lords, and conſidered, as appeareth by a Scroll in the Board at *Weſtminſter*, and thereupon appointed that the Secretary *Petre*, and Sir *William Cecil* another Secretary, ſhould talk with the Meſſenger to know the Matter preciſely, and

the

the Names of thoſe would enter the Confederacy.

28. The Dowager came to Sir *Richard Cotton*'s Houſe.

29. She came from Sir *Richard Cotton*'s to the Earl of *Arundel* to Dinner, and brought to Mr. *Brown*'s Houſe, where met her the Gentlemen of *Suſſex*.

30. She came and was conveied by the ſame Gentlemen to Guilford, where the Lord *William Howard*, and the Gentlemen of *Surrey* met her.

All this month the Frenchmen continued ſpoiling of the Emperor's Frontiers, and in a Skirmiſh at *Aſt* they ſlew 100 *Spaniards*.

31. A Letter directed to Sir *Arthur Darcy* to take the Charge of the *Tower*, and to diſcharge Sir *John Markham* upon this, that without making any of the Council privy, he ſuffered the Duke to walk abroad, and certain Letters to be ſent and anſwered between *David Seimor* and Mrs. *Poinings*, with other divers Suſpicions.

17. There were Letters ſent to all Emperors, Kings, Ambaſſadors, Noblemen, Men, and Chief Men, into Countries, of the late Conſpiracy.

31. She came to *Hampton-Court*, conveyed by the ſame Lords and Gentlemen aforeſaid; and two miles and an half from thence, in a Valley, there met her the Lord Marqueſs of *Northampton*, accompanied with the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Son and Heir to the Lord High Treſurer, Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*; the Lord *Fitzwater*, Son to the Earl of *Suſſex*; The Lord *Evers*, the Lord *Bray*, the Lord *Robert Dudley*, the Lord *Garet*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, and divers other Gentlemen, beſides all the Gentlemen Penſioners, Men of Arms and Uſhers, Sewers and Carvers, to the number of 120 Gentlemen, and ſo ſhe was brought to *Hampton-Court*. At the Gate thereof met her the Lady Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Counteſs of *Pembroke*, and divers other Ladies and Gentlewomen, to the number of forty; and ſo ſhe was brought to her Lodging on the Queens-ſide, which was all hanged with Arras, and ſo was the Hall, and all the other Lodgings of Mine in the Houſe very finely dreſſed; and for this Night and the next Day, all was ſpent in Dancing and Paſtime, as though it were a Court, and great preſence of Gentlemen reſorted thither.

26. Letters were written, for becauſe of this Buſineſs, to defer the Muſters of Gendarmory till the——day of *December*.

November.

1. The Dowager peruſed the Houſe of *Hampton-Court*, and ſaw ſome courſing of Deer.

2. She came to the Biſhop's Palace at *London*, and there ſhe lay, and all her Train lodged about her.

3. The Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Warwick*, *Wiltſhire*, and many other Lords and Gentlemen were ſent to her to welcome her, and to ſay, on My behalf, That if ſhe lacked any thing ſhe ſhould have it for her better Furniture; and alſo I would willingly ſee her the day following.

The

The 26th of *October.*

Crane confessed the most part, even as *Palmer* did before, and more also, how that the place where the Nobles should have been banqueted, and their Heads striken off, was the Lord *Paget*'s House, and how the Earl of *Arundel* knew of the Matter as well as he, by *Stanhop* who was a Messenger between them; also some part, how he went to *London* to get Friends, once in *August* last, feigning himself sick. *Hammond* also confessed the Watch he kept in his Chamber at Night. *Bren* also confessed much of this Matter. The Lord *Strange* confessed how the Duke willed him to stir me to marry his third Daughter, the Lady *Jane*, and willed him to be his Spie in all Matters of my Doings and Sayings, and to know when some of my Council spoke secretly with Me; this he confessed of himself.

November.

4. The Duke of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Bray*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, accompanied with his Wife the Lady *Francis*, the Lady *Margaret*, the Dutchesses of *Richmond* and of *Northumberland*, the Lady *Jane* Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*; the Marquess of *Northampton* and *Winchester*; the Countesses of *Arundel*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, and *Rutland*; with 100 other Ladies and Gentlewomen went to her, and brought her through *London* to *Westminster*. At the Gate there received her the Duke of *Northumberland*, Great Master, and the Treasurer, and Comptroller, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, with all the Sewers, and Carvers, and Cup-bearers, to the number of thirty. In the Hall I met her, with all the rest of the Lords of my Council, as the Lord Treasurer, the Marquess of *Northampton*, &c. and from the outer-Gate up to the Presence-Chamber, on both sides, stood the Guard. The Court, the Hall, and the Stairs, were full of Servingmen; the Presence-Chamber, Great-Chamber, and her Presence-Chamber, of Gentlemen. And so having brought her to her Chamber, I retired to Mine. I went to her to Dinner; she dined under the same Cloth of State, at my left Hand; at her rereward dined my Cousin *Francis*, and my Cousin *Margaret*; at Mine sat the French Ambassador. We were served by two Services, two Sewers, Cup-bearers, Carvers, and Gentlemen. Her Master *Hostell* came before her Service, and my Officers before Mine. There were two Cup-boards, one of Gold four Stages high, another of massy Silver six Stages: In her great Chamber dined, at three Boards, the Ladies only. After Dinner, when she had heard some Musick, I brought her to the Hall, and so she went away.

5. The Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Marquess of *Northampton*, the Lord Privy-Seal, and divers others, went to see her, and to deliver a Ring with a Diamond, and two Nags, for a Token from Me.

6. The Duke of *Northumberland*, with his Band of an hundred, of which forty were in Black-Velvet, white and black Sleeves, sixty in Cloth. The Earl of *Pembrook* with his Band, and fifty more. The Earl of *Wiltshire*, with 58 of his Father's Band, all the Pensioners, Men of Arms, and the Country, with divers Ladies, as my Cousin *Margaret*, the Dutchesses of *Richmond* and *Northumberland*, brought the Queen to *Shoreditch*, through *Cheap-side* and *Cornhill*; and there met her

her Gentlemen of *Middlesex* an 100 Horse, and so she was conveyed out of the Realm, met in every Shire with Gentlemen.

8. The Earl of *Arundel* committed to the *Tower*, with Mr. Stroud and St. *Alban* his Men, because *Crane* did more and more confess of him.

7. A Frenchman was sent again into *France*, to be delivered again to the eight Frenchmen at the Borders, because of a Murder he did at *Diep*, and thereupon he fled hither.

14. Answer was given to the Germans, which did require 400000 Dollars, if need so required, for maintenance of Religion.

First, That I was very well inclined to make Peace, Amity, or League with them I knew to be of mine Religion; for because this Messenger was sent only to know my Inclination and Will to enter, and not with full Resolution of any Matters.

Secondly, I would know whether they could get unto them any such strength of other Princes as were able to maintain the War, and to do the Reciprogue to Me if need should require; and therefore willed those three Princes, Duke *Maurice* of *Saxon*, the Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and the Marquess *John* of *Brandenburgh*, from which he was sent, to open the Matter to the Duke of *Prussia*, and to all Princes about them, and somewhat to get the good-will of *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, &c. shewing them an inkling of the Matter.

Thirdly, I would have the Matter of Religion made more plain, lest when War should be made for other Quarrels, they should say it were Religion.

Fourthly, He should come with more ample Commission from the same States to talk of the sum of Mony, and other Appurtenances. The Answer was given, lest if I assented wholly at the first, they would declare mine Intent to the Stadts and whole Senates, and so to come abroad, whereby I should run into danger of breaking the League with the Emperor.

16. The Lord Admiral took his leave to go into *France* for Christening of the French King's Son.

18. *Fossey*, Secretary to the Duke *Maurice*, who was here for matter above-specified.

20. A Proclamation appointed to go forth, for that there were ord before this time, that set prices of Beef, Oxen, and Mutton, which was meant to continue but to *November*; whenas the Parliament should have been to abbrogate that, and to appoint certain Commissioners to cause the Graziers to bring to the Market, and to sell at prices reasonable. And that certain Overseers should be besides to certify the Justices doings.

23. The Lord Treasurer appointed High-Steward for the Arraignment of the Duke of *Somerset*.

At this time Duke *Maurice* began to show himself a Friend to the Protestants, who before that time had appeared their Enemy.

21. The foresaid Proclamation proclaimed.

17. The Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Henry Sidney*, Sir *Henry Neal*, and Sir *Henry Yates*, did challenge all Commers at Tilt the 3*d* of *January*, and at Tournay the 6*th* of *January*; and this Challenge was proclaimed

28. No

28. News came that *Maximilian* was coming out of *Spain*, nine of his Galleys with his Stuff, and 120 Gennets, and his Treasure, was taken by the French.

24. The Lord Admiral entred *France*, and came to *Buloign*.

26. The Captain of *Portsmouth* had word and commandment to bring the Model of the Castle and Place, to the intent it might be fortified, because *Baron de la Gard* had seen it, having an Engineer with him, and as it was thought had the Plot of it.

30. 22 Peers and Nobles, besides the Council, heard Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Crane*, and *Nudigate*, swear that their Confessions were true; and they did say, that that was said without any kind of Compulsion, Force, Envy, or Displeasure, but as favourably to the Duke as they could swear to with safe Consciences.

24. The Lord Admiral came to *Paris*.

December.

1. The Duke of *Somerset* came to his Trial at *Westminster-Hall*; The Lord-Treasurer sat as High-Steward of *England*, under the Cloth of State, on a Bench between two Posts, three degrees high. All the Lords to the number of 26, *viz.*

Dukes.	*Huntingdon.*	*Evers.*
	Rutland.	*Latimer.*
Suffolk.	*Bath.*	*Bourough.*
Northumberland.	*Sussex.*	*Souch.*
	Worcester.	*Stafford.*
Marquess.	*Pembrook.*	*Wentworth.*
	Vis. *Hereford.*	*Darcy.*
Northampton.		*Sturton.*
	Barons.	*Windsor.*
Earls.		*Cromwell.*
	Burgaveny.	*Cobham.*
Derby.	*Audley.*	*Bray.*
Bedford.	*Wharton.*	

These sat a degree under, and heard the Matter debated.

First, After the Indictments were read, five in number, the Learned Counsel laid to my Lord of *Somerset*, *Palmer*'s Confession. To which he answered, That he never minded to raise the North, and declared all the ill he could devise of *Palmer*, but he was afraid for Bruits, and that moved him to send to Sir *William Herbert*. Replied it was again, that the worse *Palmer* was, the more he served his purpose. For the Banquet, he swore it was untrue, and required more Witnesses. Whence *Crane*'s Confession was read, He would have had him come Face to Face. For *London*, he meant nothing for hurt of any Lord but for his own Defence. For the Gendarmoury, it were but a mad matter for him to enterprise with his 100 against 900. For having Men in his Chamber at *Greenwich*, confessed by *Partridg*, it seemed he meant no harm, because when he could have done harm he did it not. My Lord *Strange*'s Confession, he swore it was untrue, and the Lord *Strange* took his Oath it was true. *Nudigate*'s, *Hammond*'s, and *Alexander*

Seimour's Confeſſions he denied, becauſe they were his Men.

The Lawyers rehearſed, how to raiſe Men at his Houſe for an ill Intent, as to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, was Treaſon, by an Act, *Anno tertio* of my Reign, againſt Unlawful Aſſemblies, for to deviſe the Death of the Lords was Felony. To mind reſiſting his Attachment was Felony; To Raiſe *London* was Treaſon, and to Aſſault the Lords was Felony. He anſwered, He did not intend to raiſe *London*, and ſwore, that the Witneſſes were not there. His aſſembling of Men was but for his own defence. He did not determine to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs, *&c.* but ſpoke of it, and determined after the contrary, and yet ſeemed to confeſs he went about their Death.

The Lords went together. The Duke of *Northumberland* would not agree that any ſearching of his Death ſhould be Treaſon. So the Lords acquitted him of High-Treaſon, and condemned him of Treaſon Felonious, and ſo he was adjudged to be hang'd.

He gave thanks to the Lords for their open Trial, and cried Mercy of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembrook*, for his ill-meaning againſt them, and made ſuit for his Life, Wife, Children, Servants, and Debts, and ſo departed without the Ax of the *Tower*. The People not knowing the Matter ſhouted half a dozen of times ſo loud, that from the Hall-Door it was heard at *Charing-Croſs* plainly, and rumors went that he was quit of all.

2. The Peace concluded by the Lord Marqueſs, was ratified by me before the Ambaſſador, and delivered to him Signed and Sealed.

3. The Duke told certain Lords that were in the *Tower*, that he had hired *Bertivill* to kill them; which thing *Bertivill* examined on, confeſſed, and ſo did *Hammond* that he knew of it.

4. I ſaw the Muſters of the new Band-men of Arms; 100 of my Lord Treaſurers; 100 of *Northumberland*, 100 *Northampton*, 50 *Huntingtoun*, 50 *Rutland*, 120 of *Pembrook*, 50 *Darcy*, 50 *Cobham*, 100 Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, and 180 of the Penſioners and their Bands, with the old Men of Arms, all well-armed Men; ſome with Feathers, Staves, and Penſils of their Colours; ſome with Sleeves and half-Coats; ſome with Bards and Staves, *&c.* The Horſes all fair and great, the worſt would not have been given for leſs than 20 *l.* there was none under fourteen handful and an half the moſt part, and almoſt all Horſes with their Guider going before them. They paſſed twice about St. *James's* Field, and compaſſed it round, and ſo departed.

15. Then were certain Devices for Laws delivered to my Learned Council to Pen, as by a Schedule appeareth.

18. It was appointed I ſhould have ſix Chaplains ordinary, of which two ever to be preſent, and four always abſent in preaching: one Year two in *Wales*, two in *Lancaſhire* and *Darby*; next Year two in the Marches of *Scotland*, two in *York-ſhire*; the third Year, two in *Derby-ſhire*, two in *Hampſhire*; fourth Year, two in *Norfolk* and *Eſſex*, and two in *Kent* and *Suſſex*, &c. Theſe ſix to be *Bill*, *Harle*, *Perne*, *Grindall*, *Bradford* *.

*The other name daſht.

20. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* was for concealment of Treaſon written to him, and not diſcloſed at all till the Party did open him, committed to the *Tower*.

21. *Richard*

21. *Richard* Lord *Rich* Chancellor of *England*, conſidering his ſickneſs, did deliver his Seal to the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord great Maſter, and the Lord Chamberlain, ſent to him for that purpoſe during the time of his ſickneſs, and chiefly of the Parliament.

5. The Lord Admiral came to the French King, and after was ſent to the Queen, and ſo conveied to his Chamber.

6. The Lord Admiral chriſtned the French King's Child, and called him, by the King's commandment, *Edward Alexander*. All that day there was Muſick, Dancing, and Playing with Triumph in the Court; but the Lord Admiral was ſick of a double *Quartane*, yet he preſented *Barnabe* to the French King, who took him to his Chamber.

7. The Treaty was delivered to the Lord Admiral, and the French King read it in open Audience at Maſs, with Ratification of it. The Lord Admiral took his leave of the French King, and returned to *Paris* very ſick.

The ſame day the French King ſhewed the Lord Admiral Letters that came from *Parma*, how the French-men had gotten two Caſtles of the Imperialiſts; and in the defence of the one, the Prince of *Macedonia* was ſlain on the Walls, and was buried with triumph at *Parma*.

22. The Great Seal of *England* delivered to the Biſhop of *Ely*, to be Keeper thereof during the Lord *Rich*'s ſickneſs.

The Band of 100 Men of Arms, which my Lord of *Somerſet* of late had, appointed to the Duke of *Suffolk*.

23. Removing to *Greenwich*.

24. I began to keep Holy this *Chriſtmaſs*, and continued till *Twelve-tide*.

26. Sir *Anthony St. Legier*, for Matters laid againſt him by the Biſhop of *Dublin*, was baniſhed my Chamber till he had made anſwer, and had the Articles delivered him.

28. The Lord Admiral came to *Greenwich*.

30. Commiſſion was made out to the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord Privy-Seal, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, for calling in my Debts.

January.

1. Orders were taken with the Chandlers of *London*, for ſelling their Tallow-Candles, which before ſome denied to do; and ſome were puniſhed with Impriſonment.

3. The Challenge that was made in the laſt month, was fulfilled.

The Challengers were.

Sir *Henry Sidney*.

Sir *Henry Nevel*.

Sir *Henry Gates*.

Defendants.

The Lord *Williams.*	Mr. *Digby.*
The Lord *Fitzwater.*	Mr. *Warcop.*
The Lord *Ambroſe.*	Mr. *Courtney.*
The Lord *Roberts.*	Mr. *Knolls.*
The Lord *Fitzwarren.*	The Lord *Bray.*
Sir *George Howard.*	Mr. *Paſton.*
Sir *William Stafford.*	Mr. *Cary.*
Sir *John Parrat.*	Sir *Anthony Brown.*
Mr. *Norice.*	Mr. *Drury.*

Theſe in all ran ſix Courſes a-piece at Tilt againſt the Challengers, and accompliſhed their Courſes right-well, and ſo departed again.

5. There were ſent to *Guiſnes* Sir *Richard Cotton*, and Mr. *Bray*, to take view of *Calais*, *Guiſnes*, and the Marches; and with the advice of the Captain and Engineers, to deviſe ſome amendment, and thereupon to make me Certificate, and upon mine Anſwer to go further to the Matter.

4. It was appointed, that if Mr. *Stanhop* left *Hull*, then that I ſhould no more be charged therewith, but that the Town ſhould take it, and ſhould have 40 *l.* a Year for the repairing of the Caſtle.

2. I received Letters out of *Ireland*, which appear in the Secretary's Hand, and thereupon the Earldom of *Thowmount* was by Me given from *O-Brian*'s Heirs, whoſe Father was dead, and had it for term of Life, to *Donnas* Baron of *Ebrecan*, and his Heirs Males.

3. Alſo Letters were written of Thanks to the Earls of *Deſmond* and *Clanrikard*, and to the Baron of *Dunganan*.

3. The Emperor's Ambaſſador moved me ſeveral times that my Sister *Mary* might have Maſs, which with no little reaſoning with him was denied him.

6. The foreſaid Challengers came into the Tournay, and the foreſaid Defendants entred in after, with two more with them, Mr. *Tirrel*, and Mr. *Robert Hopton*, and fought right-well, and ſo the Challenge was accompliſhed.

The ſame Night was firſt of a Play, after a Talk between one that was called *Riches*, and the other *Youth*, whether of them was better. After ſome pretty Reaſoning, there came in ſix Champions of either ſide.

On *Youth*'s ſide came.	On *Riches* ſide.
My Lord *Fitzwater.*	My Lord *Fitzwarren.*
My Lord *Ambroſe.*	Sir *Robert Stafford.*
Sir *Anthony Brown.*	Mr. *Courtney.*
Sir *William Cobham.*	*Digby.*
Mr. *Cary.*	*Hopton.*
Mr. *Warcop.*	*Hungerford.*

All theſe fought two to two at Barriers in the Hall. Then came in two apparelled like *Almains*, the Earl of *Ormond* and *Jaques Granado*, and two

two came in like Friars, but the *Almains* would not ſuffer them to maſs till they had fought; the Friars were Mr. *Drury* and *Thomas Cobham*. After this followed two Maſques, one of Men, another of Women. Then a Banquet of 120 Diſhes. This day was the end of *Chriſtmaſs*.

7. I went to *Debtford* to dine there, and broke up the Hall.

8. Upon a certain Contention between the Lord *Willowby*, and Sir *Andrew Dudley* Captain of *Guiſnes*, for their Juriſdiction, the Lord *Willowby* was ſent for to come over, to the intent the Controverſy might ceaſe, and Order might be taken.

12. There was a Commiſſion granted to the Earl of *Bedford*, to Mr. Vicechamberlain, and certain others, to call in my Debts that were owing Me, and the days paſt; and alſo to call in theſe that be paſt when the days be come.

17. There was a Match run between ſix Gentlemen of a ſide at Tilt.

Of one Side,	Of the other Side,
The Earl of *Warwick*.	The Lord *Ambroſe*.
The Lord *Roberts*.	The Lord *Fitzwater*.
Mr. *Sidney*.	Sir *Francis Knollis*.
Mr. *Novel*.	Sir *Anthony Brown*.
Henry *Gates*.	Sir *John Parrat*.
Anthony Digby.	Mr. *Courtney*.

Theſe wan by four Taintes.

18. The French Ambaſſador moved, That We ſhould deſtroy the Scotch part of the Debatable Ground as they had done Ours. It was anſwered: 1. The Lord *Coniers* that made the Agreement, made it none otherwiſe but as it ſhould ſtand with his Superior's Pleaſure: whereupon the ſame Agreement being miſliked, becauſe the Scotch part was much harder to overcome, word was ſent to ſtay the Matter. Nevertheleſs the Lord *Maxwell* did, upon malice to the Engliſh Debatablers, over-run them; whereupon was concluded, That if the Scots will agree it, the Ground ſhould be divided; if not, then ſhall the Scots waſte their Debatablers, and we Ours, commanding them by Proclamation to depart.

This day the Stillard put in their Anſwer to a certain Complaint that the Merchant-Adventurers laid againſt them.

19. The Biſhop of *Ely*, *Cuſtos Sigilli*, was made Chancellor, becauſe as *Cuſtos Sigilli*, he could execute nothing in the Parliament that ſhould be done, but only to Seal ordinary things.

21. Removing to *Weſtminſter*.

22. The Duke of *Somerſet* had his Head cut off upon *Tower-hill*, between eight and nine a Clock in the morning.

16. Sir *William Pickering* delivered a Token to the Lady *Elizabeth*, a fair Diamond.

18. The Duke of *Northumberland* having under him 100 Men of Arms, and 100 Light-Horſe, gave up the keeping of 50 Men at Arms to his Son the Earl of *Warwick*.

23. The Seſſions of Parliament began.

24. *John*

24. *John Gresham* was sent over into *Flanders*, to shew to the Fu[gg]*cars*, to whom I owed Mony, that I would defer it; or if I paied it, pay it in English, to make them keep up their French Crowns, with which I minded to pay them.

25. The Answer of the Stiliard was delivered to certain of my Learned Counsel to look on and oversee.

27. Sir *Ralph Vane* was condemned of Felony in Treason, answering like a Ruffian.

Paris arrived with Horses, and shewed how the French King had sent Me six Cortals, two Turks, a Barbary, two Gennets, a stirring Hobby, and two little Mules, and shewed them to Me.

29. Sir *Thomas Arundel* was likewise cast of Felony in Treason, after long Controversie, for the Matter was brought in Trial by seven of the Clock in the morning.

28. At noon the Inquest went together; they sat shut up in a House together, without Meat or Drink, because they could not agree all that Day, and all that Night.

29. This day in the morning they did cast him.

February.

2. There was a King of Arms made for *Ireland*, whose Name was *Ulster*, and his Province was all *Ireland*; and he was the fourth King of Arms, and the first Herauld of *Ireland*.

The Emperor took, the last month and this, a Million of pounds in *Flanders*.

6. It was appointed that Sir *Philip Hobbey* should go to the Regent, upon pretence of ordering of Quarrels of Merchants, bringing with him 63000 *l.* in French Crowns to be paid in *Flanders* at *Antwerp*, to the *Schortz* and their Family, of Debts I owed them, to the intent he might dispatch them both under one.

5. Sir *Miles Partridge* was condemned of Felony for the Duke of *Somerset*'s Matter, for he was one of the Conspirators.

8. Fifty Men at Arms appointed to Mr. *Sadler*.

9. *John Beaumont*, Master of the *Rolls*, was put in Prison for forging a false Deed from *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, to the Lady *Ann Powis*, of certain Lands and Leases.

10. Commission was granted out to 32 Persons, to examine, correct, and set forth the Ecclesiastical Laws.

The Persons Names were these.

The Bishops.	The Divines.	Civilians.
Canterbury.	*Taylor* of *Lincoln.*	Mr. Secretary *Pete*
Ely.	*Tylor* of *Hadlee.*	Mr. Secretary *Cick*
London.	Mr. *Cox*, Almoner.	Mr. *Traberne.*
Winchester.	Sir *John Cheek.*	Mr. *Red.*
Exeter.	Sir *Anthony Cook.*	Mr. *Coke.*
Bath.	*Petrus Martyr.*	*May*, Dean of *Pa*
Gloucester.	*Joannes Alasco.*	*Skinner.*
Rochester.	*Parker* of *Cambridge.*	

Lawyers

Lawyers.

Juſtice *Broomley.*	*Stamford.*
Juſtice *Hales.*	*Carel.*
Goſnald.	*Lucas.*
Goodrick.	*Gawdy.*

10. Sir *Philip Hobbey* departed with ſomewhat more Crowns than came to 53500 and odd Livers, and had authority to borrow, in my Name, of *Lazarus Tuker* 10000 *l.* Flemiſh, at 7 *per Cent.* for ſix months, to make up the Pay, and to employ that that was in Bullion, to bring over with him; alſo to carry 3000 Merks weight upon a Licence the Emperor granted the *Scheitz* which they did give me. After that to depart to *Bruges*, where the Regent lay, and there to declare to her the Griefs of my Subjects.

11. There was delivered of Armour, by *John Greſham* Merchant, 1100 pair of Corſlets and Horſemen-harneſſes, very fair.

14. It was appointed that the *Jeſus* of *Lubeck*, a Ship of 800 Tun, and the *Mary Gouſton* of 600 Tun, ſhould be let out for a Voyage to Merchantmen for a 1000 *l.* they at the Voyage to *Levant-end* to anſwer the Tackling, the Ship, the Ordnance, Munition, and to leave it in that caſe they took it. Certain others of the worſt of my Ships were appointed to be ſold.

9. Proclamation was made at *Paris*, that the Bands of the *Dolphine*, the Duke of *Vendoſme*, the Count *d' Anguien*, the Conſtable of *France*, the Duke *d' Guiſe*, and *d' Aumale*, the Count *de Sancerres*, the Mareſchal St. *Andrew*, *Monſieur de Jarnac* and *Tavennes*, ſhould, the 15*th* day of *March*, aſſemble at *Troyes* in *Champaign* to reſiſt the Emperor. Alſo that the French King would go thither in Perſon, with 200 Gentlemen of his Houſhold, and 400 Archers of his Guard.

16. The French King ſent his Secretary *de Lausbeſpine* to declare this Voyage to him, * and to deſire him to take pains to have Mr. *Pickering* with him, and to be a Witneſs of his Doings. * This is imperfect.

19. Whereupon it was appointed, that he ſhould have 2000 Crowns for his Furniſhment, beſides his Diet, and *Barnabe* 800.

20. The Counteſs of *Pembrook* died.

18. The Merchant-Adventurers put in their Replication to the Stilliards Anſwer.

23. A Decree was made by the Board, that upon knowledg and information of their Charters, they had found: Firſt, That they were no ſufficient Corporation. 2. That their Number, Names, and Nation, was unknown. 3. That when they had forfeited their Liberties, King *Edward* the 4*th* did reſtore them on this condition, That they ſhould colour no Strangers Goods, which they had done. Alſo that whereas in the beginning they ſhipped not paſt 8 Clothes, after 100, after 1000, after that 6000; now in their Name was ſhipped 44000 Clothes in one Year, and but 1100 of all other Strangers. For theſe Conſiderations ſentence was given, That they had forfeited their Liberties, and were in like caſe with other Strangers.

28. There came Ambaſſadors from *Hamburg*, and *Lubeck*, to ſpeak in the behalf of the Stiliard Merchants.

29. A Fleming would have ſearched the *Falcon* for Frenchmen, the *Falcon* turned, ſhot off, boarded the Fleming, and took him.

Paiment was made of 63500 *l.* Flemiſh to the *Foulcare*, all ſaving 6000 *l.* which he borrowed in French Crowns by Sir *Philip Hobbey*.

March.

2. The Lord of *Burgaveny* was committed to Ward for ſtriking the Earl of *Oxford* in the Chamber of preſence.

The Anſwer for the Ambaſſadors of the Stiliard was committed to the Lord Chancellor, the two Secretaries, Sir *Robert Bowes*, Sir *John Baker*, Judg *Montague*, *Griffith* Sollicitor, *Goſnald*, *Goodrick*, and *Brooks*.

3. It was agreed, for better diſpatch of things, certain of the Council, with others joined with them, ſhould over-look the Penal Laws, and put certain of them in execution. Others ſhould anſwer Suitors: Others ſhould overſee my Revenues, and the Order of them; alſo the ſuperfluous Paiments heretofore made. Others ſhould have Commiſſion for taking away ſuperfluous Bulwarks.

Firſt, Order was given for defence of the Merchants, to ſend four Barques and two Pinaces to the Sea.

4. The Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, the Lord *Wharton*, the Lord *Convers*, Sir *Tho. Palmer*, and Sir *Tho. Chaloner*, were appointed in Commiſſion to meet with the Scotch Ambaſſadors, for equal diviſion of the Ground that was called the *Debatable*.

6. The French Ambaſſador declared to the Duke of *Northumberland*, how the French King had ſent him a Letter of Credit for his Ambaſſadry. After delivery made of the Letter, he declared how Duke *Maurice* of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*, the Count of *Mansfield*, and divers other Princes of *Germany*, made a League with his Maſter Offenſive and Defenſive; the French to go to *Strasburg*, with 30000 Footmen, and 8000 Horſemen; the *Almains* to meet with them there the 25*th* of this month, with 15000 Footmen, and 5000 Horſemen. Alſo the City of *Strasburg* had promiſed them Victual, and declared how the French would ſend me Ambaſſadors to have Me into the ſame League. Alſo that the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg*, and Count of *Mansfield*, had been privately conveied to the French King's Preſence, and were again departed to leavy Men; and he thought by this time they were in the Field.

10. He declared the ſame thing to Me in the ſame manner.

9. It was conſulted touching the Marts, and it was agreed that it was moſt neceſſary to have a Mart in *England* for the enriching of the ſame to make it the more famous, and to be leſs in other Mens danger, and to make all things better cheap, and more plentiful. The time was thought good to have it now, becauſe of the Wars between the French King and the Emperor. The Places were the meeteſt; *Hull* for the Eaſt parts. *Southampton* for the South Parts of *England*, as appeareth by two Bills in my Study. *London* alſo was thought no ill place, but it was appointed to begin with the other two.

11. The Bills put up to the Parliament were over-ſeen, and certain of them were for this time thought meet to paſs and to be read, other of them for avoiding tediouſneſs to be omitted, and no more Bills to be taken.

15. Thoſe

15. Thoſe that were appointed Commiſſioners for the Requeſts, or for the execution of Penal Laws, or for overſeeing of the Courts, received their Commiſſions at my Hand.

18. It was appointed, that for the paiment of 14000 *l.* in the end of *April*, there ſhould be made an Anticipation of the Subſidy of *London*, and of the Lords of my Council, which ſhould go near to pay the ſame with good Proviſion.

20. The French Ambaſſador brought me a Letter of Credit from his Maſter, and thereupon delivered me the Articles of the League betwixt the Germans and him, deſiring Me to take part of the ſame League; which Articles I have alſo in my Study.

23. The Merchants of *England* having been long ſtaied, departed, in all about 60 Sail, the Woolfleet, and all to *Antwerp*. They were countermanded becauſe of the Mart, but it was too late.

24. Forſomuch as the Exchange was ſtaied by the Emperor to *Lions*, the Merchants of *Antwerp* were ſore afraid; and that the Mart could not be without Exchange, liberty was given to the Merchants to exchange and rechange Mony for Mony.

26. *Henry Dudley* was ſent to the Sea with four Ships, and two Barks, for defence of the Merchants, which were daily before robbed; who, as ſoon as he came to the Sea, took two Pirats Ships and brought them to *Dover*.

28. I did deny, after a ſort, the Requeſt to enter into War, as appeareth by the Copy of my Anſwer in the Study.

29. To the intent the Ambaſſador might more plainly underſtand My meaning, I ſent Mr. *Hobbey* and Mr. *Maſon* to him, to declare him mine intent more amply.

31. The Commiſſioners for the Debatable of the Scotch ſide, did deny to meet, except a certain Caſtle, or Pile, might be firſt razed; whereupon Letters were ſent to ſtay our Commiſſioners from the Meeting till they had further word.

10. Duke *Maurice* muſtered at *Artnſtat* in *Saxony* all his own Men, and left Duke *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Anhault*, and the Count of *Mansfeld*, for defence of his Country, chiefly for fear of the *Bohemians*. The Young *Lantſgrave*, *Reiffenberg*, and others, muſtered in *Heſſen*.

14. The Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg* muſtered his Men two Leagues from *Erdfort*, and after entred the ſame, receiving of the Citizens, a Gift of 20000 Florins; and he borrowed of them 60000 Florins, and ſo came to *Steinfurt*, where Duke *Maurice* and all the German Princes were aſſembled.

April.

2. I fell ſick of the Meaſels and Small Pox.

4. Duke *Maurice*, with his Army, came to *Auguſta*; which Town was at the firſt yielded to him, and delivered into his Hands, where he did change certain Officers, reſtored their Preachers, and made the Town more free.

5. The Conſtable, with the French Army, came to *Metz*, which was within two days yielded to him, where he found great proviſion of Victuals, and that he determined to make the Staple of Victual for his Journey.

8. He came to a Fort wherein was an Abbey called *Gocoza*, and that Fort abide 80 Cannon-ſhot; at length came to a Parley, where the Frenchmen got in and won it by Aſſault, ſlew all, ſaving 115, with the Captain, whom he hanged.

9. He took a Fort called *Maranges*, and razed it.

12. The French King came to *Nancy* to go to the Army, and there found the Dutcheſs and the young Duke of *Lorrain*.

13. The *Mareſchal St. Andrew*, with 200 Men of Arms, and 2000 Foot-men, carried away the young Duke, accompanied with few of his old Men, toward France, to the *Dolphin*, which lay at *Rhemes*, to the no little diſcontentation of his Mother the Dutcheſs. He fortified alſo divers Towns in *Lorrain*, and put in French Gariſons.

14. He departed from *Nancy* to the Army, which lay at *Metz*.

7. *Monſieur Senarpon* gave an overthrow to the Captain of St. *Omer*, having with him 600 Foot-men, and 200 Horſe-men.

15. The Parliament broke up, and becauſe I was ſick, and not able to go well abroad as then, I ſigned a Bill containing the Names of the Acts which I would have paſs; which Bill was read in the Houſe. Alſo I gave Commiſſion to the Lord Chancellor, two Arch-biſhops, two Biſhops, two Dukes, two Marqueſſes, two Earls, and two Barons, to diſſolve wholly this Parliament.

18. The Earl of *Pembrook* ſurrendred his Maſterſhip of the Horſe, which I beſtowed on the Earl of *Warwick*.

19. Alſo he left 50 of his Men of Arms, of which 25 were given to Sir *Philip Hobbey*, and 25 to Sir *John Gates*.

21. It was agreed that Commiſſions ſhould go out for to take certificate of the ſuperfluous Church Plate to Mine uſe, and to ſee how it hath been embezeled.

The French Ambaſſador deſired, That foraſmuch as it was dangerous carrying of Victual from *Boleign* to *Ard* by Land, that I would give licenſe to carry by Sea to *Calais*, and from *Calais* to *Ard*, in my Ground.

22. The Lord *Paget* was degraded from the Order of the Garter for divers his Offences, and chiefly becauſe he was no Gentleman of Blood, neither of Father-ſide nor Mother-ſide.

Sir *Anthony St. Leiger*, which was accuſed by the Biſhop of *Dublin* for divers brawling Matters, was taken again into the Privy-Chamber, and ſat among the Knights of the Order.

23. Anſwer was given to the French Ambaſſador, that I could not accompliſh his Deſire, becauſe it was againſt my League with the Emperor.

24. The Order of the Garter was wholly altered, as appeareth by the new Statutes. The were elected Sir *Andrew Dudley*, and the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*.

26. *Monſieur de Couriers* came from the Regent, to deſire that her Fleet might ſafely, upon occaſion, take harbour in my Havens. Alſo he ſaid, he was come to give order for redreſſing all Complaints of our Merchants.

25. Whereas it was appointed that the 14000 *l.* that I owed in the laſt of *April*, ſhould be paid by the anticipation of the Subſidy of *London*, and of the Lords, becauſe to change the ſame over-Sea, was loſs

loſs of the ſixth part of the Mony I did ſo ſend over. Stay was made thereof, and the paiment appointed to be made over of 20000 *l.* Flemiſh, which I took up there 14 *per Cent.* and ſo remained 6000 *l.* to be paid there the laſt of *May.*

30. Removing to *Greenwich.*

28. The Charges of the Mints were diminiſhed 1400 *l.* and there was left 600 *l.*

18. King *Ferdinando*, *Maximilian* his Son, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, came to *Linx*, to treat with Duke *Maurice* for a Peace; where *Maurice* declared his Griefs.

16. Duke *Maurice*'s Men received an overthrow at *Ulms*; Marqueſs *Albert* ſpoiled the Country, and gave them a day to anſwer.

31. A Debt of 14000 *l.* was paid to the *Foulcare.*

May.

2. The Stiliard-men received their Anſwer; which was, to confirm the former Judgment of my Council.

3. A Letter was ſent to the *Foulcare* from my Council to this effect; That I have paid 63000 *l.* Flemiſh in *February*, and 14000 in *April*, which came to 77000 *l.* Flemiſh, which was a fair Sum of Mony to be paid in one Year, chiefly in this buſy World, whereas it is moſt neceſſary to be had for Princes. Beſides this, That it was thought Mony ſhould not now do him ſo much pleaſure as at another time peradventure. Upon theſe Conſiderations they had adviſed Me to pay but 5000 *l.* of the 45000 I now owe, and ſo put over the reſt according to the old Intereſt, 14 *per Cent.* with which they deſired him to take patience.

4. *Monſieur de Couriers* received his Anſwer, which was, That I had long ago given order that the Flemiſh Ships ſhould not be moleſted in my Havens, as it appeareth, becauſe Frenchmen chaſing Flemings into my Havens, could not get them becauſe of the reſcue they had, but that I thought it not convenient to have more Ships to come into my Havens than I could well rule and govern. Alſo a note of divers Complaints of my Subjects was delivered to him.

10. Letters were ſent to my Ambaſſadors, That they ſhould move to the Princes of *Germany*, to the Emperor, and to the French King, That if this Treaty came to any effect or end, I might be comprehended in the ſame.

Commiſſion was given to Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Robert Bowes*, the Chancellor of the Augmentation, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Sir *Richard Cotton*, to ſell ſome part of the Chauntry Lands, and of the Houſes, for the paiment of my Debts, which was 251000 *l. Sterling* at the leaſt.

Taylor, Dean of *Lincoln*, was made Biſhop of *Lincoln.*

Hooper, Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, was made Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter.*

Story, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was made Biſhop of *Chicheſter.*

Sir *Robert Bowes* was appointed to be made Maſter of the *Rolls.*

Commandment was given to the Treaſurer, that nothing of the Subſidy ſhould be diſburſed but by Warrant from the Board; and likewiſe for our *Lady-day* Revenues.

14. The Baron of the *Exchequer*, upon the Surrender made by Juſtice *Leiceſter*, was made Chief-Juſtice, the Attorney Chief-Baron, the

Sollicitor-General Attorney, and the Sollicitor of the Augmentation, *Gosnold*, General-Sollicitor, and no more Sollicitor to be in the Augmentation-Court. Also there were appointed eight Serjeants of the Law against *Michaelmas* next coming.

Gaudy.
Stamford.
Carell, &c.

16. The Muster was made of all the Men at Arms saving 50 of Mr. *Sadler's*, 25 of Mr. Vicechamberlains, and 25 of Sir *Philip Hobby's*, and also of all the Pensioners.

17. The Progress was appointed to be by *Dorchester* to *Pool* in *Dorsetshire*, and so through *Salisbury* homeward to *Windsor*.

18. It was appointed Mony should be cried down in *Ireland* after a Pay, which was of Mony at *Midsummer* next; in the mean season the thing to be kept secret and close. Also the Pirry, the Mint-master, taking with him Mr. *Brabamon*, chief Treasurer of the Realm, should go to the Mines and see what profit may be taken of the Oar the *Almains* had digged in a Mine of Silver; and if it would quit cost, or more, to go forward withal, if not, to leave off and discharge all the *Almains*.

Also that of 500 of the 2000 Souldiers there being, should be cut off, and as many more as would go and serve the French King, or the Emperor, leaving sufficient at Home; no Fortifications to be made also yet for a time, in no place unfortified; and many other Articles were concluded for *Ireland*.

20. Sir *Richard Wingfield*, *Rogers*, and——were appointed to view the State of *Portsmouth*, and to bring again their Opinions concerning the fortifying thereof.

4. The French King having passed the Straits of *Lorrain*, came to *Savern*, four miles from *Strasburg*, and was victualled by the Country, but denied passage through their Town.

21. Answer came from the *Foulcare*, That for the deferring of 30000 *l.* parcel of 45 Troas, he was content; and likewise *Angell Pysso*, he might have paid him 20000 *l.* as soon as might be.

22. It was appointed, that forasmuch as there was much disorder on the Marches on *Scotland*-side, both in my Fortifications of some Places, and negligent looking to other Forts, the Duke of *Northumberland*, general Warden thereof, should go down and view it, and take order for it, and return home with speed. Also a pay of 10000 *l.* to go before him.

23. It was appointed that these Bands of Men of Arms should go with me this Progress.

Lord

Lord Treaſurer,	30	Lord Admiral,	15
Lord Great-Maſter,	25	Lord *Darcy*,	30
Lord Privy-Seal,	30	Lord *Cobham*,	20
Duke of *Suffolk*,	25	Lord *Warden*,	20
Earl of *Warwick*,	25	Mr. Vicechamberlain,	15
Earl of *Rutland*,	15	Mr. *Sadler*,	10
Earl of *Huntington*,	25	Mr. *Sidney*.	10
Earl of *Pembrook*,	50		

29. It was appointed that *Thomas Greſham* ſhould have paied him, out of the Mony that came of my Debts, 7000 *l.* for to pay 6800 *l.* the laſt of the month, which he received the ſame night.

28. The ſame *Thomas Greſham* had 9000 *l.* paid him toward the paiment of 20000 *l.* which the *Foulcare* required to be paid at the Paſſmart, for he had taken by Exchange from hence 5000 *l.* and odds, and 10000 *l.* he borrowed of the *Scheits*, and ten of *Lazarus Tukkar*. So there was in the whole 25, of which was paid the laſt of *April* 14, ſo there remained 11000, and 9000 *l.* which I now made over by Exchange, which made 20000 *l.* to pay the *Foulcare* with.

30. I received Advertiſement from Mr. *Pickering*, that the French King went from *Savern* to *Aroumaſſhes*, which was yielded to him; from this to *Leimsberg*, and ſo towards *Spires*, his Army to be about 20000 Footmen, and 8000 Horſemen, well appointed, beſides Raſcals. He had with him 50 pieces of Artillery, of which were 26 Cannons, and ſix Organs, and great number of Boots. From *Leimſberg*, partly doubting Duke *Maurice*'s meaning, partly for lack of Victual; and alſo becauſe he had word that the Regent's Army, of which were Guides the Count *de Egmont*, *Monſieur de Rie*, *Martin Varnuſe*, and the Duke of *Holeſt*, to the number of 16000 Footmen, and 6000 Horſemen, had invaded *Champaign*, and fortified *Aſchenay*; he retired homeward till he came to *Striolph*, and there commanded all unprofitable Carriage and Men ſhould depart to *Chalons*, and ſent to the Admiral to come to him with 6000 *Swiſſers*, 4000 Frenchmen, 1500 Horſemen, and 30 pieces of Ordnance, meaning, as it was thought, to do ſome Enterpriſe about *Luxemburg*, or to recover *Aſchenay* which the Regent had fortified. There died in this Journey 2000 Men for lack of good Victual; for eight days they had but Bread and Water, and they had marched 60 Dutch miles at the leaſt, and paſt many a Streight, very painfully and labourſomly.

19. Duke *Maurice* coming from *Auſpurg* in great haſt, came this day to the firſt Paſſage called the *Clowſe*, which the Emperor had cauſed to be ſtrongly fortified and victualled, a paſſage through an Hill, cut out artificially in the way to *Inſpurg*, and there was a ſtrong Bulwark made hard by it, which he wan, after a long Fight within an hour and an half by Aſſault, and took and ſlew all that were within. And that Night he marched through that Hill into a Plain, where he looked for to ſee twelve Enſigns of *Lanſknights* of his Enemies, but they retired to to ſecond Streight, and yet divers of them were both ſlain and taken; and ſo that Night he lodged in the Plain, at the entry of the ſecond Paſſage, where there were five Forts and one Caſtle,

Caſtle, which with Ordnance ſlew ſome of Duke *Maurice's* Men.

20. This morning the Duke of *Mecklenburg*, with 3060 Footmen, caſt a Bridg over a River five miles beneath the Sluce, and came and gave aſſault behind the Sluce, and Duke *Maurice* gave aſſault in the Face, and the Country-men of *Tirol*, for hate of the *Spaniards*, helped Duke *Maurice*, ſo that five Forts were won by Aſſault, and the Caſtle yielded upon condition to depart, not to ſerve in three months after the Emperor. In this Enterpriſe he ſlew and took 3000 and 500 Perſons, and 23 pieces of Artillery, and 240000 S.

The Emperor hearing of this, departed by Night from *Inſpruck*, forty miles that Night in Poſt; he killed two of his Gennets, and rode continually every Night, firſt to *Brixinium*; and after for doubt of the Cardinal of *Ferrara's* Army, turned to *Villucho* in *Carinthia*. The 30*th* of *May*, tarrying for the Duke *d' Alva*, who ſhould come to him with 2000 Spaniards, and 3000 Italians that came from *Parma*. Alſo the Emperor delivered Duke *Frederic* from Captivity, and ſent him through *Bohemia* into *Saxony*, to raiſe a Power againſt Duke *Maurice's* Nephew.

22. Duke *Maurice*, after that *Hala* and divers other Towns about *Inſhpruck* in *Tirol* had yielded, came to *Inſhpruck*, and there cauſed all the Stuff to be brought to the Market-place, and took all that pertained to Imperialiſts as confiſcate, the reſt he ſuffered the Townſmen to enjoy. He took there fifty pieces of Ordnance, which he conveied to *Ausburg*, for that Town he fortified, and made it his Staple of Proviſion.

Certain Things which the Commiſſioners for the Requeſts ſhall not meddle withal.

Firſt, Suits for Lands.

Secondly, Suits for Forfeits, amounting to more than 40 *l.* value.

Thirdly, Suits for Penſions.

Fourthly, Reverſions of Farms, which have more than one Year to come.

Fifthly, Leaſes of Manours.

Sixthly, Leaſes for more than 21 Years.

Seventhly, No Offices of ſpecial Truſt in Reckonings of Mony, as Cuſtomers, Comptrollers, Surveyors, Receivers, Auditors, Treaſurers, and Chancellors, *&c.* to be given otherwiſe than *durante bene placito*. Alſo all Mint-maſters, and others that have a doing in the Mint, and ſuch-like. The Biſhops, Judges, and other Officers of Judgment, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerit*. Balliwicks, Stewardſhips, keeping of Parks and Houſes, *&c.* to be granted during Life.

Eighthly, Suits for forgivement of Debts.

Ninthly, Releaſing of Debts to be paid.

Tenthly, Suits for Mony, to the intent to pay Debts they owe elſewhere.

Eleven, Suits to buy Land.

Twelve, Suits for Licenſes, to carry over Gold, Silver, Lead, Leather, Corn, Wood, *&c.* that be things unlawful.

Thirteen, Unreſidence upon Benefices.

They

They shall meddle with Baliewicks and Stewardships, during Leases for 21 Years; Forfeits under 40 *l.* Receivership, Woodwardships, Surveyorships, *&c.* during pleasure. Instalments of days for Debts. To those Gentlemen that have well-served, Fee-Farms to them and their Heirs Males of their Body, paying their Rent, and discharging the Annuities due to all Officers touching the same. Keeping of Houses and Parks, ordinary Offices, as Yeomen of the Crown, the Houshold Offices, *&c.*

June.

2. Sir *John Williams*, who was committed to the *Fleet* for disobeying a Commandment given to him for not paying any Pensions, without not making my Council privy, upon his submission was delivered out of Prison.

4. *Beamont* Master of the *Rolls*, did confess his Offences, who in the Office of Wards had bought Land with my Mony, had lent it, and kept it from Me, to the value of 9000 *l.* and above, more than this twelve month, and 11000 in Obligations; how he being Judg in the Chancery between the Duke of *Suffolk* and the Lady *Powis*, took her Title, and went about to get it into his Hands, paying a Sum of Mony, and letting her have a Farm of a Manour of his, and caused an Indenture to be made falsly, with the old Duke's counterfeit Hand to it; by which he gave these Lands to the Lady *Powis*, and went about to make twelve Men perjured. Also how he had concealed the Felony of his Man to the Sum of 200 *l.* which he stole from him, taking the Mony out of his own hand again. For these Considerations he surrendered into my hands all his Offices, Lands, and Goods, moveable and unmoveable, toward the paiment of this Debt, and of the Fines due to these particular Faults by him done.

6. The Lord *Paget*, Chancellor of the Dutchy, confessed how he, without Commission, did sell away my Lands and great Timber-Woods; how he had taken great Fines of my Lands, to his said particular Profit and Advantage, never turning any to my Use or Commodity; how he made Leases in Reversion for more than 21 Years. For these Crimes, and other-like recited before, he surrendred his Office, and submitted himself to those Fines that I or my Council would appoint to be levied of his Goods and Lands.

7. *Whaley*, Receiver of *York-shire*, confessed how he lent my Mony upon Gain and Lucre; how he paied one Years Revenue over, with the Arrearages of the last; how he bought mine own Land with my own Mony; how in his Accompts he had made many false Suggestions; how at the time of the fall of Mony, he borrowed divers Sums of Money, and had allowance for it, after by which he gained 500 *l.* at one paying down, the whole Sum being 2000 *l.* and above. For these and such-like Considerations he surrendred his Office, and submitted to Fines which I or my Council should assign him, to be levied of his Goods and Lands.

8. The Lord of the Council sat at *Guild-hall* in *London*, where in the presence of a thousand People, they declared to the Mayor and Brethren their loathfulness in suffering unreasonable prices of Things, and to Craftsmen their willfulness, *&c.* telling them, That if upon this Admonition they did not amend, I was wholly determined to call in their

their Liberties as confiſcate, and to appoint Officers that ſhould look to them.

10. It was appointed that the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* ſhould be pardoned of his Offences, and delivered out of the *Tower*.

Whereas Sir *Philip Hobbey* ſhould have gone to *Calais* with Sir Richard *Cotton* and *William Barnes* Auditor, it was appointed Sir *Anthony St. Legier*, Sir *Richard Cotton*, and Sir *Thomas Mildmay*, ſhould go thither, carrying with them 10000 *l.* to be received out of the Exchequer.

Whereas it was agreed that there ſhould be a Pay now made to Ireland of 5000 *l.* and then the Mony to be cried down, it was appointed that 3000 weight which I had in the *Tower*, ſhould be carried thither, and coined at 3 Denar. fine; and that incontinent the Coin ſhould be cried down.

12. Becauſe *Pirry* tarried here for the Bullion, *William Williams* Eſſay-Maſter was put in his place, to view the Mines with Mr. *Bradizon*, or him whom the Deputy ſhould appoint.

13 *Baneſter* and *Crane*, the one for his large Confeſſion, the other becauſe little Matter appeared againſt him, were delivered out of the *Tower*.

16. The Lord *Paget* was brought into *Star-Chamber*, and there declared effectuouſly his ſubmiſſion by word of Mouth, and delivered it in writing.

Beaumont who had before made his Confeſſion in writing, began to deny it again; but after being called before my Council, he did confeſs it again, and there acknowledged a Fine of his Land, and ſigned an Obligation in ſurrender of all his Goods.

17. *Monſieur de Couriers* took his leave.

2. The French King won the Caſtle of *Robdemac*. Certain Horſemen of the Regents came and ſet upon the French King's Baggage, and ſlew divers of the Carriers; but at length, with ſome loſs of the Frenchmen, they were compelled to retire. The French King won *Mount St. Ann*.

4. The French King came to *Dewvillars*, which was a ſtrong Town, and beſieged it, making three Breaches.

12. The Town was yielded to him, with the Captain. He found in it 2500 Footmen, 200 Horſemen, 63 great Braſs-pieces, 300 Hagbuts of Croke, much Victual, and much Ammunition, as he did write to his Ambaſſador.

19. It was appointed that the Biſhop of *Durham*'s Matter ſhould ſtay till the end of the Progreſs.

20. *Beaumont* in the *Star-Chamber* confeſſed, after a little ſticking upon the Matter, his Faults, to which he had put to his hand.

22. It was agreed that the Bands of Men of Arms, appointed to Mr. *Sidney*, Mr. Vicechamberlain, Mr. *Hobbey*, and Mr. *Sadler*, ſhould not be furniſhed, but left off.

25. It was agreed that none of my Council ſhould move Me in any Suit of Land for Forfeits above 20 *l.* for Reverſion of Leaſes, or other extraordinary Suits, till the State of my Revenues were further known.

15. The

15. The French King came to a Tovvn ſtanding upon the River of *Moſa*, called *Tvoire*, which gave him many hot Skirmiſhes.

18. The French King began his Battery to the Walls.

14. The Tovvnſmen of *Mountmedy* gave a hot Skirmiſh to the French, and ſlew *Monſieur de Toge's* Brother, and many other Gentlemen of the Camp.

12. The Prince of *Salerno*, vvho had been vvith the French King to treat vvith him touching the Matter of *Naples*, vvas diſpatched in Poſt vvith this Anſwer, That the French King vvould aid him vvith 13000 Footmen, and 1500 Horſemen in the French Wages, to recover and conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*; and he ſhould marry, as ſome ſaid, the French King's Siſter, Madam *Margaret*. The Cauſe why this Prince rebelled againſt the Emperor, vvas, partly the uncourteous handling of the Viceroy of *Naples*, partly Ambition.

The Flemings made an Invaſion into *Champaign*, in ſo much that the Dolphin had almoſt been taken; and the Queen lying at *Chalons*, ſent ſome of her Stuff towards *Paris*.

Alſo another Company took the Town of *Guiſe*, and ſpoiled the Country.

22. *Monſieur de Tallie* vvas ſent to raiſe the Arrierbands and Legions of *Picardy* and *Champaign*, to recover *Guiſe*, and invade *Flanders*.

27. Removing to *Hampton-Court*.

30. It vvas appointed that the Statds ſhould have this Anſwer, That their Clothes vvhich they had bought to carry over to the Sum of 2000 Clothes and odd, ſhould be carried at their old Cuſtom, ſo they vvere carried vvithin ſix vveeks; and likevviſe all Commodities they brought in till our *Lady-day* in Term next, in all other Points, the old Decree to ſtand, till by a further communication the Matter ſhould be ended and concluded.

The Lord *Paget* vvas licenſed to tarry at *London*, and there-abouts, till *Michaelmaſs*, becauſe he had no Proviſion in his Country.

26. Certain of the Heraulds, *Lancaſter* and *Portcullis*, vvere committed to Ward, for counterfeiting *Clarencieux* Seal, to get Mony by giving of Arms.

23. The French King having received divers Skirmiſhes of the Townſmen, and chiefly two; in the one, they ſlevv the French Light-horſe, lying in a Village by the Town; in the other, they entred into the Camp, and pulled down Tents; vvhich two Skirmiſhes vvere given by the Count of *Mansfield* Governor of the Town. And the Duke of *Luxemburg* and his 300 Light-horſe, underſtanding by the Treaſon of four Prieſts, the weakeſt part of the Town, ſo affrighted the Townſmen and the Flemiſh Souldiers, that they by Threatnings, compelled the Captain the Count, that he yielded himſelf and the Gentlemen Priſoners, the Common-Souldiers to depart with White Wands in their Hands. The Town was well Fortified, Victualled, and Furniſhed.

24. The Town of *Mountmedy* yielded to the French King, which before had given a hot Skirmiſh.

July.

4. Sir *John Gates* Vicechamberlain, was made Chancellor of the Dutchy.

7. Removing to *Oatlands.*

5. The Emperor's Ambaſſador delivered the Regent's Letter, being of this effect; That whereas I was bound by a Treaty with the Emperor, made *Anno Dom.* 1542, at *Dotrecht*, That if any Man did Invade the two Counties, I ſhould help him with 5000 Footmen, or 700 Crowns a day during four months, and make War with him within a month after the Requeſt made; and now the French King had invaded *Luxemburg*, deſiring my Men to follow the Effect of the Treaty.

7. The Names of the Commiſſioners was added, and made more, both in the Debts, the ſurveying of the Courts, the Penal Laws, *&c.* and becauſe my Lord Chamberlain, my Lord Privy-Seal, Mr. Vicechamberlain, and Mr. Secretary *Petre*, went with me this Progreſs.

8. It was appointed that 50 pound weight of Gold ſhould be coined after the new Standard, to carry about this Progreſs, which maketh 150 *l. Sterling.*

9. The Chancellor of the *Augmentation* was willed to ſurceaſe his Commiſſion, given him the third Year of our Reign.

3. *Monſieur de Boſſy*, Grand Eſcuer to the Emperor, was made General of the Army in the *Low-Countries*, and *Monſieur de Prat* over the Horſemen.

10. It was appointed here, that if the Emperor's Ambaſſador did move any more for Help or Aid, this Anſwer ſhould be ſent him by two of my Council, That this Progreſs-time my Council was diſperſed, I would move by their Advice, and he muſt tarry till the Matter were concluded, and their Opinions heard. Alſo I had committed the Treaty to be conſidered by divers learned Men, *&c.* And if another time he would preſs Me, then anſwer to be made, That I truſted the Emperor would not wiſh Me, in theſe young Years, having felt them ſo long, to enter into them. How I had Amity ſworn with the French King, which I could not well break; and therefore if the Emperor thought it ſo meet, I would be a Mean for a Peace between them, but not otherwiſe. And if he did preſs the Treaty, laſtly to conclude, That the Treaty did not bind Me which my Father had made, being againſt the profit of my Realm and Country; and to deſire a new Treaty to be made between Me and the Emperor in the laſt Wars. He anſwered, That he marvelled what We meant, for we are bound, quoth the Emperor, and not You. Alſo the Emperor had refuſed to fulfil it divers times, both in not letting paſs Horſes, Armour, Ammunition, *&c.* which were provided by Me for the Wars. As alſo in not ſending Aid upon the Forraging of the Low-Country of *Calais.*

12. A Letter was written to Sir *Peter Meutas*, Captain of the Iſle of *Jerſey*, both to command him that *Divine Service* may there be uſed as in *England*; and alſo that he take heed to the Church-Plate that it be not ſtollen away, but kept ſafe till further Order be taken.

9. The French King came to the Town *Aveins* in *Hainault*, where after he had viewed the Town, he left it, and beſieged a Pile called *Tirlokint*; the Bailiff of the Town perceiving his departure, gave the

Onſet

Onset on his Rereward with 2000 Footmen, and 500 Horsemen, and slew 500 Ferchmen. After this, and the winning of certain Holds of little force, the French King returned into *France*, and divided his Army into divers good Towns to rest them, because divers were sick of the Flux, and such other Diseases, meaning shortly to increase his Power, and so to go forward with his Enterprise.

12. *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* was released from his Imprisonment, and sent by the Emperor into his own Country, to the great rejoicing of all the Protestants.

5. The Emperor declared, That he would none of these Articles to which Duke *Maurice* agreed, and the King of the *Romans* also. The Copy of them remaineth with the Secretary *Cecil*.

Marques *Albert* of *Brandenburg* did great harm in the Country of *Francania*, burnt all Towns and Villages about *Norimberg*, and compelled them to pay to the Princes of his League 200000 Dollars, ten of the faireſt pieces of Ordnance, and 150 Kintals of Powder. After that he went to *Frankfort*, to distress certain Souldiers gathered there for the Emperor.

15. Removing to *Guilford*.

20. Removing to *Petworth*.

23. The Answer was made to the Emperor's Ambassador, touching the Aid he required, by Mr. *Wotton* and Mr. *Hobbey*, according to the first Article *supra*.

24. Because the number of Bands that went with Me this Progress, made the Train great, it was thought good they should be sent home, five only 150 which were pickt out of all the Bands. This was, because the Train was thought to be near 4000 Horse, which were enough to eat up the Country, for there was little Meadow nor Hay all the way as I went.

25. Removing to *Londre*, Sir *Anthony Brown*'s House.

27. Removing to *Halvenaker*.

30. Whereas it had been before devised, that the New Fort of *Barwick* should be made with four Bulwarks; and for making of two of them, the Wall of the Town should be left open on the Enemies side a great way together, (which thing had been both dangerous and chargeable) it was agreed the Wall should stand, and two Slaughter-houses to be made upon it, to scour the outer Courtains; a great Rampier to be made within the Wall, a great Ditch within that, another Wall within that, with two other Slaughter-Houses, and a Rampier within that again.

26. The Flemings entred in great numbers into the Country of *Tournay*; whereupon 500 Men of Arms arose of Frenchmen, and gave the Onset on the Flemings, overthrew them, and slew of them 1435, whereof were 150 Horsemen.

31. It was appointed, on my Lord of *Northumberland*'s Request, that he should give half his Fee to the Lord *Wharton*, and make him his Deputy-Warden there.

August.

2. Removing to *Warblington*.

3. The Duke of *Guise* was sent into *Lorrain*, to be the French King's Lieutenant there.

4. Removing to *Waltham*.

8. Removing to *Portſmouth*.

9. In the morning I went to *Chaterton's* Bulwark, and viewed alſo the Town; at afternoon went to ſee the Store-houſe, and there took a Boat and went to the wooden Tower, and ſo to *Haſelford*. Upon viewing of which things, it there was deviſed two Forts to be made upon the entry of the Haven; one where *Ridley's* Tower ſtandeth, upon the Neck that maketh the Chamber; the other upon a like Neck ſtanding on the other ſide the Haven, where ſtood an old Bulwark of Wood. This was deviſed for the ſtrength of the Haven. It was meant, that that to the Town-ſide ſhould be both ſtronger and larger.

10. *Henry Dudley* who lay at *Portſmouth*, with a Warlike Company of 140 good Souldiers, was ſent to *Guiſnes* with his Men, becauſe the Frenchmen aſſembled in theſe Frontiers in great Numbers.

Removing to *Tichfield*, the Earl of *Southampton's* Houſe.

14. Removing to *Southampton*.

16. The French Ambaſſador came to declare how the French King meant to ſend one that was his Lieutenant in the Civil Law, to declare which of our Merchants Matters have been adjudged on their ſide, and which againſt them, and for what Conſideration.

16. Removing to *Beulen*.

The French Ambaſſador brought news how the City of *Sienna* had been taken by the French-ſide on St. *James's* day, by one that was called the Count *Perigliano*, and other Italian Souldiers, by Treaſon of ſome within the Town; and all the Gariſon of the Town, being Spaniards, were either taken or ſlain. Alſo how the *Mareſchal Briſac* had recovered *Saluzzo*, and taken *Verucca*. Alſo how *Villebone* had taken *Turnhout* and *Mountreville* in the Low-Country.

18. Removing to *Chriſt-Church*.

21. Removing to *Woodlands*.

In this month, after long Buſineſs, Duke *Maurice* and the Emperor agreed on a Peace, but Marqueſs *Albert* of *Brandenburg* would not conſent thereto, but went away with his Army to *Spires* and *Worms*, *Colen* and *Treves*, taking large ſums of Mony of all Cities which he paſſed, but chiefly of the Clergy. Duke *Maurice's* Souldiers perceiving Marqueſs *Albert* would enter into no Peace, went almoſt all to the Marqueſs's Service; among which were Principal the Count of *Mansfelt*, Baron *Haydeke*, and a Colonel of 3000 Footmen, and 1000 Horſemen, called *Reiffenberg*; So that of 7000 which ſhould been ſent into *Hungary* againſt the Turks, there remained not 3000. Alſo the Duke of *Wittenberg* did ſecretly let go 2800 of the beſt Souldiers in *Germany*, to the Service of Marqueſs *Albert*, ſo that his Power was now very great.

Alſo in this month the Emperor departing from *Villachia*, came to *Insbruck*, and ſo to *Monaco*, and to *Auguſta*, accompanied with 8000 Spaniards and Italians, and a little Band of a few ragged Almains. Alſo in this month did the Turks win the City of *Tameſino* in *Tranſylvania*, and gave a Battel to the Chriſtians, in which was ſlain Count *Pallavicino*, and 7000 Italians and Spaniards. Alſo in this month did the Turks Navy take the Cardinal of *Trent's* to Brethren, and ſeven Gallies, and had in chaſe 39 other. Alſo in this month did the Turks

Navy

Navy Land at *Terracina* in the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the Prince of *Salerno* ſet forward with 4000 Gaſcoins, and 6000 Italians; and the Count *Perigliano* brought to his Aid 5000 Men of thoſe that were at the Enterpriſe of *Siena*. Alſo the *Mareſchal Briſac* won a Town in *Piedmont* called *Buſſac*.

24. Removing to *Salisbury*.

26. Upon my Lord of *Northumberland*'s return out of the North, it was appointed, for the better ſtrengthning of the Marches, that no one Man ſhould have two Offices; and that Mr. *Sturley*, Captain of *Berwick*, ſhould leave the Wardenſhip of the Eaſt-Marches to the Lord *Evers*; and upon the Lord *Coniers* reſignation, the Captainſhip of the Caſtle of *Carliſle* was appointed to Sir—*Gray*, and the Wardenſhip of the Weſt-Marches to Sir *Richard Muſgrave*.

27. Sir *Richard Cotton* made Comptroller of the Houſhold.

28. Removing to *Wilton*.

30. Sir *Anthony Archer* was appointed to be Marſhal of *Calais*, and Sir *Edward Grimſton* Comptroller of *Calais*.

22. The Emperor being at *Auguſt*, did baniſh two Preachers Proteſtants out of *Auguſta*, under pretence that they preached ſeditiouſly, and left *Mecardus* the chief Preacher, and ſix other Proteſtant Preachers in the Town, giving the Magiſtrates leave to chuſe others in their place that were baniſhed.

29. The Emperor cauſed eight Proteſtant Citizens of the Town to be baniſhed, of them that went to the Fair at *Lintz*, under pretence, that they taking Marqueſs *Albert*'s part, would not abide his Preſence.

September.

2. Removing to *Wotisfunt*, my Lord *Sandes* Houſe.

5. Removing to *Wincheſter*.

7. From thence to *Baſing*, my Lord Treaſurer's Houſe.

10. And ſo to *Dennington*-Caſtle beſides the Town of *Newbery*.

12. And ſo to *Reading*.

15. To *Windſor*.

16. *Stuckley* being lately arrived out of *France*, declared, how that the French King being wholly perſuaded that he would never return again into *England*, becauſe he came away without leave, upon the apprehenſion of the Duke of *Somerſet* his old Maſter, declared to him his intent, That upon a Peace made with the Emperor, he meant to beſiege *Calais*, and thought ſurely to win it by the way of *Sandhills*; for having *Ricebank* both to famiſh the Town, and alſo to beat the Market-place; and asked *Stuckley*'s Opinion: When *Stuckley* had anſwered, he thought it impoſſible. Then he told him that he meant to land in *England*, in an Angle thereof about *Falmouth*, and ſaid, the Bulwarks might eaſily be won, and the People were papiſtical; alſo that *Monſieur de Guiſe* at the ſame time ſhould enter into *England* by *Scotland*-ſide, with the Aid of the Scots.

19. After long reaſoning it was determined, and a Letter was ſent in all haſte to Mr. *Moriſon*, willing him to declare to the Emperor, That having pity, as all other Chriſtian Princes ſhould have, on the Invaſion of Chriſtendom by the Turk, would willingly join with the Emperor, and other States of the Empire, if the Emperor could bring it to

to pass in some League against the Turk and his Confederates, but not to be aknown of the French King, only to say, That he hath no more Commission; but if the Emperor would send a Man into *England*, he should know more. This was done on intent to get some Friends. The Reasonings be in my Desk.

21. A Letter was sent only to try *Stuckley*'s Truth to Mr. *Pickering*, to know whether *Stuckley* did declare any piece of this Matter to him.

Barnabe was sent for home.

23. The Lord *Gray* was chosen Deputy of *Calais* in the Lord *Willowby*'s place, who was thought unmeet for it.

24. Sir *Nicholas Wentworth* was discharged of the Portership of *Calais*, and one—*Cotton* was put into it. In consideration of his Age, the said Sir *Nicholas Wentworth* had 100 *l.* Pension.

26. Letters were sent for the discharge of the Men of Arms at *Michaelmas* next following.

27. The young Lord's Table was taken away, and the Masters of Requests, and the Serjeants of Arms, and divers other extraordinary Allowances.

26. The Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marques of *Northampton*, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Secretary *Petre*, and Mr. Secretary Cecil, ended a Matter at *Eaton*-College, between the Master and the Fellows; and also took order for the amendment of certain superfluous Statutes.

28. Removing to *Hampton-Court*.

29. Two Lawyers came from the French King to declare what things had passed with the Englishmen in the King's Privy-Council; what and why against them, and what was now in doing, and with what diligence. Which when they had eloquently declared, they were referred to *London*, where there should speak with them Mr. Secretary *Petre*, Mr. *Wotton*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*; whereby then was declared the Griefs of our Merchants, which came to the Sum of 50000 *l.* and upwards; to which they gave little answer, but that they would make Report when they came home, because they had yet no Commission, but only to declare us the Causes of things done.

The first day of this month the Emperor departed from *Augsburg* towards *Ulmes*; and thanking the Citizens for their stedfast sticking to him in these perilous Times, he passed by them to *Strasburgh*, accompanied only with 4000 Spaniards, 5000 Italians, 12000 Almains, and 2000 Horsemen, and thanking also them of *Strasburg* for their good-will they bore him, that they would not let the French King come into their Town; he went to *Weyssenberg*, and so to *Spires*, and came thither the 23*d* of this month. Of which the French King being advertised, summoned an Army at *Metz*, and went thitherward himself; sent a Pay of three months to Marques *Albert*, and the Rhinegrave and his Band; also willing him to stop the Emperor's Passage into these Low-Countries, and to fight with him.

27. The Matter of the Debatable was agreed upon, according to the last Instructions.

26. Duke *Maurice*, with 4000 Footmen, and 1000 Horsemen, arrived at *Vienna* against the Turks.

21. Marques

21. Marqueſs *Hans* of *Brandenburg*, came with an Army of 13000 Footmen, and 1500 Horſemen, to the Emperor's Army; and many Almain Soulders encreaſed his Army wonderfully, for he refuſed none.

October.

3. Becauſe I had a pay of 48000 *l.* to be paid in *December*, and had as yet but 14000 beyond Seas to pay it withal, the Merchants did give me a Loan of 40000 *l.* to be paid by them the laſt of *December*, and to be repaied again by Me the laſt of *March*. The manner of levying this Loan was of the Clothes, after the rate of 20 *s.* a Cloth, for they carried out at this Shipping 40000 Broad-Clothes. This Grant was confirmed the 4*th* day of this month, by a company aſſembled of 300 Merchant-Adventurers.

2. The Bulwarks of Earth and Boards in *Eſſex*, which had a continual allowance of Souldiers in them, were diſcharged, by which was ſaved preſently 500 *l.* and hereafter 700 or more.

4. The Duke *d' Alva*, and the Marqueſs of *Marigna*, ſet forth with a great part of the Emperor's Army, having all the Italians and Spaniards with them, towards *Treves*, where the Marqueſs *Albert* had ſet ten Enſigns of Launce-Knights to defend it, and tarried himſelf with the reſt of his Army at *Landaw* beſides *Spires*.

6. Becauſe Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Captain of *Guiſnes*, had indebted himſelf very much by his Service at *Guiſnes*; alſo becauſe it ſhould ſeem injurious to the Lord *Willowby*, that for the Contention between him and Sir *Andrew Dudley*, he ſhould be put out of his Office, therefore it was agreed, That the Lord *William Howard* ſhould be Deputy of *Calis*, and the Lord *Gray* Captain of *Guiſnes*.

Alſo it was determined that Sir *Nicholas Sturley* ſhould be Captain of the new Fort at *Barwick*, and that *Alex. Brett* ſhould be Porter, and one *Rokeby* ſhould be Marſhal.

7. Upon report of Letters written by Mr. *Pickering*, how that *Stuckley* had not declared to him, all the while of his being in *France*, no one word touching the Communication afore-ſpecified; and declared alſo how Mr. *Pickering* thought, and certainly advertiſed, that *Stuckley* never heard the French King ſpeak no ſuch word, nor never was in credit with him, or the Conſtable, ſave once, when he became an interpreter between the Conſtable and certain Engliſh Pioneers, He was committed to the *Tower* of *London*.

Alſo the French Ambaſſador was advertiſed how he had committed him to Priſon, for that he untruly ſlandered the King our good Brother, as other ſuch Runnagates do daily the ſame. This was told him, to make him ſuſpect the Engliſh Runnagates that be there. A like Letter was ſent again to Mr. *Pickering*.

8. *Le Seigneur de Villandry* came in poſt from the French King with this Meſſage. Firſt, That although Mr. *Sidney*'s and Mr. *Winter*'s Matters were juſtly condemned; yet the French King, becauſe they both were my Servants, and one of them about me, was content *gratuito* to give Mr. *Sidney* his Ship, and all the Goods in her; and Mr. *Winter* his Ship, and all his own Goods. Which Offer was refuſed, ſaying, We required nothing *gratuito*, but only Juſtice and Expedition. Alſo *Villandry* declared, That the King his Maſter, wiſhed that an Agreement were

were made between the Ordinances and Cuſtoms of *England* and *France* in Marine Affairs. To which was anſwered, that our Ordinances were nothing but the Civil Law, and certain very old Additions of the Realm; That we thought it reaſon not to be bound to any other Law than their old Laws, which had been of long time continued, and no fault found with them. Alſo *Villandry* brought forth two new Proclamations, which for things to come vvere very profitable for *England*, for which he had a Letter of Thanks to the King his Maſter. He required alſo Pardon and Releaſement of Impriſonment for certain Frenchmen taken on the Sea-Coaſt. It was ſhewed him they were Pirats: Now ſome of them ſhould by Juſtice be puniſhed, ſome by Clemency pardoned; and with this Diſpatch he departed.

11. *Horne* Dean of *Durham*, declared a ſecret Conſpiracy of the Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, the Year of the apprehenſion of the Duke of *Somerſet*, how he would have taken out Treaſure at *Midleham*, and would have robbed his Mother, and ſold 200 *l.* Land; and to pleaſe the People, would have made a Proclamation for the bringing up of the Coin, becauſe he ſaw them grudg at the fall. He was commanded to keep this Matter cloſe.

6. Mr. *Moriſon*, Ambaſſador with the Emperor, declared to the Emperor the Matter of the Turks before ſpecified: Whoſe Anſwer was, He thanked us for our gentle Offer, and vvould cauſe the Regent to ſend a Man for the ſame purpoſe, to know Our further meaning in that behalf.

11. Mr. *Pickering* declared to the French King, being then at *Rhemes*, *Stuckley*'s Matter of Confeſſion, and the Cauſe of his Impriſonment: Who after proteſtation made of his own good meaning in the Amity, and of *Stuckley*'s Ingratitude toward him, his lewdneſs and ill-demeanour, thanked Us much for this ſo gentile an uttering of the Matter, that We vvould not be led vvith falſe Bruits and Tales.

The Biſhop *Tonſtal* of *Durham* vvas deprived of his Biſhoprick.

In this month *Monſieur de Rue*, *Martin Roſſen*, and an Army of Flemings, vvhile the French had aſſembled his Men of War in *Lorrain*, had ſent the Conſtable to the Army, vvhich lay four leagues from *Verdun*, the Duke *de Guiſe* with 7000 Men to *Metz*, and the *Mareſchal St. Andrew* at *Verdeun*, razed and ſpoiled, betvveen the River of *Some* and *Oſſe*, many Tovvns, as *Noyon*, *Roy*, *Chamy*; and Villages, *Nelle*, *Folambray*, a new built Houſe of the King's, *&c.* inſomuch that the French King ſent the Admiral of *France* to help the Duke of *Vendoſme* againſt that Army.

There vvas at this time a great Plague that reigned in ſundry parts of *France*, of which many Men died.

20. A Man of the Earl of *Tyrones* was committed to the *Tower*, becauſe he had made an untrue Suggeſtion and Complaint againſt the Deputy and the vvhole Council of *Ierland*. Alſo he had bruited certain ill Bruits in *Ireland*, how the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Earl of *Pembrook* vvere fallen out, and one againſt another in the Field.

17. The Flemings, and the Engliſhmen that took their parts, aſſaulted by Night *Hamletue*; the Engliſhmen vvere on the Walls, and ſome

of the Flemings alſo; but by the cowardiſe of a great part of the Flemings, the Enterprize was loſt, and many Men ſlain. The number of the Flemings were 4000, the number of the Men within *Hamletue* 400. The Captain of this Enterpriſe was *Monſieur de Vandeville* Captain of *Grevelin*.

6. *Monſieur de Boiſſey* entred *Treves* with a Flemiſh Army, to the number of 12000 Footmen, and 2500 Horſemen, Burgunions, without any reſiſtance, becauſe the Enſigns there left by Marqueſs *Albert* were departed; and thereupon the Duke *d' Alva*, and the Marqueſs of *Marion*, marched toward *Metz*; the Emperor himſelf, and the Marqueſs *Hans* of *Brandenburg*, having with him the reſt of his Army, the ninth day of this month departed from *Landaw* towards *Metz*. *Monſieur de Boiſſey*'s Army alſo joined with him at a place called *Swayburg*, or *Deuxpont*.

23. It was agreed, that becauſe the State of *Ireland* could not be known without the Deputy's preſence, that he ſhould, in this dead time of the Year, leave the Governance of the Realm to the Council there for the time, and bring with him the whole State of the Realm, whereby ſuch Order might be taken, as the ſuperfluous Charge might be avoided, and alſo the Realm kept in quietneſs, and the Revenue of the Realm better and more profitably gathered.

25. Whereas one *George Paris* an Iriſhman, who had bin a practiſer between the Earl of *Deſmond* and other Iriſh Lords, and the French King, did now, being weary of that Matter, practiſe means to come home, and to have his old Lands in *Ireland* again. His Pardon was granted him, and a Letter written to him from my Council, in which he was promiſed to be conſidered and holpen.

There fell in this month a great Contention among the Scots, for the *Kers* ſlew the Lord of *Balcleugh*, in a Fray in *Edinburgh*; and as ſoon as they had done, they aſſociated to them the Lord *Home* and all his Kin: But the Governour thereupon ſummoned an Army to go againſt them; but at length, becauſe the Dowager of *Scotland* favoured the *Kers* and *Homes*, and ſo did all the French Faction, the French King having alſo ſent for 5000 Scotch Footmen, and 500 Horſemen, for his Aid in theſe Wars, the Governour agreed the 5000 Footmen under the leading of the Earl of *Caſſils*; and 500 Light-Horſemen, of which the *Kers* and the *Homes* ſhould be Captains, and go with ſuch Power into *France*, that they might be in ſuch place as the French King would appoint them to ſerve in, by *Chriſtmaſs*, or *Candlemaſs* at the furtheſt. And thus he truſted to be well rid of his moſt mortal Enemies.

27. The Scots hearing that *George Paris* practiſed for Pardon, committed him to Ward in *Striveling*-Caſtle.

25. *Monſieur de Rue* having burnt in *France* eighteen leagues in length, and three leagues in breadth; having pillaged, and ſacked, and razed the fair Towns of *Noyon*, *Roy*, *Nelle*, and *Chamy*, the King's new Houſe of *Follambray*, and infinite other Villages, Bulwarks, and Gentlemens Houſes in *Champaign* and *Picardy*, returned into *Flanders*.

23. The Emperor in his Perſon came to the Town of *Metz* with his Army, which was reckoned 45000 Footmen, as the Bruit went,

and 7000 Horſemen. The Duke *d' Alva* with a good Band went to view the Town; upon whom iſſued out the Souldiers of the Town, and ſlew of his Men about 2000, and kept him play till the main force of the Camp came down, which cauſed them to retire with loſs. On the French Party was the Duke of *Nemours* hurt on the Thigh. There was in the Town as Captain, the Duke of *Guiſe*; and there were many other great Lords with him, as the Prince of *Rochſurion*, the Duke *de Nemours*, the Vicedam of *Chartres*, *Pierro Stozzy*, *Monſieur Chaſtillion*, and many other Gentlemen.

November.

5. *Monſieur de Villandry* returned to declare, how the King his Maſter did again offer to deliver four Ships againſt which Judgment had paſſed. He ſaid, The King would appoint Men to hear our Merchants at *Paris*, which ſhould be Men of the beſt ſort. He ſaid likewiſe, how the King his Maſter meant to mend the Ordinance, of which Amendment he brought Articles.

7. Theſe Articles were delivered to be conſidered by the Secretaries.

9. Certain were thought to be ſought out by ſeveral Commiſſions; *viz.* Whether I were juſtly anſwered of the Plate, Lead, Iron, *&c.* that belonged to Abbeys? Whether I were juſtly anſwered the Profit of Alome, Copper, Fuſtians, *&c.* which were appointed to be ſold? and of ſuch Land as the King my Father ſold, and ſuch-like Articles.

12. *Monſieur Villandry* received anſwer for the firſt Article, as he did before, How I meant not by taking freely ſo few, to prejudice the reſt. For hearing of our Merchants Matters at *Paris*, by an inferior Council, We thought both too dilatory after theſe long Suits, and alſo unreaſonable, becauſe the inferior Council would undoe nothing (though cauſe appeared) which had been before judged by the higher Council. And as for the New Ordinances, we liked them in effect as ill as their Old, and deſired none other but the Old accuſtomed ones which have been uſed in *France* of late Time, and to be yet continued between *England* and the *Low-Country*. Finally, We deſire no more Words, but Deeds.

4. The Duke *d' Aumale* being left in *Lorrain*, both to ſtop the Emperor's Proviſion, to annoy his Camp, and to take up the Straglers of the Army, with a Band of 400 Men of Arms, which is 1200 Horſe, and 800 Light-horſe, hearing how Marqueſs *Albert* began to take the Emperor's part, ſent firſt certain Light-horſe to view what they intended. Thoſe Avan-Couriers lighted on a Troop of 500 Horſemen, who drove them back till they came to the Duke's Perſon; whereupon the Skirmiſh grew ſo great, that the Marqueſs with 12000 Footmen, and 1000 Horſemen, came to his Mens ſuccours, ſo the Duke's Party was diſcomfited, the Duke himſelf taken and hurt in many places; *Monſieur de Roan* was alſo ſlain, and many other Gentlemen ſlain and taken. This Fight was before *Toul*, into which Fort eſcaped a great part of the Light-Horſe.

6. *Heading* Town and Caſtle was taken by the *Monſieur de Rux*. The Caſtle was reckoned too well ſtored of all things, and rendred either by Cowardice or Treaſon. The Battery was very ſmall, and not ſuitable. The moſt was, that the Captain, *Monſieur* Jo-

was, with one of the first shots of the Cannon, slain, and his Lieutenant with him.

In this month *Ferdinando Gonzaga* besieged St. *Martins* in *Piedmont*.

18. There was a Commission granted out to Sir *Richard Cotton*, Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Robert Bowes*, and Sir *Walter Mildmay*, to examine the account of the fall of Mony, by the two Proclamations.

20. The Lord *Ogle* leaving the Wardenship of the Middle Marches, because my Lord *Evers* Land lay there, he was made Deputy-Warden there, with the Fee of 600 Merks; and Sir *Thomas Dacres* of the East Marches, with the Fee of 500 Merks.

24. *Thomas Gresham* came from *Antwerp* hither, to declare how *Monsieur de Langie*, Treasurer to the Emperor, of *Flanders*, was sent to him from the Regent with a certain Pacquet of Letters which the Burgonions had taken in *Bullonois*, coming from the Dowager of *Scotland*: The Effect whereof was, How she had committed *George Peris* the Irish man to Prison, because she had heard of his meaning to return into *England*; how she had found the Pardon he had, and divers other Writings; and how she had sent *O-Coniers's* Son into *Ireland*, to comfort the Lords of *Ireland*. Also he shewed certain Instructions, *Anno* 1548, upon the Admiral's fall, given to a Gentleman that came hither, That if there were any here of the Admiral's Faction, he should do his uttermost to raise an Uproar.

29. *Henry Knowls* was sent in Post into *Ireland* with a Letter, to lay the Deputy, if he met him, in *Ireland*, because of the Business; and that he should seem to stay for his own Affairs, and prolong his going from week to week, lest it be perceived. Also he had with him certain Articles concerning the whole State of the Realm, which the Deputy was willed to Answer.

30. There was a Letter of Thanks written to the Regent, and sent to Mr. Chamberlain, to deliver her for the gentle Overture made to *Thomas Gresham* by the Treasurer *Langie*. He was also willed to use gentle words in the delivery of the Letters, wishing a further Amity: And for recompence of her Overture, to tell her of the French King's practice, for 5000 Scotch Footmen, and 500 Horsemen. And also how he taketh up by Exchange at *Lubeck* 100000 *l.* whereby appeareth some meaning that way the next Spring.

28. The Lord *Paget* was put to his Fine of 6000 *l.* and 2000 *l.* diminished, to pay it within the space of—Years, at days limited.

Here the Journal ends, or if more was written by the King, it is lost.

Some other Papers written with King Edward *the Sixth's own Hand.*

Number 1.

A Collection of Paſſages of Scripture againſt Idolatry, in French, dedicated to the Protector.

In *Trinity* Coll. Libr. *Cambridg.*

LE fervent zele que Je vous apercoy avoir en la Reformation de Idolatrie, Tres-cher et bien aimè Oncle, ma incitè comme par maniere de paſſe temps, en liſant la ſainct Eſcriture, de nôter pluſieurs lieux en icelle qui defendent de n'adorer ny faire aucuns Images. Non ſeulement de Dieux Eſtranges, mais auſi de ne former choſe penſant la faire ſemblable à la Majeſtè de Dieu le Creature ſi tres bahy. Veu qui lui meſme & ſon St. Eſprit, par la bouche de ſes Prophets, L'a ſi ſouvent defendu, que tant de gens ont osè et oſent commetre Idolatrie en faiſant et adorant les Images. Mais Je croy que ceſtoit pourtant qu'ils n'avoient ou n'entendoit pas ſes paroles. Car comme il dit il ne peut eſtre veu en choſes qui ſoient materielles. Mais veut eſtre veu par ſes ouvres, ni plus ne moins que quand on voit quelque excellente piece d'ouvrage ſans voir ouvrier qui L'a fait, on peut Imaginer ſon excellence : Ainſi regardant et conſiderant l' excellence du Firmament et les choſes tant parfaites et merveilleuſes, que y ſont compriſes, nom pouvons Imaginer quelle è le Createur qui les a formées ſeulement par ſa parole, et en telle maniere noſtre Oeil Spirituel pouroit beaucoup mieux voir quelle choſe c'eſt que de Dieu, que noſtre Oeil corporell ne le pourroit voir en choſe que Creature humane ait fait et formée. Pourtant, cher Oncle, apres avoir noté en ma Bible en Anglois pluſieurs ſentences qui contradiſent à tout Idolatrie à celle fin de m'apprendre et exercer en l' Eſcriture Francoiſe, je me ſuis amuſè à le Tranſlater en la dite Langue Francoiſe : Puis les ay fait reſcrire en ſe petit livret, lequell de tresbon cueur Je vous offre : Priant Dieu le Createur de vous donner grace de continuer en voſtre labeur ſpirituel au ſalut de voſtre ame et à l'honneur et gloire d' iceluy.

Then follow 72 Paſſages out of the Old Teſtament, againſt worſhipping ſtrange Gods or Images, with little Paraphraſes of his own, he concludes.

Il y a autres places en la ſainte Eſcriture, tant Apocryphes que autres, deſquelles je ne fais nulle mention pour le preſent, qui toutesfois ſont correſpondentes à celles dont eſt fait mention par cy devant. Mais pour tant que quaſi tous les Prophetes et autres Saints, deſquels la Sainte Eſcriture parle deffendent de ne commetre Idolatrie Je deſire et exhorte toute la Congregation des Chreſtiens qu'un chaſcun d'eux vueille delaiſſer c'eſt abominable vice.

A Dif-

A Discourse about the Reformation of my Abuses.

Number 2.

The Government of this Realm is divided into two parts, one Ecclesiastical, and the other Temporal.

THe Ecclesiastical consisteth in setting forth the Word of God, continuing the People in Prayer, and the Discipline. The setting forth of the Word of God, consisteth in the good discreet Doctrine and Example of the Teachers, and Spiritual Officers; for as the good husbandman maketh his Ground good and plentiful, so doth the true preacher with Doctrine and Example, print and graft in the Peoples mind the Word of God, that they at length become plentiful. Prayers also to God must be made continually, of the People, and Officers of the Church, to assist them with his Grace. And those Prayers must first, with good consideration, be set forth, and Faults therein be amended. Next, being set forth, the People must continually be allured to hear them. For Discipline, it were very good that it went forth, and that those that did notably offend in Swearing, Rioting, neglecting of God's Word, or such the like Vices, were duly punished, and that those that should be the Executors of this Discipline, were Men endued Honesty, Wisdom, and Judgment. But because those Bishops that should execute it, some for Papistry, some for Ignorance, some for Age, some for their ill Name, some for all these, are Men unable to execute Discipline; it is therefore a thing unmeet for these Men: Therefore it were necessary, that those that were appointed to be Bishops, or Preachers, were honest in Life, and learned in their Doctrine; and by rewarding of such Men, others might be allured to follow their good Life. *Cotton* Libr. *Nero* C. 10.

As for the Prayers, and Divine Service, it were meet the Faults were drawn out (as it was appointed) by Learned Men, and so the book to be established, and all Men willed to come thereunto to hear the Service, as I have put in Remembrances in Articles touching the causes of this Parliament. But as for Discipline, I would with no authority given generally to all Bishops, but that Commission be given to those that be of the best sort of them to exercise it in their Dioceses.

Thus much generally for Religion.

Temporal Regiment.

The Temporal Regiment consisteth, in well-ordering, enriching, and defending the whole Body Politick of the Common-Wealth, and every part of the whole, to one Part, not the other. The Example thereof may be best taken of a Man's Body; for even as the Arm defendeth, helpeth, and aideth the whole Body, chiefly the Head, so ought Servingmen, and Gentlemen chiefly, and such-like kind of People, be always ready to the defence of their Country, and chiefly of their

their Superior and Governor; and ought in all things to be vigilant and painful for the encreasing and aiding of their Country. And forasmuch as they, in serving their King and Country, have divers great and manifold Charges, even as the Arm doth many times bear great stresses for defence of the Head and Body, having no kind of way to enrich themselves, neither by Merchandize, neither by Handicraft, neither by Husbandry; as the Arm doth decoct no Meat it self, nor engendereth no Blood; therefore even as the Stomach, Liver, and Lights, which parts engender the Blood, doth send Nourishment to the Arms and Legs sufficient to strengthen the Part, even so must the Artificers so use their Gain in Working, and so truly and justly make that they work: The Merchants must so sell their Ware, and so labour to bring in strange Commodities: The Husbandmen must pay such Rents, and so sell Things that come of the increase of the Ground, that the Hands, and the Legs, that is to say, the States of Gentlemen and of Servingmen, may well do the Common-Wealth that Service they ought to do. And as the Gentlemen and Servingmen ought to be provided for, so ought not they neither to have so much as they have in *France*, where the Peasantry is of no value, neither yet meddle in other Occupations, for the Arms and Legs doth never draw the whole Blood from the Liver, but leaveth it sufficient to work on, neither doth meddle in any kind of engendring of Blood. No more no one part of the Body doth serve for two Occupations; even so neither the Gentleman ought to be a Farmer, nor the Merchant an Artificer, but to have his Art particularly. Furthermore, no Member in a well-fashioned and whole Body, is too big for the proportion of the Body: So must there be in a well-ordered Common-Wealth, no Person that shall have more than the proportion of the Country will bear; so it is hurtful immoderately to enrich any one Part. I think the Country can bear no Merchant to have more Land than 100 *l.* no Husbandman nor Farmer worth above 100 or 200 *l.* no Artifice above 100 Merks; no Labourer much more than he spendeth. I speak now generally, and in such Cases may fail in one Particular; but this is true. This Common-Wealth may not bear one Man to have more than two Farms, than one Benefice, than 2000 Sheep, and one kind of Art to live by. Wherefore as in the Body no part hath too much, nor too little; so in a Common-Wealth ought every part to have *ad victum non ad saturitatem.* And there is no Part admitted in the Body that doth not work and take pains, so ought there no part of the Common-Wealth to be but labourſome in his Vocation. The Gentleman ought to labour in Service in his Country; the Servingman ought to wait diligently on his Master; the Artificer ought to labour in his Work; the Husbandman in Tilling the Ground; the Merchant in passing the Tempests; but the Vagabonds ought clearly to be banished, as is the superfluous Humour of the Body, that is to say, the Spittle and Filth which because it is for no use, it is put out by the strength of Nature. This is the true ordering of the state of a well-fashioned Common-Wealth. That every Part do obey one Head, one Governor, one Law, as all Parts of the Body obey the Head, agree among themselves, and one not to eat another up through greediness, but that we see that Order, Moderation, and Reason, bridle the Affections. But this is most of all to be

had in a Common-Wealth well-ordered, That the Laws and Ordinances be well executed, duly obeyed, and miniſtred without corruption: Now having ſeen how things ought to be, let us firſt ſee how now they be ordered, and in what ſtate they ſtand now, and then go forward to ſeek a Remedy.

The firſt Point in ordering the Common-Wealth we touched, was, That the Gentlemen, Noblemen, and Servingmen, ſhould ſtand ſtoutly to the defence of their Superior and Governor, and ſhould be painful in ordering their Country; which thing, although in ſome part, and the moſt part, be well (thanks be to God) yet in ſome parts is not abſolutely, which I ſhall ſhew hereafter particularly.

But the ſecond Point, for maintenance of the State of Landed-Men, is ill looked to; for that State of Gentlemen and Noblemen, which is truly to termed the State of Nobles, hath alonely not exerciſed the Gain of living: for Merchants, have enhaunced their Ware; Farmers have enhaunced their Corn and Cattel; Labourers their Wages; Artificers the price of their Workmanſhip; and Mariners and Boatſmen their Hire for Service, whereby they recompenſe the loſs of things they buy; but the moſt part of true Gentlemen (I mean not theſe Farming Gentlemen, nor Clarking Knights) have little or nothing increaſed their Rents; yet their Houſe-keeping is dearer, their Meat is dearer, their Liveries dearer, their Wages greater; which thing at length, if ſpeedy Remedy be not had, will bring that State into utter Ruin, *Quod Deus.*

The Artificers work falſly; the Clothiers uſe deceit in Cloth; the Maſons in Building; the Clockmakers in their Clocks; the Joiner in his working of Timber, and ſo forth all other almoſt, to the intent they would have Men oftner come to them for amending their Things, and ſo have more Gain, although at the beginning they take out of meaſure. The Merchants adventure not to bring in ſtrange Commodities, but loiter at home, ſend forth ſmall Hoys with two or three Mariners, occupy exchange of Mony, buy and ſell Victual, ſteal out Bullion, Corn, Victual, Wood, and ſuch-like things, out of the Realm, and ſell their Ware unreaſonably. The Huſbandmen and Farmers take their Ground at a ſmall Rent, and dwell not on it, but let it to poor Men for triple the Rent they take it for, and ſell their Fleſh, Corn, Milk, Butter, *&c.* at unreaſonable prices. The Gentleman conſtrained by Neceſſity and Poverty, becometh a Farmer, a Graſier, or a Sheep-maſter. The Graſier, the Farmer, the Merchants become Landed-men, and call themſelves Gentlemen, though they be Churls; yea, the Farmer will have ten Farms, ſome twenty, and will be a Pedlar-Merchant. The Artificer will leave the Town, and for his more Paſtimes, will live in the Country; yea, and more than that, will be a Juſtice of Peace, and will think ſcorn to have it denied him; ſo Lordly they be now-a-days: for now they are not content with 2000 Sheep, but they muſt have 20000, or elſe they think themſelves not well; they muſt have twenty mile ſquare their own Land, or full of their Farms, and four or five Crafts to live by is too little, ſuch Hell-hounds be they. For Idle Perſons, there were never I think more than be now; the Wars, Men think, is the cauſe thereof, ſuch Perſons can do nothing but Rob and Steal; but ſlack execution of the Laws hath

hath been the chiefeſt ſore of all; the Laws have been manifeſtly broken, the Offenders baniſhed, and either by Bribery, or fooliſh Pity, eſcaped puniſhment. The Diſſention, and Diſagreement, both for private Matters, and alſo in Matters of Religion, hath been no little cauſe, but the Principal hath been the diſobedient and contentious talking and doing of the fooliſh and fond People, which for lack of teaching, have wandered, and broken wilfully and diſobediently the Laws of this Realm. The Lawyers alſo, and Judges, have much offended in Corruption and Bribery.

Furthermore, they do now-a-days much uſe to foreſtall, not only private Markets of Corn and Victual, whereby they enhaunce the price thereof, but alſo ſend to the Sea too, aboard Ships, and take the Wine, Sugar, Dates, or any other Ware, and bring it to *London*, where they ſell at double the price. What ſhall I ſay of thoſe that buy and ſell Offices of Truſt, that impropriate Benefices, that deſtroy Timber; that not conſidering the ſuſtaining of Men of their Corn, turn Till Ground to Paſture; that uſe exceſs in Apparel, in Diet, and in building of Incloſures of Waſtes and Commons, of thoſe that caſt falſe and ſeditious Bills; but that the thing is ſo tedious, long, and lamentable to entreat of the Particulars, that I am weary to go any further in the Particulars; wherefore I will ceaſe, having told the worſt, becauſe the beſt will ſave it ſelf.

Now I will begin to entreat of a Remedy. The Ill in this Common-Wealth, as I have before ſaid, ſtandeth in deceitful working of Artificers, uſing of Exchange and Uſury, making vent with Hoys only into *Flanders*; conveying of Bullion, Lead, Bell-mettle, Cooper, Wood, Iron, Fiſh, Corn, and Cattel, beyond Sea; inhauncing of Rents; uſing no Arts to live by; keeping of many Sheep, and many Farms; Idleneſs of People; diſobedience of the lower ſort; buying and ſelling of Offices, Impropriations, Benefices; turning Till Ground to Paſture; exceeding in Apparel, Diet, and Building; enclofing of Commons; caſting of ill and ſeditious Bills.

Theſe Sores muſt be cured with theſe Medicines or Plaiſters. 1. Good Education. 2. Deviſing of good Laws. 3. Executing the Laws juſtly, without reſpect of Perſons. 4. Example of Rulers. 5. Puniſhing of Vagabonds and idle Perſons. 6. Encouraging the Good. 7. Ordering well the Cuſtomers. 8. Engendring Friendſhip in all parts of the Common-Wealth. Theſe be the chief Points that tend to order well the whole Common-Wealth.

And for the firſt, as it is in order firſt, ſo it ſeemeth to be in dignity and degree; for *Horace* ſaith very wiſely,

Quo eſt imbuta recens ſervabit odorem
Teſta diu——

With whatſoever thing the New Veſſel is imbued, it will long keep the ſavour, ſaith *Horace*; meaning, That for the moſt part Men be as they be brought up, and Men keep longeſt the ſavour of their firſt bringing up. Wherefore ſeeing that it ſeemeth ſo neceſſary a thing, We will ſhew our device herein. Youth muſt be brought up, ſome in Husbandry, ſome in Working, Graving, Gilding, Joining, Printing, making

making of Clothes, even from their tendereſt Age, to the intent they may not, when they come to Man's Eſtate, loiter as they do now adays, and neglect, but think their Travail ſweet and honeſt. And for this purpoſe would I wiſh that Artificers and others were either commanded to bring up their Sons in like Trade, or elſe had ſome Places appointed them in every good Town, where they ſhould be Apprentices, and bound to certain kind of Conditions. Alſo that thoſe Vagabonds that take Children and teach them to beg, ſhould, according to their demerits, be worthily puniſhed. This ſhall well eaſe and remedy the deceitful working of Things, diſobedience of the lower Sort, writing of Seditious Bills, and will clearly take away the Idleneſs of People.

2. Deviſing of good Laws, I have ſhewed my Opinion heretofore, what Statutes I think moſt neceſſary to be enacted this Seſſions; nevertheleſs I would wiſh, that beſide them hereafter, when time ſhall ſerve, the ſuperfluous and tedious Statutes were brought into one Sum together, and made more plain and ſhort, to the intent that Men might the better underſtand them; which thing ſhall much help to advance the profit of the Common-wealth.

3. Nevertheleſs when all theſe Laws be made, eſtabliſhed, and enacted, they ſerve to no purpoſe, except they be fully and duly executed. By whom? By thoſe that have Authority to execute; that is to ſay, the Noblemen, and the Juſtices of Peace. Wherefore I would wiſh, that after this Parliament were ended, thoſe Noblemen, except a few that ſhould be with Me, went to their Countries, and there ſhould ſee the Statutes fully and duly executed; and that thoſe Men ſhould be put from being Juſtices of Peace, that be touched or blotted with thoſe Vices that be againſt theſe new Laws to be eſtabliſhed; for no Man that is in fault himſelf, can puniſh another for the ſame Offence.

Turpe eſt Doctori cum culpa redarguit ipſum.

And theſe Juſtices being put out, there is no doubt for execution of the Laws.

Deſunt cætera.

Number 3.

A Reformation of the Order of the Garter; Tranſlated out of Engliſh into Lati. by King Edward.

Cotton Libr. *Nero* C. 10.

EDwardus ſextus Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, &c. Omnibus qui præſentes videbunt Literas Salutem. Sereniſſimi patres noſtri Reges Angliæ deliberantes & ſecumipſis cogitantes, de eo genere quo uti debeant erga Deum, Patriam, & eos qui ſuæ ditioni erant ſubjecti, ſatis facile invenerunt nihil tam ad ſuum officium pertinere quam ut bonos, fortes, magnanimos, prudentes & claros viros (pro ſingulorum eorum meritis) honore gloriaq; afficerent, & amicitiam, ſocietatem, conſenſionem quandam in bonis rebus inter omnes, præcipue vero

inter pares foverent. Honorem enim (ut certe est) præmium virtutis judicabant; concordiam vero fundamentum & auctricem rerumpublicarum existimabant. Hæc igitur illis perpendentibus, optimum visum est constituere societatem, cœtum aut conventum aliquem eorum, qui in domesticis pacis negotiis optime se gesserant, & in militaribus pugnis fortiter & prudenter se exercuerant. Hosq; voluerunt in signum concordiæ & unitatis Tibias fascia quadam circumligare, quasi eo facto divulgantes sese non dubitare Patriæ, Religionis & Domini causa vitam & bona profundere, eamq; ob causam Ordinem Garterii nominaverunt. Quem quidem Ordinem omnium voce celebratum, serpens ille humano generi infestus Satanas conspiciens, tantopere ad virtutem homines incitare, conatus est pœnitus delere. In quo tantum elaboravit, tam diligenter prædam quæsivit, tam ingeniose & callide homines decepit, ut tandem repleverit decreta hujus Societatis multis ambiguis, superstitiosis, Papisticis & inter se contrariis sententiis. Putandum enim erit, quod si Evangelii lux non apparuisset, de isto Ordine penitus actum fuisset, saltem de his rebus in Ordine in quo bonorum nomen meruissent. Indies enim crevit malum; Nos autem summopere commoti, antiquitate, magnificentia & pulchritudine hujus Ordinis, omnibus viribus elaboravimus ad eum reducendum ad statum pristinum. Quapropter in cœtu quodam celebrato die Anno Dom. 1551 Regni vero nostri

Ubi permulti Milites ejusdem Ordinis aderant, constitutum erat a nobis, Autoritate eorundem Militum, quod hi articuli infrascripti fidelissime observabuntur, ut hujus Ordinis Decreta.

1. Primum Concluſum Statutumq; existit, quod hic ordo posthac appellabitur Ordo Garterii; non Ordo Sancti Georgii: nec idem Georgius amplius posthac appellabitur; nec nominabitur Patronus Ordinis, ne ille honor qui soli Deo debeatur, cuidam creaturæ attribuatur.

2. Item Milites circumligabunt Tibias Garteriis (ut vulgo dicunt) quibus inscribunt hæc verba. **Honi soit qui mal y pense**; in collis autem cathenarum more gerent equitem sculptum, altera manu tenentem gladium penetrantem librum, in quem gladium scribetur *Protectio*, in Librum vero *Verbum Dei*, altera autem Clipeum, in quem inscribetur *Fides*, hac re significantes se concordes protectores Verbi Divini & Fidei esse existere. Cum enim ab Georgio eodem auferetur honor ille quod Patronus amplius Ordinis non erit, Milites non amplius gestabunt eundem divum, post Festum Michaelis proxime sequentis.

3. Arma tamen Ordinis maneant in eodem Statu quo antea manserunt sunt solita, viz. Crux rubea in Campo Argenteo.

4. Numerus militum erunt 24 præter præfectum, si enim plures existant tum minori in honore habebitur Collegam esse Ordinis, hi autem Milites jam existunt.

5. Quod Rex Angliæ, Hæredes & Successores ejus, erunt hujus Ordinis Præfecti quemadmodum & solitum est antehac. Et quia sæpe oriuntur ambiguitates, contentiones & mutationes temporum; propter quas aut tolli, aut definiri, aut adjungi debent aliqua decreta hujus Ordinis sæpe etiam in mortuorum Militum locum alii substituantur necesse est. Idcirco concluſum est, quod licet eidem Regi Angliæ, aliqua tali re mota Advocatis sex ex Sociis Ordinis, cum eorum consensu, celebrato in loco aliquo, mutare, definire, addere, aut detrahere ab hoc Ordine; ut in bono

bonum videbitur, & etiam eligere, in numerum Militum, alios omnes, qui ſunt generoſi, inſignia geſtantes, a parte Patrum & Matrum per tres progenies ſive generationes quoſcunque arbitrabuntur maxime idoneos.

6. Omnes hi qui rei ſunt inventi Capitalium Criminum, aut ignave a prælio aufugerunt, aut Notabili Crimine ſunt contaminati, quanquam mors illis non infligatur, tamen Milites Ordines eſſe deſinent. Æquum enim qui eſſe poteſt, eum qui inſigni & fœdo aliquo vitio ſit contaminatus, in bonorum Societate aut cœtu manere. Capitalia vero ſint Crimina, pro quibus leges judicant debere mortis pœnam ſubire.

7. Si autem idem Ordinis præfectus intelligat locum aliquem vacuum eſſe, tum mittet ad Milites vicinos & propinquos ut certo quodam die adſint, haſq; literas mittet triduum ante diem celebrandi cœtus; niſi forte adſint plus quam ſex Milites.

8. Qui Milites Congregati in cœtu quodam veſtibus Ordinis induti, ſi locus aliquis ſit vacuus, ſcribent unuſquiſq; nomina trium Principum: viz. Imperatorum, Regum, Archiducum, Ducum, Marchionum, Comitum, aut Vicecomitum, nomina tria Baronum, ſive Dominorum, & nomina trium Militum Aureatorum quos Baccalaureos Milites vulgo dicunt.

9. Cum nomina ſunt ſcripta, tum Rex Angliæ Ordinis præfectus ex eorum numero eliget quem maxime idoneum arbitrabitur ex antiqua illuſtriq; familia natum, aut qui ſuis geſtis præclaris nomen, famam & honorem ſummum acquiſiverit, nam in electione Militum divitias reſpicere nullo modo oportet, ſed virtutem & generis Nobilitatem, primo autem in loco virtutem.

10. Miles electus, cum proxime adſit, adducetur in Domum ubi cœtus celebratur per duos Collegas Ordinis, Præfectus induet eum cathena ſive Collario Roſarum circumligatarum faſciis cum ſculpta equitis imagine, ut prædixi, appendente; duo vero Collegæ faſcia, ſive ut vulgo dicunt, Garterio tibiam circumligabunt: * Tradetur etiam electo Militi liber horum decretorum.

11. Miles vero electus ibit Windeſoram, & Præfectus Ordinis mittet ad illum ſubſtitutum ſuum & duos coadjutores, qui collocabunt eum, ſi fieri poſſit, ſine aliorum Militum detrimento in ſede, ejus gradui Nobilitatis apta & accomoda, & ſecundum veterem modum veſtes recipiet (quas vulgo dicunt Anglice, *The Mantel, the Cirtel, and the Hood*) & his veſtibus indutus audiet preces divinas in ſede illi conſtituta, ſimul cum ſubſtituto & coadjutoribus Communionem recipiens.

12. Poſt preces abſolutas recipiet hoc jusjurandum; ſe pro viribus velle ſuſtinere & defendere omnes honores, titulos, querelas & Dominia Regis Angliæ Ordinis Præfecti; velle etiam (quantum in ſe eſt) protegere, amare & colere Divini Verbi ſtudioſos; velle deponere humanas Traditiones & augere Gloriam & Honorem Dei.

13. Ille ordo qui inſtitutus fuit olim de inſignibus, gladiis, galæis & armis reponendis in cellis aut ſedibus, maneat in priori forma.

14. Adhæc cum Dedicatio Ordinis auferatur a divo Georgio, & ſi tempus anni non ſit idoneum ad multos homines cogendos, & ex patria accerſendos, præſertim vero ne ipſam dedicationem Verbis auferentes ſe videremur retinere, idcirco ſtatutum eſt cœtum cælebratum fore, ut olim in Anglia die Divi Georgii; ſic nunc primo Die Sabbati, &

primo Die Dominico in menſe Decembris, niſi forte primus dies menſis Decembris ſit dies Dominicus; tunc autem celebrabitur primo Die Sabbati, & ſecundo die Dominico.

15. Primo vero Die Sabbati Milites qui adſunt (omnes autem adeſſe debent niſi forte habeant licitam excuſationem) audient preces Veſpertinas inſtitutas Autoritate Parliamenti veſtibus Ordinis induti, ſedentes quiſque in ſede conſtituta. Miles autem electus non collocatus in ſede ſtabit directe verſus eum locum ubi collocabitur.

16. Die Dominico ſequenti in aurora audient ſupradicti Milites preces, & qui ſe paratos facere poſſint, Communionem recipient, veſperi etiam audient preces veſpertinas.

17. Milites autem abſentes tenebuntur eadem facere in ſuis ædibus toto hoc tempore veſtibus Ordinis induti.

18. Præterea Milites qui adſunt veſtibus Ordinis induti prandebunt omnes, ab uno latere ſedentes in eodem gradu quo collocantur Windeſoræ, in cellis in cœtum etiam intrabunt hoc die, ut ſi, quid faciendum ſit, perficiant.

19. Cantatores & Præbendarii fruentur ſuis poſſeſſionibus durante Vita, poſt mortem autem eorum conferentur in Concionatores in caſtro Windeſoræ.

20. Pauperes autem qui in eodem Collegio manent, habebunt omnia ſua priſtino more, loci autem conferentur in Milites vulneratos aut admodum ſenes viros, ſolum privabuntur ſuperſtitioſis & vanis Cæremoniis quibus uti ſunt ſoliti, ut Oratione pro defunctis, &c. Quemadmodum vero ſoliti ſunt miſſæ adeſſe ſic jam adſint in precibus conſtitutis.

21. Sunt autem certæ ſummæ Argenti quæ ſolent impendi cum moriantur Milites Ordinis.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
A Rege Angliæ	08	06	08	A Comite	02	10	00
A Rege peregrino	06	13	04	A Vice Counte	02	01	08
A Principe	05	16	08	A Barone	01	13	04
A Duce	05	00	00	A Milite } Baccalaureo }	00	16	08
A Marchione	03	13	00				

Adhæc cum Milites eligantur ſolvendæ ſunt hæ ſummæ Pecuniæ.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
A Rege Angliæ	30	00	00	A Comite	06	13	08
A Rege peregrino	20	00	00	A Vice Comite	05	16	08
A Principe	13	06	08	A Barone	05	00	00
A Duce	10	00	00	A Milite	03	06	08
A Marchione	08	06	08				

Hæ prædictæ ſummæ Argenti colligantur & quotannis pauperibus diſtribuantur ut interdum ſolitum eſt fieri.

22. Rex Angliæ exſolvat Pecuniam quam peregrini Principes debebunt propter articulum ſupradictum.

23. Sed quia difficile eſt omnia hæc ſine Miniſtris idoneis fieri, igitur conſtitutum eſt fore quatuor Ordinis hujus Miniſtros. Cancellarius, Anno-

Annotator ſive Regiſter, Præceſſor qui nigram virgam geſtabit, & præcipuus Rex armorum qui ab Ordine nomen obtinebit Garter.

24. Sigillum Ordinis habebit ex uno latere Arma Angliæ & Franciæ ſimul cum Armis Ordinis circumligata hac circumſcriptione, *Verbum Domini manet in æternum*, ex altera parte equitem ſculptum, ut Milites geſtabunt circumligatum faſcia ſive Garterio.

25. Hoc ſigillo Cancellarius ſigillabit, omnia decreta, licentias, conſtitutiones, literas & reliqua omnia quæ ad ordinem prædictum pertinent aut ullo modo debent pertinere.

26. Annotator in magno Libro Annotabit Latine quibus temporibus quiſque miles fuerit electus, quibus mortuus, quænam ſancita erant decreta, quænam diſſoluta, & ſi quæ erunt alia pertinentia ad Ordinem ſupradictum, hunc autem librum relinquet in Caſtro Windeſoræ ſuo ſucceſſori in eodem officio.

27. Rex Heroaldorum & inſignium Garter ſervabit nomina & cognomina, arma & inſignia cujuſq; Militis electi, eundem librum relinquens ſuo ſucceſſori, & ſi quæ ſit ambiguitas de armis, ipſe dijudicabit.

28. Præceſſor Ordinis geſtans virgam nigram præibit ordinem & ſolium cuſtodiet, & eandem autoritatem habebit, qua antehac uſus eſt. Quod ſiquis Militum contumelioſe & graviter offenderit, & ejus criminis in cœtu fuerit convictus, Præceſſor Ordinis cum Rege Heroaldorum eum exuent catena & Garterio.

29. Adhæc cum aliquis peregrinus Rex in Militum numerum ſubſtituatur & eligatur, Cæremoniis hujus Ordinis non detinebitur, ſed prout placuerit.

30. Poſt electionem vero præfectus Ordinis mittet duos Milites ejuſdem Ordinis, qui poſt preces in ejus patria vulgares induent eum veſtibus illis quæ ſolent geſtari, viz. Anglice, *The Mantel, the Cirtel, and the Hood.* In collum etiam imponent catenam roſarium cum equite ſculpto appendente & faſcia vulgo dicto Garterio.

31. Poſtea per procuratorem in ſede collocabitur, nullum omnino ſacramentum recipiens, nec preces unquam alias quam ſolitas audiens.

32. Quod Rex Angliæ poſſit diſpenſare & veniam dare omittendi illas Cæremonias, ſi cauſa poſtulet.

33. Quod hi articuli ut monumenta, decreta & Leges Ordinis reponentur in Collegio Windeſoræ, omnes autem his contrariæ penitus abrogabuntur.

FINIS.

A Paper concerning a Free Mart in *England.*

Number 4.

The Reaſons and Cauſes why it is now moſt neceſſary to have a Mart in England.

1. BEcauſe our vent of Clothes might be open in all Wars.

2. Becauſe our Merchants Goods might be out of danger of Strangers, without fear of arreſting for every light Cauſe.

3. Becauſe it would much enrich the Realm; for as a Market enricheth a Town, ſo doth a Mart enrich a Realm.

4. Becauſe for at a need, round Sums of Mony might be of them borrowed that haunt the Mart.

5. Becauſe we ſhould have a great multitude of Ships ſtrangers to ſerve in the Wars.

6. Becauſe all ſtrangers Goods, when War is made, ſhould be in our danger.

7. Becauſe we ſhould buy all things at the firſt hand of Strangers, whereas now the Spaniards ſell to the Flemings their Wares, and the Flemings to us.

8. Becauſe the Towns toward the Sea-ſide ſhould be much more populous.

9. Becauſe whereas now they bring Tapeſtry, Points, Glaſſes, and Laces, they would then bring in Bullion, and other ſubſtantial Merchandice, to the intent to have our Cloth and our Tin.

10. Becauſe we ſhould take from our Enemies their Power, and make that they ſhould borrow no Mony of Merchants but when we liſt, at leaſt no great Sum of Mony.

The Cauſes why this Time is moſt Commodious to erect a Mart in.

1. The Wars between the French King and the Emperor, and the Ships of either ſide, maketh the Italians, Genoa's, Portugals, and Spaniards, to forbear their Trade to *Antwerp.* 2. The Frenchmen, the Stadts, the Spruſſes, and Ships of *Eaſtland*, being againſt the Emperor, will not come neither. 3. The French King invading *Lorain*, and fearing *Flanders.* 4. And the Almains lying on the River of *Rhene*, ſtoppeth the Courſe of Merchants out of *Italy* to *Antwerp*, and alſo *Frankfort.* 5. The putting of Men of War in the Town, maketh the Merchants to forbear their Traffique, and to look to their Lives. 6. The Breach of the laſt Tempeſt is like, they ſay, to make the Channel uncertain, and the Haven naught. 7. The ſtop of the Exchange to *Lions*, will make many Flemings Bankrupts. Theſe things will decay the Marts of *Antwerp* and *Frankfort.* But theſe Nations cannot live without a Vent, therefore they will now moſt willingly come hither if they had a Free Mart.

2. It

2. It were an easier matter to come to *Southampton* for the Spaniards, Britanes, Vascoins, Lombards, Geneoese, Normands, and Italians, than to go to *Antwerp*.

3. It were easier for the Merchants of the Eastland, the Sprusses, the Danes, Swedens, and Norvegians, to come to *Hull* than to *Antwerp*.

4. *Southampton* is a better Port than *Antwerp*.

5. The Flemings have allured Men to make a Mart there with their Privileges, having but very little Commodities; much easier shall we do it, having Cloth, Tin, Seacoal, Lead, Bellmettal, and such other Commodities, as few Realms Christian have the like; nor they when they began had no such opportunity.

How the Mart will be brought to pass.

1. Our Merchants are to be staid from a Mart or two, under pretence that they abstain because of the Imposition.

2. Then Proclamation must be made in divers places of the Realm where Merchants resort, That there shall be a free Mart kept at *Southampton*, with these Liberties and Customs.

1. The time of the Mart to begin after *Whitsontide*, and to hold on five weeks; by which means it shall not let St. *James*'s Fair at *Bristol*, nor *Bartholomew* Fair at *London*.

2. All Men coming to the Mart, shall have free going and free coming, without Arresting, except in Cases of Treason, Murder, or Felony.

3. For the time of the Mart, all sorts of Men shall pay but half the Custom they do in other places of the Realm.

4. No Shipping shall be from any other place from *South-Wales* to *Eser* during that time.

5. In the Shires of *Hampshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Kent*, *Dorsetshire*, That no Bargain shall be made of Wares during that time but in the Mart Town.

6. A Court to correct Offenders, with Liberties thereto.

7. Some one Commodity must be assigned to the Mart, or some one kind of Cloth.

8. The Merchants of the Staple must be bargained withal, and contented with some honest Offer, to the intent by their Liberties they may not let the Mart.

9. Some more Liberties must be given to the Inhabitants of *Southampton*; and if Mony may be spared, some must be lent them to begin their Trade withal.

10. Our Ships on the Sea must look as well as they may, observing the Treaties, to the safeguard of the Merchants when they come.

11. If this prove well, then may another be made at *Hull*, to begin after *Stowrbridg* Fair, to the intent they may return before the great Ices come to their Seas.

The

The Diſcommodities and Letts to the Mart to be kept in England.

1. BEcauſe Strangers lack acceſs hither by Land, which they have at *Antwerp.*
2. The ill-working of our Clothes, which maketh them leſs eſteemed.
3. The abundance of our Clothes in *Flanders* will make them leſs ſought for here.
4. The Merchants have eſtabliſhed their dwelling-places at *Antwerp.*
5. That other Nations will ſtay their coming hither for a while by the Emperor's Commandment.
6. The denial of the Requeſt of the Merchants of the Stiliard, will ſomewhat let the Mart, if it be not looked to.
7. The poverty and littleneſs of the Town of *Southampton.*
8. The goodlineſs of the *Rhine.*

The Remedies and Anſwers thereunto.

To the firſt Point.

1. At this time when the Mart ſhould begin at *Southampton*, the French King and the Almains ſhall ſtop the entercourſe by Land, ſo that nothing ſhall come that way but in great danger.
2. When War ſhall be made againſt us, then our Navy may defend them.
3. As the Town of *Southampton* lacketh the Commodity of the Acceſs of Merchandiſe by Land, ſo it hath this Commodity, that there can be no acceſs of Enemies by Land, which may be at *Antwerp*, and Men think will be this Year, which is a great ſafety to the Merchants.
4. The Traffique that cometh by Land will not much diminiſh the Mart, for it is only almoſt the Venetians Traffique, who ſhall much eaſilier come hither by Sea, than to *Antwerp*, and with leſs danger of the Seas.

To the ſecond Point.

1. The ill-making of our Clothes will be meet to be looked on this Parliament, and order thereupon to be given. The Matter is come to ſome ripeneſs already, the Upper Houſe hath one Bill, and the Nether Houſe hath another in good forwardneſs.
2. As ill as they be made, the Flemings do at this time deſire them wonderfully, offering rather to pay the Impoſition of the Emperor than to lack them.

To the third Point.

1. It were very neceſſary that the Ships that ſhall be hereafter going, were ſtaied till the Mart were come to ſome ripeneſs.
2. The Clothes hereafter might be bought up with our Mony here, and

and conveied to *Southampton*, to be there uttered at the Mart time, and so it should help the Mart very well.

To the fourth Point.

1. The danger of their Lives, which they now fear very much, will make them seek another Harbor to rest in more safely.
2. They came from *Bruges* to *Antwerp* only for the English Commodities, although they were setled at *Bruges*.
3. They have a great Commodity to come to *Southampton*, and a great fear of spoiling to drive them from *Antwerp*.
4. The Merchants never assign to themselves such a Mansion, but for more gain they will leave that, and take another.

To the fifth Point.

1. The Emperor is at this time so driven to his Shifts, that neither he shall be able to attend the stay of Mony from coming to the Mart, neither if he were able to attend, could, I think, do it, now the Flemings being put in such fear as they be of the loss of all they have.
2. The Flemings and the Spaniards which be under him, can hardlier be without us than we without them, and therefore they would hardly be brought to forbear our Traffique.

To the sixth Point.

1. It were good the Stiliard-men were for this time gently answered, and that it were seen, whether by any gentle offer of some part of their Liberties, again they might be brought to ship their Wares to the Mart. The Frenchmen also I think would easily be brought to come hither, having now none other Traffique but hither, these two Nations would suffice to begin a Mart for the first part.

To the seventh Point.

1. It is not the ability of the English Merchants only that maketh the Mart, but it is the resort of other Nations to some one place when they do exchange their Commodities one with another, for the bargaining will be as well amongst the Strangers themselves; the Spaniards with the Almains, the Italians with Flemings, the Venetians with the Danes, *&c.* as other Nations will bargain with Us.
2. The Merchants of *London*, of *Bristol*, and other places, will come hither for the Mart time, and traffique.
3. The Merchants will make shift enough for their Lodging.
4. There may be some of these Clothes that shall go hereafter, be bought with my Mony, and so carried to *Southampton* to be there uttered.

To the eighth Point.

1. *Bruges*, where the Mart was before, stood not on the River of Rhine, nor *Antwerp* doth not neither stand on that River.

2. *Frankfort* Mart may well ſtand for a Fair in *Almain*, although *Southampton* ſerve for all Nations that lie on the Sea-ſide; for few of thoſe come to *Frankfort* Mart.

Number 5.

Windſor, Sept. 23. *Sexto Edwardi Sexti.* 1552.

The Method in which the Council repreſented Matters of State to the King. An Original. Written by Sir William Cecil, *Secretary of State.*

Queſtions.

1. *Whether the King's Majeſty ſhall enter into the Aid of the Emperor?*

Anſw. *He ſhall.*

A Pacto.

1. THe King is bound by the Treaty; and if he will be helped by that Treaty, he muſt do the Reciproque.

A periculo vitando.

2. If he do not Aid, the Emperor is like to Ruin, and conſequently the Houſe of *Burgundy* come to the French Poſſeſſion, which is perilous to *England*; and herein the greatneſs of the French King is dreadful.

Religio Chriſtiana.

3. The French King bringeth the Turk into Chriſtendom, and therefore that exploit to be ſtaied.

Periculum violati pacti.

4. If the Emperor, for Extremity, ſhould agree now with the French, then our Peril were double greater. 1. The Emperor's Offence for lack of Aid. 2. The French King's Enterpriſes towards us; and in this Peace, the Biſhop of *Rome*'s devotion towards us.

Pro Repub. & Patria.

5. Merchants be ſo evil uſed, that both for the loſs of Goods and Honour, ſome Remedy muſt be ſought.

Pericula conſequentia.

6. The French King's Proceedings be ſuſpicious to the Realm, by breaking and burning of our Ships, which be the old ſtrength of this Iſle.

Declaration of *Stuckley*'s Tale.

Anſwer, *He ſhall not.*

Difficile quaſi impoſſibile.

1. The Aid is to be chargeable for the Coſt, and almoſt to be executed is impoſſible.

Solitudo in periculis.

2. If the Emperor ſhould die in this Confederacy, we ſhould be left alone in the War.

Amicorum ſuſpitio vitanda.

3. It may be the German Proteſtants might be more offended with this Conjunction with the Emperor, doubting their own Cauſes.

Sperandum bene ab amicis.

4. The Amity with *France* is to be hoped will amend and continue; and the Commiſſioners coming may perchance reſtore.

Corro-

Corrolarium *of a mean way.*

Judicium.

1. So to help the Emperor, as we may alſo join with other Chriſtian Princes, and conſpire againſt the French King, as a common Enemy to Chriſtendom.

Reaſons for the Common Conjunction.

1. The Cauſe is common, and therefore there will be more Parties to it. — Auxilia communia.
2. It ſhall avoid the chargeable entry into Aid with the Emperor, according to the Treaties. — Sumptus vitandi.
3. If the Emperor ſhould die or break off, yet it is moſt likely ſome of the other Princes and Parties will remain, ſo as the King's Majeſty ſhall not be alone. — Amicorum copia.
4. The Friendſhip ſhall much advance the King's other Cauſes in Chriſtendom. — Dignitas cauſæ.
5. It ſhall be moſt honourable to break with the French King for this common Quarrel of Chriſtendom. — Pro fide & Religione.

Reaſons againſt this Conjunction.

1. The Treaty muſt be with ſo many Parties, that it can neither be ſpeedily or ſecretly concluded. — Inter multos nihil ſecretum.
2. If the Matter be revealed, and nothing concluded, then conſider the French King's Offence, and ſo may he at his leaſure be provoked to practiſe the like Conjunction againſt *England* with all the Papiſts. — Amicitiæ irritate.

Concluſion.

1. The Treaty to be made with the Emperor, and by the Emperor's means with other Princes. — *The King's Hand.*
2. The Emperor's Acceptation to be underſtanded, before we treat any thing againſt the French King.

Number 6.

A Method for the Proceedings in the Council, written with King Edward's *Hand.*

The Names of the whole Council.

The Biſhop of *Canterbury.*
The Bp of *Ely* Lord Chancellor.
The Lord Treaſurer.
The Duke of *Northumberland.*
The Lord Privy-Seal.
The Duke of *Suffolk.*
The Marqueſs of *Northampton.*
The Earl of *Shrewsbury.*
The Earl of *Weſtmoreland.*
The Earl of *Huntington.*
The Earl of *Pembrook.*
The Viſcount *Hereford.*
The Lord Admiral.
The Lord Chamberlain.
The Lord *Cobham.*
The Lord *Rich.*
Mr. Comptroller.
Mr. Treaſurer.
Mr. Vicechamberlain.
Mr. Secretary *Petre.*
Mr. Secretary *Cecil.*
Sir *Philip Hobbey.*
Sir *Robert Bowes.*
Sir *John Gage.*
Sir *John Maſon.*
Mr. *Ralph Sadler.*
Sir *John Baker.*
Judg *Broomley.*
Judg *Montague.*
Mr. *Wotton.*
Mr. *North.*

Thoſe that be now called in Commiſſion.

The Biſhop of *London.*
The Biſhop of *Norwich.*
Sir *Thomas Wroth.*
Sir *Richard Cotton.*
Sir *Walter Mildmay.*
Mr. Sollicitor.
Mr. *Goſnold.*
Mr. *Cook.*
Mr. *Lucas.*

The Counſellors above-named to be thus divided into ſeveral Commiſſions and Charges.

First, For hearing of thoſe Suits which were wont to be brought to the whole Board.

The Lord Privy-Seal.
The Lord Chamberlain.
The Biſhop of *London.*
The Lord *Cobham.*
Mr. *Hobbey.*
Sir *John Maſon.*
Sir *Ralph Sadler.*
Mr. *Wotton.*
Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Lucas*, } Maſters of Requeſts.

Thoſe Perſons to hear the Suits, to anſwer the Parties, to make Certificate what Suits they think meet to be granted; and upon anſwer received of their Certificate received, to diſpatch the Parties: Alſo to give full anſwer of denial to thoſe Suits that be not reaſonable nor convenient: Alſo to diſpatch all Matters of Juſtice, and to ſend to the common Courts thoſe Suits that be for them.

The

The Calling of Forfeits done againſt the Laws, for puniſhing the Offenders and breakers of Proclamations that now ſtand in force.

The Lord Privy-Seal.	Mr. *Hobbey.*
The Earl of *Pembrook.*	Mr. *Wotton.*
The Lord Chamberlain.	Mr. *John Baker.*
Sir *Thomas Wroth.*	Mr. Sollicitor.
Sir *Robert Bowes.*	Mr. *Goſnald.*
Mr. Secretary *Petre.*	

Theſe ſhall firſt ſee what Laws Penal, and what Proclamations, ſtanding now in force, are moſt meet to be executed, and ſhall bring a Certificate thereof. Then they ſhall enquire in the Countries how they are diſobeyed, and firſt, ſhall begin with the greateſt Offenders, and ſo afterward puniſh the reſt, according to the pains ſet forth. They ſhall receive alſo the Letters out of the Shires, of Diſorders there done, and puniſh the Offenders.

For the State.

The Biſhop of *Canterbury.*	The Lord Admiral.
The Lord Chancellor.	The Viſcount *Hereford.*
The Lord Treaſurer.	The Lord Chamberlain.
The Duke of *Northumberland.*	Mr. Vicechamberlain.
The Duke of *Suffolk.*	Mr. Treaſurer and Comptroller.
The Lord Privy-Seal.	Mr. *Cecil.*
The Marqueſs of *Northampton.*	Mr. *Petre.*
The Earl of *Shrewsbury.*	Mr. *Wotton.*
The Earl of *Pembrook.*	Sir *Philip Hobbey.*
The Earl of *Weſtmoreland.*	Sir *Robert Bowes.*

Theſe to attend the Matters of the State. I will ſit with them once a week to hear the debating of things of moſt importance.

Theſe Perſons under-written ſhall look to the ſtate of all the Courts, eſpecially of the new erected Courts, as the *Augmentation*, the *Firſt Fruits* and *Tythes*, the *Wards*; and ſhall ſee the Revenues anſwered at the half Years end, and ſhall conſider with what ſuperfluous Charges they be burdened, and thereof ſhall make a Certificate which they ſhall deliver.

The Lord Chamberlain.	Sir *Richard Cotton.*
The Biſhop of *Norwich.*	Sir *Walter Mildmay.*
Sir *Thomas Wroth.*	Mr. *Goſnald.*
Sir *Robert Bowes.*	

I underſtand it is a Member of the Commiſſion that followeth, but yet thoſe ſhall do well to do it for the preſent, becauſe the other ſhall have no leaſure till they have called in the Debts; after which done, they may ſit with them.

Thoſe

Thoſe that now be in Commiſſion for the Debts, to take Accompts of all Paiments ſince the 35*th* of the King that dead is, after that they have done this Commiſſion they are now in hand with.

Likewiſe for the Bullwarks, the Lord Chamberlain, Mr. Treaſurer, and Mr. Comptroller, to be in Commiſſion in their ſeveral Juriſdictions.

The reſt of the Council, ſome go home to their Countries ſtraight after the Parliament; ſome be ſore ſick that they ſhall not be able to attend any thing, which when they come, they ſhall be admitted of the Council. Alſo that theſe Councils ſit apart. Alſo that thoſe of the Council that have theſe ſeveral Commiſſions.

Deſunt quædam.

15. *Jan.* 1552.

This ſeems not to be the King's Hand, but is interlined in many places by him.

Certain Articles deviſed and delivered by the King's Majeſty, for quicker, better, and more orderly diſpatch of Cauſes, by his Majeſty's Privy Council.

Cotton Libr. *Nero* C. 10.

1. HIs Majeſty willeth, that all Suits, Petitious, and common Warrants delivered to his Privy-Council, be conſidered by them on the *Mundays* in the Morning, and anſwered alſo on the *Saturdays* in Afternoon; and that that day, and none others, be aſſigned to that purpoſe.

2. That in anſwering theſe Suits and Bills of Petition, heed be taken that ſo many of them as pertain to any Court of his Majeſty's Laws be as much as may be referred to thoſe Courts where by order they are triable; ſuch as cannot be ended without them, be with expedition determined.

3. That in making of thoſe Warrants for Mony that paſs by them, it be foreſeen that thoſe Warrants be not ſuch as may already be diſpatcht by Warrant *dormant*, leſt by means of ſuch Warrants, the Accompts ſhould be uncertain.

*Provided that on *Sundays* they be preſent at Common-Prayer.

4. His Majeſty's pleaſure is, That on the * *Sundays*, they intend the Publick Affairs of this Realm; they diſpatch Anſwers to Letters for the good order of the Realm, and make full Diſpatches of all Things concluded the Week before.

5. That on the *Sunday* Night, the Secretaries, or one of them, ſhall deliver to his Majeſty a Memorial of ſuch Things as are to be debated by his Privy-Council, and then his Majeſty to appoint certain of them to be debated on ſeveral days, *viz.* *Munday* Afternoon, *Tueſday*, *Wedneſday*, *Thurſday*, *Friday*, Morning.

6. That

6. That on *Friday* at Afternoon, they shall make a Collection of such things as have been done the four days past; how many of those Articles they have concluded; how many they debated but not ended; how many the time suffered not to peruse; and also the principal Reasons that moved them to conclude on such Matters as seemeth doubtful.

7. That on *Saturday* Morning they shall present this Collection to his Majesty, and know his Pleasure upon such things as they have concluded, and also upon all the private Suits.

8. That on *Sunday* Night again, his Majesty having received of the Secretaries such new Matters as hath arisen upon new occasion with such Matters as his Council have left, some not determined, and some not debated, shall appoint what Matters, and on which days shall be determined, the next week following.

9. That none of them departed his Court for longer than two days, without there be left here at the least eight of the Council, and that not without giving notice thereof to the King's Majesty.

10. That they shall make no manner of Assembly or Meeting in Council, without there be to the number of four at the least.

11. Furthermore, if they be assembled to the number of four, and under the number of six, then they shall reason and debate things, examine all Inconveniences and Dangers, and also Commodities on each side; make those things plain which seem diffuse at the first opening; and if they agree amongst themselves, then at the next full Assembly of six, they shall make a perfect conclusion and end with them.

12. Also if there rise such matter of weight, as it shall please the King's Majesty himself to be at the debating of, then warning shall be given, whereby the more may be at the debating of it.

13. If such Matter shall happen to rise as shall require long debating or reasoning, or e're it come to a full conclusion or end, then his Majesty's Council shall not intermeddle other Causes, nor fall to other Matters for that day, until they have brought it to some end.

14. When Matters for lack of time be only debated, and yet brought to no end, then it shall be noted how far, and to what Point the Matter is brought, and which have been the principal Reasons on each side, to the intent when the Matter is treated or spoken of again, it may the sooner and easilier come to conclusion.

15. In Matters that be long, tedious, and busy, there may be pointed or chosen two or three, more or less, as the case shall seem to require, to prepare, set forth, and make plain the Matters, and to bring report thereof, whereby the things being less cumbrous and diffuse, may the easilier be dispatcht.

Finally;

Finally; If upon Advertiſements, Letters, or other occaſion whatſoever there ariſe, Matters of great Importance, that require haſte, his Majeſty's meaning is not, but that ſuch Matters be waved, conſidered, and determined, notwithſtanding the Articles pointed to ſeveral days, ſo that nevertheleſs this Order be not generally or commonly broken.

17. That all Warrants for Reward above 40 *l.* and for his Buſineſs or Affairs above 100 *l.* paſs not but under his Signature.

18. That no private Suit be intermedled with the great Affairs, but heard on the *Mundays* before.

19. If there be under four, and a Matter of Expedition ariſe, they ſhall declare it to the King's Majeſty, and before him debate it, but not ſend anſwer without it require wonderful haſte.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

Number 1.

The Character of EDWARD *the Sixth, as it is given by* Cardanus, *lib.* 12. de Genituris, de Genitura *Edwardi* Sexti.

ADerant enim illi gratiæ; Linguas enim multas adhuc Puer callebat: Latinam, Anglicam patriam, Gallicam; non expers, ut audio, Græcæ, Italicæ & Hiſpanicæ, & forſan aliarum: Non illi dialectica deerat, non Naturalis Philoſophiæ principia, non [illegible]: Mortalitatis noſtræ imago, gravitas Regiæ Majeſtatis, indoles [illegible] Principe digna; In univerſum magno miraculo humanarum re[illegible], tanti ingenii & tantæ expectationis, Puer educabatur. Non hæc [illegible]torice exornata veritatem excedunt, ſed ſunt minora.

And afterwards.

Fuit in hoc monſtrificus puellus: hic linguas jam ſeptem, ut audio, [illegible]udicerat; propriam, Gallicam & Latinam exacte tenebat. Dia[illegible]icæ non expers, & ad omnia docilis. Cum illo congreſſus, decimum [illegible]atum adhuc agebat annum, interrogavit, (Latinè non minus quam [illegible]go polite & prompte loquebatur) quid contineant libri tui de rerum [illegible]ietate rari? Hos enim nomini M. S. dedicaveram. Tum ego, Co[illegible]tarum primum cauſam, diu fruſtra quæſitam, in primo capite oſtendo. [illegible]gnam, inquit ille? Concurſus, ego aio, luminis, erraticorum ſyde[illegible]m. At Rex, Quomodo cum diverſis motibus aſtra moveantur, non [illegible]im diſſipatur aut movetur illorum motu? At ego, Movetur equidem, [illegible]d longe celerius illis, ob diverſitatem aſpectus, velut in Chriſtallo & [illegible]ic cum iris in pariete relucet. Parva enim mutatio magnam facit loci [illegible]fferentiam. At Rex, Et quonam pacto abſque ſubjecto illud fieri [illegible]poteſt, iridi enim paries ſubjectum? Tum ego, velut in lactea via, & [illegible]rium reflectione, cum plures candelæ prope accenſæ medium quod[illegible]m lucidum & candidum efficiunt. Itaq; ex ungue leonem, ut dici [illegible]et. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum ex-

pectatione ob ingenuitatem atq; ſuavitatem morum. Prius ceperat ſa-
vere artibus quam noſceret, & noſcere antequam uti poſſet. Conatu
quidam humanæ conditionis quem non ſolum Anglia, ſed orbis, erep-
tum immature deflere debet. Plurimum educationi debueramus, pla
ereptum eſt hominum dolo, fraudeve. O quam bene dixerat ille,

Immodicis brevis eſt ætas & rara ſenectus.

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum.

Flete nefas magnum, ſed toto flebitis orbe
Mortales, veſter corruit omnis honor;
Nam regum decus, & juvenum flos, ſpeſq; bonorum,
Delitiæ ſæcli, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis Lachrymis, doctæq; Minervæ
Floſculus, heu miſere concidis ante diem!
Te tumulo dabimus Muſæ, ſupremaq; flentes
Munera, Melpomene triſtia fata cavet.

Ubi gravitas Regia requirebatur, ſenem vidiſſes, ut blandus erat &
comis ætatem referebat. Cheli pulſabat, publicis negotiis admovebatur,
liberalis animo, atq; in his patrem æmulabatur. Qui dum nimium bo-
nus eſſe ſtuduit, malus videri poterat: ſed a filio aberat ſuſpicio crimi-
nis, indoles Philophiæ ſtudiis exculta fuit.

Number 2.

The Commiſſion which the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury took out *for his Arch-Biſhoprick.*

Regiſt. *Cran.* Fol. 28.

EDwardus ſextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex,
Fidei Defenſor, ac in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ Supre-
mum Caput, Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri, ac prædicto Conſiliario
noſtro, Thomæ Cant. Archiep. ſalutem. Quandoquidem omnis juris
dicendi Autoritas, atq; etiam juriſdictio omnimodo; tum illa quæ Ec-
cleſiaſtica dicitur, quam ſecularis, a regia Poteſtate velut a ſupremo
Capite, ac omnium Magiſtratuum infra Regnum noſtrum, fonte & ſcа-
turigine primitus emanaverit; ſane illos qui juriſdictionem hujuſmo-
di antehac non niſi præcario fungebantur beneficium hujuſmodi
ſic eis ex liberalitate Regia indultum gratis animis agnoſcere, idque
Regiæ munificentiæ ſolummodo acceptum referre, eique, quoties eius
Majeſtati videbitur, cedere convenit. Nos tuis in hac parte ſuppli-
cationibus humilibus inclinati, & noſtrorum ſubditorum commodis con-
ſulere cupientes. Tibi vices noſtras ſub modo & forma inferius de-
ſcriptis committend. fore; teque licentiand. eſſe decernimus ad Ordi-
nand. igitur quoſcunque infra Dioceſ. tuam Cant. ubicunque Ordi-
dos, quos, moribus & literatura prævio diligenti & rigoroſo examine
idoneos fore compereris, ac ad omnes etiam ſacros & Preſbyteratus Or-
dines promovend. ordinand. præſentatoſque ad beneficia Eccleſiaſtica
quæcunque infra Dioc. tuam Cant. conſtituta, ſi ad curam Beneficii
hujuſmodi imminentem ſuſtinend. habiles reperti fuerint & idonei, ac
non

non aliter admittend. ac in & de eiſdem inſtituend. & inveſtiend. ac etiam ſi res ita exigat, deſtituend. Beneficiaq; Eccleſiaſtica quæcunq; ad tuam collationem ſive diſpoſitionem ſpectantia & pertinentia Perſonis idoneis conferend. atque approband. teſtamenta & ultimas voluntates. Necnon adminiſtrationes committend. bonorum quorumcunq; ſubditorum noſtrorum ab inteſtat decedend. quorum bona jura ſive credita in diverſis Dioc. ſive juriſdictionibus, aut alibi juxta conſuetudinem Curiæ Prærogativæ Cant. vitæ & mortis ſuarum tempore habentium calculumque & ratiocinium, & alia in ea parte expediend. teſtamentaque & adminiſtrationes, quorumcunque tuæ Dioc. ut prius approband. & committend. cauſaſque lites & negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendend. Indeciſas, necnon alias ſive alia quaſcunque ſive quæcunq; ad forum Eccleſiaſticum pertinend. ad te aut tuos deputatos ſive deputandos per veſtram querelæ, aut appellationis devolvend. ſive deducend. quæ citra legum noſtrarum & Statutorum Regni noſtri offenſionem coram te aut tuis deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam ſive alicujus Commiſſariorū per te vigore hujus Commiſſionis jure deputandorum cognitione devolvi aut deduci valeant, & poſſunt examinand. & decidend. Ceteraque omnia & ſingula in Præmiſſis, ſeu circa ea neceſſaria, ſeu quomodolibet opportuna, per & ultra ea quæ tibi ex Sacris Literis divinitus Commiſſa eſſe dignoſcuntur, vice, nomine & Autoritate noſtris exequend. Tibi de cujus ſana Doctrina, Conſcientiæ puritate, vitæ & morum integritate, ac in rebus gerundis fide & induſtria plurimum confidimus, vices noſtras cum poteſtate alium vel alios, Commiſſarium vel Commiſſarios, ad præmiſſa vel eorum aliqua ſurrogand. & ſubſtituend. eoſdemque ad placitum revocand. tenore præſentium Committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus, teq; licentiamus per præſentes ad noſtrum beneplacitum duntaxat duraturas cum cujuſlibet congrue & Eccleſiaſt. coercionis poteſtate, quacunq; inhibitione ante dat. præſentium emanata in aliquo non obſtante, tuam Conſcientiam coram Deo ſtrictiſſime onerantes, & ut ſummo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere, & coram nobis tuo ſub periculo corporali, reſpondere intendis te admonentes, ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie & ſancte exercere ſtudeas, & ne quem ullo tempore unquam ad ſacros Ordines promoveas; vel ad curam animarum gerendam quovismodo admittas; niſi eos duntaxat quos & tanti & tam venerabilis officii functionem, vitæ & morum Integritas notiſſimis teſtimoniis approbata, literarum ſcientia & aliæ qualitates requiſitæ ad hoc habiles & idoneos clare & luculenter oſtenderint & declaraverint. Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumq; habemus morum omnium & maxime Chriſtianæ Religionis corruptelam, a malis paſtoribus in populum emanaſſe, ſic & veram Chriſti Religionem vitæq; & morum emendationem a bonis paſtoribus iterum delectis & aſſumptis in integrum reſtitutum iri haud dubie ſperamus. In cujus rei teſtimonium præſentes Literas noſtras fieri fecimus, & ſigilli noſtri quo ad cauſas Eccleſiaſticas utimur appenſione fecimus communire. Datum ſeptimo die menſis Februarii, Anno Dom. millesimo quingenteſimo quadrageſimo ſexto & Regni noſtri Anno primo.

Number 3.

The Councils Letter to the Justices of Peace.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

AFter our right hearty Commendations: where the most Noble King, of famous memory, our late Soveraign Lord and Master King *Henry* the 8*th*, (whom God pardon) upon the great Trust which his Majesty had in your virtuous Wisdoms and good Dispositions to the Common-Wealth of this Realm, did specially name and appoint you, among others, by his Commissions under his Great Seal of *England*, to be Conservatours and Justices of his Peace, within that his County of *Norfolk*. Forasmuch as the same Commissions were dissolved by his decease, it hath pleased the King's Majesty, our Soveraign Lord that now is, by the Advice and Consent of us, the Lord Protector and others, Executors to our said late Soveraign Lord, whose Names be underwritten; to whom, with others, the Government of his most Royal Person, and the Order of his Affairs, is by his last Will and Testament committed, till he shall be of full Age of eighteen Years, to cause new Commissions again to be made for the conservation of his Peace throughout this Realm, whereof you shall by this Bearer receive one for that County. And for that the good and diligent execution of the Charge committed to you and others by the same, shall be a notable Surety to the King, our Soveraign Lord's Person that now is, to whom God give increase of Vertue, Honour, and many Years, a most certain Stay to the Common-Wealth, which must needs prosper where Justice hath place and reigneth: We shall desire you, and in his Majesty's Name charge and command you, upon the receit hereof, with all diligence, to assemble your selves together; and calling unto you all such others as be named in the said Commission. You shall first cry and call to God to give you Grace to execute this Charge committed unto you with all Truth and Uprightness, according to your Oaths, which you shall endeavour your selves to do in all things appertaining to your Office accordingly: in such sort as all private Malice, Sloth, Negligence, Displeasure, Disdain, Corruption, and sinister Affections set apart, it may appear you have God, and the preservation of your Soveraign Lord, and natural Country before your Eyes; and that you forget not that by the same, your Selves, your Wives, and your Children, shall surely prosper and be also preserved. For the better doing whereof, you shall at this your first Assembly, make a division of your selves into Hundreds or Wapentakes; that is to say, Two at the least, to have especial eye and regard to the good Rule and Order of that, or those Hundreds, to see the Peace duly kept, to see Vagabonds and Perturbers of the Peace punished, and that every Man apply himself to do as his Calling doth require; and in all things to keep good Order, without alteration, innovation, or contempt of any thing that by the Laws of our late Soveraign Lord is prescribed and set forth unto us, for the better direction and framing of our selves towards God and honest

honeſt Policy. And if any Perſon, or Perſons, whom ye ſhall think you cannot Rule and Order, without trouble to this Country, ſhall preſume to do the contrary, upon your Information to us thereof, we ſhall ſo aid and aſſiſt you in the execution of Juſtice, and the punishment of all ſuch contemptuous Offenders, as the ſame ſhall be example to others. And further, his Majeſty's Pleaſure, by the Advice and Conſent aforeſaid is, That you ſhall take ſuch Orders amongſt you, as you fail not once every ſix weeks, till you ſhall be otherwiſe commanded, to write unto the ſaid Lord Protector, and others of the Privy-Council, in what ſtate that Shire ſtandeth; and whether any notable things have happened, or were like to happen, in thoſe Parts, that you cannot redreſs, which would be ſpeedily met withal and looked unto; or whether you ſhall need any advice or counſel, to the intent we may put our hands to the ſtay and reformation of it in the beginning, as appertains: Praying you alſo to take order, That every Commiſſioner in the Shire may have a Double, or a Copy of this Letter, both for his own better Inſtruction, and to ſhew to the Gentlemen, and ſuch others as inhabit in the Hundreds, ſpecially appointed to them, that every Man may the better conform himſelf to do Truth, and help to the advancement of Juſtice according to their moſt bounden Duties, and as they will anſwer for the contrary. Thus fare you well. From the *Tower* of *London*, the 12*th* of *February*.

Your loving Friends,

E. Hertford.

T. Cantuarien. *Thomas Wriothelſey* Cancel. *W. St. John.*

J. Ruſſel. *Cuth. Dureſme.*
Anthony Brown. *William Paget.*
Anthony Denny. *W. Herbert.*
Edward North.

Number 4.

The Order for the Coronation of King *Edward*.

Sunday, Feb. 13. at the *Tower*, &c.

This day the Lord Protector, and others his Executors, whoſe Names be hereunto aſcribed, upon mature and deep deliberation had among them, did finally reſolve, That foraſmuch as divers of the old Obſervances and Ceremonies afore-times uſed at the Coronations of the Kings of this Realm, were by them thought meet, for ſundry reſpects, to be corrected; and namely, for the tedious length of the ſame, which ſhould weary and be hurtſome peradventure to the King's Majeſty, being yet of tender Age, fully to endure and bide out. And alſo for that many Points of the ſame were ſuch as by the Laws of the Realm at this preſent were not allowable. The King's Majeſty's Coronation Ex Libro Concilii.

nation ſhould be done and celebrated upon *Shrove-Sunday* next enſuing, in the Cathedral Church of *Weſtminſter*, after the Form and Order enſuing.

Firſt; The Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* ſhall ſhew the King to the People at four parts of the great Pulpit or Stage to be made for the King, and ſhall ſay on this wiſe; *Sirs, Here I preſent King* Edward *rightful and undoubted Inheritor, by the Laws of God and Man, to the Royal Dignity and Crown Imperial of this Realm, whoſe Conſecration, Inunction, and Coronation, is appointed by all the Nobles and Peers of this Land to be this day. Will ye ſerve at this time, and give your good-will and aſſents to the ſame Conſecration, Inunction, and Coronation, as by your Duty of Allegiance ye be bound to do?*

The People to Anſwer, *Yea, Yea, Yea*; *King* Edward, *King* Edward, *King* Edward.

This done, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, being reveſted as he ſhould go to Maſs, with the Biſhops of *London* and *Wincheſter* on both ſides, with other Biſhops, and the Dean of *Weſtminſter* in the Biſhop's abſence, to go in order before the King; the King ſhall be brought from his Seat by them that aſſiſted him to the Church to the high Altar, where after his Prayer made to God for his Grace, he ſhall offer a Pall and a pound of Gold, 24 pound in Coin, which ſhall be to him delivered by the Lord Great Chamberlain. Then ſhall the King lie groveling before the Altar, and over him the Arch-biſhop ſhall ſay this Collect, *Deus humilium*, &c. Then the King ſhall riſe and go to his Chair, to be prepared before the Altar, his Face to the Altar, and ſtanding, one ſhall hold him a Book; and the Arch-biſhop ſtanding before the King, ſhall ask him, with a loud and diſtinct Voice, in Manner and Form following.

Will ye grant to keep to the People of England, *and others your Realms and Dominions, the Laws and Liberties of this Realm, and others your Realms and Dominions?*

I grant and promit.

You ſhall keep, to your Strength and Power, to the Church of God, and to all the People, holy Peace and Concord.

I ſhall keep.

You ſhall make to be done, after your Strength and Power, equal and rightful Juſtice in all your Dooms and Judgments, with Mercy and Truth.

I ſhall do.

Do you grant to make no Laws, but ſuch as ſhall be to the Honour and Glory of God, and to the Good of the Common-Wealth; and that the ſame ſhall be made by the conſent of your People, as hath been accuſtomed.

I grant and promit.

Then ſhall the King riſe out of his Chair, and by them that before aſſiſted him, be led to the High Altar, where he ſhall make a ſolemn Oath upon the Sacrament, laid upon the ſaid Altar, in the ſight of all the

the People, to observe the Premisses; and laying his Hand again on the Book, shall say;

The things which I have before promised, I shall observe and keep. So God help me, and those Holy Evangelists by Me bodily touched upon this Holy Altar.

That done, the King shall fall again groveling before the High Altar, and the said Arch-bishop kneeling before him, shall, with a loud Voice, begin *Veni Creator Spiritus*, &c.

Which done, the said Arch-bishop standing, shall say over the King, *Te invocamus*; and at the end shall kneel again, and then shall the King rise and be set in the Chair again; and after a little pause he shall rise, and assisted with those that did before that Office, go again to the High Altar, where he shall be uncloathed by his Great Chamberlain unto his Coat of Crimson Satin; which, and also his Shirt, shall be opened before and behind on the Shoulders, and the bowght of the Arms, by the said Great Chamberlain, to the intent that on those Places he be anointed; and whiles he is in the anointing, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and Sir *William Herbert*, must hold a Pall over him. And first, The said Arch-bishop shall anoint the King, kneeling, in the Palms of his Hands, saying these words, *Ungas Manus*; with this Collect, *Respice Omnipotens Deus*. After he shall anoint him in the Brest, in the midst of his back, on his two Bowghts of his Arms, and on his Head making a Cross; and after making another Cross on his Head, with Holy Chrism, saying as he anointeth the places aforesaid, *Ungatur Caput, ungantur scapulæ*, &c. During which time of Unction, the Quire shall continually sing, *Ungebant Regem*, and the Psalm, *Domine in virtute tua lætabitur Rex*. And it is to be remembred, that the Bishop or Dean of *Westminster*, after the King's Inunction, shall dry all the Places of his Body, where he was anointed, with Cotton, or some Linnen Cloth, which is to be burnt. And furthermore the places opened for the same, is to be cloathed by the Lord Great Chamberlain; and on the King's Hands shall be put, by the said Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, a pair of Linnen Gloves, which the Lord Great Chamberlain shall before see prepared.

This done, the King shall rise, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* shall put on the King a Tabert of Tanterton-white, shaped in manner of a Dalmatick; and he shall put upon the King's Head a Quoif, the same to be brought by the Great Chamberlain. Then the King shall take the Sword he was girt withal, and offer it himself to God, laying it on the Altar, in token that his Strength and Power should first come from God. And the same Sword he shall take again from the Altar, and deliver to some great Earl, to be redeemed of the Bishop or Dean of *Westminster* for 100 *s.* which Sword shall be born naked afterwards before the King.

Then the King being set in his Chair before the Altar, shall be crowned with St. *Edward*'s Crown; and there shall be brought, by the Bishop or Dean of *Westminster*, Royal Sandals and Spurs to be presently put on by the Lord Great Chamberlain; and the Spurs again immediately taken off, that they do not encumber him.

Then the Arch-Bishop, with all the Peers and Nobles, shall convey the King, sustained as before, again into the Pulpit, setting him in his Siege

Siege Royal; and then ſhall the Arch-biſhop begin, *Te Deum Landamus*, which done, the Arch-biſhop ſhall ſay unto the King, *Sta & retine modo locum.* And the King being thus ſet, all the Peers of the Realm, and Biſhops, holding up their Hands, ſhall make unto him Homage as followeth: firſt, the Lord-Protector alone, then the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Chancellor, ſo two and two as they be placed.

J. N. *become your Liege Man, of Life and Limb, and of earthly Worſhip, and Faith, and Truth, I ſhall bear unto you, againſt all manner of Folks, as I am bound by my Allegiance, and by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. So help me God and Allhallowes.* And then every one ſhall kiſs the King's left Cheek; which done, all they holding up their hands together, in token of their Fidelity, ſhall with one Voice on their Knees ſay. *We offer to ſuſtain and defend you and your Crown, with our Lives, and Lands, and Goods, againſt all the World.* And then with one Voice to cry, *God ſave King* Edward; which the People ſhall cry accordingly. Then ſhall the King be led to his Travers to hear the High Maſs, and ſo depart home crowned in Order, as he ſet forth accordingly.

E. *Hertford.*

T. Cantuarien. Tho. Wriotheſley, Cancel. *W. St. John. J. Roſſ. John Liſle. Cuth. Dureſme. Anthony Brown. W. Paget. Antony Denny. W. Herbert.*

Number 5.

The Commiſſion for which the Lord Chancellor was deprived of his Office; with the Opinion of the Judges concerning it.

Ex Libro Concilii. *Fol.* 49.

EDwardus ſextus Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, Fidei Defenſor; & in terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ ſupremum Caput, dilectis & fidelibus Conſiliariis ſuis, Roberto Southwell Militi, cuſtodi ac Magiſtro Rotulorum Cancellariæ noſtræ, & Johanni Tregonwell Armigero uni Magiſtrorum Cancellariæ noſtræ prædictæ, & dilectis ſibi Johanni Olyver Clerico, & Antonio Bellaſis Clerico, Magiſtris ejuſdem Cancellariæ noſtræ ſalutem. Quia prædilectus & fidelis conſanguineus noſter Thomas Comes Southampton Cancellarius noſter Angliæ, noſtris arduis negotiis ex mandato noſtro continuo intendens, in eiſdem adeo verſatur, quod ad ea quæ in Curia Cancellariæ noſtræ, in cauſis & materiis inter diverſos ligeos & ſubditos noſtros ibidem pendentibus, tractand. audiend. diſcutiend. & terminand. ſecut ut fieri debeant, ad præſens non ſufficiat: volentes proinde in ejuſdem Cancellarii noſtri abſentia omnibus ligeis & ſubditis noſtris quibuſcunque, quaſcunque materias ſuas in Curia Cancellariæ noſtræ prædictæ proſequentibus, plenam & celerem juſtitiam exhiberi, ac de fidelitatibus, & providis circumſpectionibus veſtris plenius confidentes, aſſignavimus vos tres, & duos veſtrum, ac tenore præſentium damus vobis tribus & duobus, plenam poteſtatem & autoritatem audiendi & examinandi quaſ-

quaſcunq; materias, cauſas, & Petitiones coram nobis in Cancellaria noſtra, inter quoſcunq; ligeos & ſubditos noſtros nunc pendentes, & in poſterum ibidem exhibend. & pendend. & eaſdem materias, cauſas & Petitiones, juxta ſanas veſtras diſcretiones, finaliter terminand. & debitæ executioni demandand. parteſq; in materiis ſive cauſis vel Petitionibus illis nominatis & ſpecificatis ad teſtes & alios quoſcunque, quos vobis fore videbitur, evocandos, quoties expedire videbitis coram vobis tribus vel duobus veſtrum evocandos; & ipſos & eorum quemlibet debite examinari compellend. dieſque productorios imponend. & aſſignand. proceſſuſq; quoſcunq; in ea parte neceſſarios concedend. & fieri faciend. contemptus etiam quoſcunq; ibidem commiſſos ſive perpetratos, debite caſtigand. & puniend. cæteraq; omnia & ſingula faciend. & exequend. quæ circa præmiſſa neceſſaria fuerint; ſeu quomodolibet opportuna: Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa præmiſſa diligenter attendatis, ac ea faciatis, & exequamini cum effectu. Mandamus etiam tenore præſentium omnibus & ſingulis Officiariis & Miniſtris noſtris curiæ noſtræ prædictæ, quod vobis tribus, & duobus voſtrum in executione præmiſſorum diligenter intendant, prout decet: Volumus enim & per præſentes concedimus, quod omnia & ſingula judicia ſive finalia decreta per vos tres vel duos veſtrū ſuper hujuſmodi cauſis, ſive materiis reddend. ſeu fiend. ſicut & eſſe debeant, tanti & conſimilis valoris, effectus, efficaciæ, roboris, & virtutis, ac ſi per Dominum Cancellarium Angliæ & Curiæ Cancellariæ prædictæ, reddita ſeu reddenda forent, proviſo ſemper, quod omnia & ſingula hujuſmodi judicia ſeu finalia decreta, per vos tres vel duos veſtrum, virtute præſentium reddend. ſeu fiend. manibus veſtris trium vel duorum veſtrum, ſubſcribantur & conſignentur, & ſuperinde eadem judicia ſive decreta præfato Cancellario noſtro præſententur & liberentur, ut idem Cancellarius noſter antequam irrotulentur, eadem ſimiliter manu ſua conſignet. In cujus rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſt. 18 die Feb. Anno Regni noſtri primo.

THE ſaid Students referring to the conſideration of the ſaid Proteſtor and Council, what the granting out of the ſaid Commiſſion without warrant did weigh; Foraſmuch as the ſaid Protector and Council minding the ſurety of the King's Majeſty, and a direct and upright proceeding in his Affairs, and the obſervation of their Duties in all things, as near as they can, to his Majeſty, with a deſire to avoid all things which might offend his Majeſty, or his Laws; and conſidering, that the ſaid Commiſſion was none of the things which they in their Aſſemblies in Council, at any time ſince the Death of the King's Majeſty late deceaſed, did accord to be paſſed under the Great Seal, ſave for their own Diſcharges required us, whoſe Names be underwritten, for the Opinion they have of our Knowledg and Experience in the Laws of this Realm, to conſider the ſaid Caſe of making of the ſaid Commiſſion without warrant; and after due conſideration thereof, to declare in writing to what the ſaid Caſe doth weigh in Law. We therefore, whoſe Names be under-written, after mature and adviſed conſultation and deliberation thereupon; do affirm and ſay, for our Knowledges and Determinations, That the ſaid Chancellor of *England* having made forth, under the Great Seal of *England*, without any

Warrant, the Commiſſion aforeſaid hath done, and doth by his ſo doing offend the King's Majeſty, hath and doth by the Common Law, forfeit his Office of Chancellor, and incurreth the Danger, Penalty, and Paiment, of ſuch Fine as it ſhall pleaſe the King's Majeſty, with the Adviſe of the ſaid Lord Protector and Council to ſet upon him for the ſame; with alſo Impriſonment of his Body at the King's Will: In Witneſs whereof we have ſet our Names to this Preſent, the laſt day of *February*, in the firſt Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King *Edward* the *6th*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and in Earth of the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland* the Supream Head; And have likewiſe, for more ample teſtimony of this our Opinion of, and upon the Premiſſes, put and ſubſcribed our Names to this preſent Duplicate of the ſame here aſſerted, in this preſent Act of this *6th* day of the month of *March* accordingly.

Number 6.

The Duke of Somerſet's *Commiſſion to be Protector.*

Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 62.

EDward the *6th*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland*, in Earth the Supream Head. Whereas our Council, and divers of the Nobles and Prelates of this our Realm of *England*, conſidering Our young and tender Age, have thought meet and expedient, as well for Our Education, and bringing up in Knowledge, Learning, and Exerciſes of Good and Godly Manners, Vertues, and Qualities, meet and neceſſary for a Prince of Our Eſtate, and whereby We ſhould, and may at Our full Age be the more able to miniſter and execute the Charge of our Kingly Eſtate and Office, committed unto Us by the Goodneſs of Almighty God, and left, and come unto Us, by right Inheritance, after and by the deceaſe of Our late Sovereign Lord and Father, of moſt famous Memory, King *Henry* the *8th*, whoſe Soul God pardon. As alſo to the intent, that during the time of our Minority, the great and weighty Cauſes of our Realms and Dominions may be ſet forth, conducted, paſſed, applied, and ordered, in ſuch ſort, as ſhall be moſt to the Glory of God, our Surety and Honour; and for the Weal, Benefit, and Commodity of Us, Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of all Our loving Subjects of the ſame, have adviſed Us to nominate, appoint, and authorize ſome one meet and truſty Perſonage, above all others, to take the ſpecial Care and Charge of the ſame for Us, and in our Name and Behalf; without the which the things before remembred could not, nor can be done ſo well as appertaineth. We therefore uſing their Advices and Counſels in this behalf, did heretofore aſſign and appoint our dear and well-beloved Uncle *Edward*, now Duke of *Somerſet*, Governour of our Perſon, and Protector of our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of our Subjects and People of the ſame. Which thing, albeit We have already declared heretofore, and our Pleaſure therein publiſhed by Word of our Mouth, in the preſence of Our ſaid Council, Nobles, and Prelats of

Our

Our ſaid Realm of *England*, and not by any Writing ſet forth under Our Seal for that only purpoſe. Yet for a more perfect and manifeſt knowledg, and further corroboration and underſtanding of Our determination in that behalf; and conſidering that no manner of Perſon is ſo meet to have and occupy the ſaid Charge and Adminiſtration, and to do Us ſervice in the ſame, as is Our ſaid Uncle *Edward*, Duke of *Somerſet*, eldeſt Brother to our Natural moſt gracious late Mother Queen *Jane*, as well for the proximity of Blood, whereby he is the more ſtirred to have ſpecial eye and regard to our Surety and good Education, in this our ſaid Minority; as alſo for the long and great experience which Our ſaid Uncle hath had in the Life-time of Our ſaid dear Father, in the Affairs of Our ſaid Realm and Dominions, both in time of Peace and War; whereby he is more able to Order and Rule Our ſaid Realms, Dominions, and Subjects of the ſame: and for the ſpecial confidence and truſt that We have in Our ſaid Uncle, as well with the Advice and Conſent of our Council, and other our Nobles and Prelats, as alſo of divers diſcreet and ſage Men that ſerved Our ſaid late Father in his Council and weighty Affairs; We therefore, by theſe Preſents, do not only ratify, approve, confirm, and allow, all and every thing and things whatſoever deviſed or ſet forth, committed or done by Our ſaid Uncle, as Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of the Subjects of the ſame, ſith the time he was by Us named, appointed, and ordained by Word Governor of Our Perſon, and Protector of Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of the Subjects of the ſame, as is aforeſaid, or otherwiſe any time before, ſithence the death of Our ſaid late Father. But alſo by theſe Preſents, We for a full and perfect Declaration of the Authority of Our ſaid Uncle, given and appointed as aforeſaid, do nominate, appoint, and ordain Our ſaid Uncle, Governor of Our ſaid Perſon, and Protector of Our ſaid Realms and Dominions, and of the Subjects of the ſame, until ſuch time as We ſhall have, by the ſufferance of God, accompliſhed the Age of eighteen Years.

And We alſo do grant to Our ſaid Uncle, by theſe Preſents, full Power and Authority, from time to time, until ſuch time as We ſhall have accompliſhed the ſaid of Age of eighteen Years, to do, procure, and execute, and cauſe to be done, procured, and executed, all and every ſuch Thing and Things, Act and Acts, which a Governor of the King's Perſon of this Realm, during his Minority, and a Protector of his Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, ought to do, procure, and execute, or cauſe to be done, procured, and executed; and alſo all and every other thing and things, which to the Office of a Governor of a King of this Realm, during his Minority, and of a Protector of his Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, in any wiſe appertaineth or belongeth. Willing, Authoriſing, and Commanding, Our ſaid Uncle, by theſe Preſents, to take upon him the Name, Title, and Authority of Governor of our Perſon, and Protector of our Realms, Dominions, and Subjects; and to do, procure, and execute, and cauſe to be done, procured and executed, from time to time, until We ſhall have accompliſhed the ſaid Age of eighteen Years, all and every Thing and Things, Act and Acts, of what Nature, Quality, or Effect ſoever they be or ſhall be, concerning our Affairs, Doings, and Proceedings, both

both Private and Publick, as well in Outward and Forreign Causes and Matters, as also concerning our Affairs, Doings, and Proceedings within Our said Realms and Dominions, or in any of them, or concerning any Manner, Causes, or Matters, of any of our Subjects of the same, in such like manner and form as shall be thought, by his Wisdom and Discretion, to be for the Honour, Surety, and Prosperity, good Order, Wealth, or Commodity of Us, or of any of Our said Realms and Dominions, or of the Subjects of any of the same.

And to the intent Our said Uncle should be furnished with Men qualified in Wit, Knowledg, and Experienee, for his Aid and Assistance, in the managing and accomplishment of Our said Affairs, We have, by the Advice and Consent of our said Uncle, and others, the Nobles, Prelats, and wise Men of Our said Realm of *England*, chosen, taken, and accepted, and by these Presents do chuse, take, accept, and ordain to be our Counsellors, and of our Council, the most Reverend Father in God, *Thomas* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and our right Trusty and well-beloved *William*, Lord *St. John*, Great Master of our Household, and President of our Council; *John* Lord *Russel* Keeper of our Privy-Seal; and our Trusty and right well-beloved Cousins, *William* Marques of *Northampton*; *John* Earl of *Warwick*, Great Chamberlain of *England*; *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, our Lord Chamberlain; *Thomas* Lord *Seymour* of *Sudley*, High Admiral of *England*; the Reverend Father in God, *Cuthbert* Bishop of *Dureſme*, and Our right Trusty and well-beloved *Richard* Lord *Rich*; Sir *Thomas Cheney* Knight of our Order, and Treasurer of our Houshold; Sir *John Gage* Knight of our Order, and Comptroller of our Houshold; Sir *Anthony Brown* Knight of our Order, Master of our Horse; Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Knight of our Order, our Vicechamberlain; Sir *William Paget* Knight of our Order, Our chief Secretary; Sir *William Petre* Knight, one of Our two principal Secretaries; Sir *Ralph Sadler* Knight, Master of our Great Wardrobe; Sir *John Baker* Knight, Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*; Sir *Anthony Denny* and Sir *William Herbert* Kts. Gentlemen of our Privy-Chamber; Sir *Edward North* Kt. Chancellor of our Court of Augmentations and Revenues of our Crown; Sir *Edward Montague* Kt. Chief Justice of our Common-Pleas; Sir *Edward Wotton* Kt. Sir *Edmund Pekham* Kt. Cofferer of our Houshold; Sir *Thomas Bromley* Kt. one of the Justices for Pleas before us to be holden, and Sir *Richard Southwell* Kt.

And furthermore We are contented and pleased, and by these Presents do give full Power and Authority to our said Uncle, from time to time, until We shall have accomplished, and be of the full Age of eighteen Years, to call, ordain, name, appoint, and swear such, and as many other Persons of our Subjects, as to him our said Uncle shall seem meet and requisite to be of our Council; and that all and every such Person or Persons, so by our said Uncle, for and during the time aforesaid to be called, named, ordained, appointed, and sworn of our Council, and to be our Counsellor or Counsellors, We do by these Presents name, ordain, accept, and take our Counsellor and Counsellors, and of our Council in like manner and form, as if he, they, and every of them, were in these Presents by Us appointed, named, and taken to be of our Council, and our Counsellor or Counsellors, by expres Name or

Names

Names. And that alſo of our forenamed Counſellors, or of any others which our ſaid Uncle ſhall hereafter at any time take and chuſe to be our Counſellor or Counſellors, or of our ſaid Council, he our ſaid Uncle ſhall, may, and have Authority by theſe Preſents, to chuſe, name, appoint, uſe, and ſwear of Privy-Council, and to be our Privy-Counſellor or Counſellors, ſuch and ſo many as he from time to time ſhall think convenient.

And it is Our further Pleaſure, and alſo We will and grant by theſe Preſents, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, That whatſoever Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing, or Things, of what Nature, Quality, or Condition ſoever the ſame be; yea, though the ſame require, or ought by any Manner, Law, Statute, Proclamation, or other Ordinance whatſoever, to be ſpecially, or by Name, expreſſed or ſet forth in this Our preſent Grant or Letters Patents, and be not herein expreſſed or mentioned, ſpecially which our ſaid Uncle, or any of our Privy-Counſellor, or Counſellors, with the Advice, Conſent, or Agreement of Our ſaid Uncle, have thought neceſſary, meet, expedient, decent, or in any manner-wiſe convenient to be deviſed, done, or executed, during our Minority, and until We come to the full Age of eighteen Years, for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Health, or Education of our Perſon; or for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Weal, Benefit, or Commodity of any of our Realms, Dominions, or Subjects; and the ſame have deviſed, done, or executed, or cauſed to be deviſed, executed, or done at any time ſince the Death of Our moſt Noble Father of moſt famous memory. We are contented, and pleaſed, and will and grant, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, that the ſame Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing and Things, and every of them, ſhall ſtand, remain, and be (until ſuch time our ſaid Uncle, with ſuch and ſo many of Our foreſaid Counſellors as he ſhall think meet to call unto his aſſiſtance, ſhall revoke and annihilate the ſame) good, ſure, ſtable, vailable, and effectual, to all Intents and Purpoſes, without offence of Us, or againſt Us, or of or againſt any of our Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, or other Ordinances whatſoever; and without incurring therefore into any Danger, Penalty, Forfeit, Loſs; or any other Encumbrance, Penalty, or Vexation of his or their Bodies, Lands, Rents, Goods, or Chattels; or of their, or of any of their Heirs, Executors, or Adminiſtrators, or of any other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, which have done or executed any Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing or Things, now, or any time ſince the Death of Our ſaid Father, by the Commandment or Ordinance of Our ſaid Uncle, or any of our Counſellors, with the Advice, Conſent, or Agreement of Our ſaid Uncle.

And further, We are contented and pleaſed, and will and grant, for Us, our Heirs and Succeſſors, by theſe Preſents, that whatſoever Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing or Things, of what Nature, Quality, or Condition ſoever the ſame be, or ſhall be; yea, though the ſame require, or ought by any Manner, Law, Statute, Proclamation, or other whatſoever Ordinance to be ſpecially and by name expreſſed and ſet forth in this our preſent Grant and Letters Patents, and be not herein ſpecially named or expreſſed, which our ſaid Uncle ſhall at any time, during our Minority, and until We ſhall come to the full Age of eighteen Years, think neceſſary, meet, expedient, decent, or in any wiſe convenient

convenient to be deviſed, had, made, executed or done in our Name, for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Health, or Education of our Perſon, or which our ſaid Uncle, with the Advice and Conſent of ſuch, and ſo many of our Privy-Council, or of our Counſellors, as he ſhall think meet to call unto him from time to time, ſhall at any time, until We come unto the full Age of eighteen Years, think neceſſary, meet, decent, expedient, or in any-wiſe convenient to be deviſed, had, made, executed, or done in our Name, for the Surety, Honour, Profit, Weal, Benefit, or Commodity of any of our Realms, Dominions, or Subjects, or any of them, he our ſaid Uncle and Counſellors, and every of them, and all and every other Perſon or Perſons, by his Our ſaid Uncle's Commandment, Direction, Appointment, or Order, or by the Commandment, Appointment, Direction, or Order of any of Our ſaid Counſellors, ſo as our ſaid Uncle agree, and be contented, to and with the ſame, ſhall and may do, or execute the ſame without diſpleaſure to Us, or any manner of Crime or Offence to be by Us, our Heirs or Succeſſors, laid or imputed to him Our ſaid Uncle, or any Our ſaid Counſellors, or any other Perſon or Perſons therefore, or in that behalf, and without any offence of or againſt our Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, or other whatſoever Ordinances; and without incurring therefore into any Dammages, Penalty, Forfeit, Loſs, or any other Encumbrance, Trouble, or Vexation of his, or any of their Bodies, Lands, Tenements, Goods or Chattels; or of his or their, or any their Heirs, Succeſſors, Aſſigns, Executors or Adminiſtrators. And therefore we Will and Command, not only all and every our Judges, Juſtices, Serjeants, Attornies, Sollicitors, Sheriffs, Eſcheators, Bailiffs, and all other our Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, that now be, or hereafter ſhall be, in no wiſe to Impeach, Appeal, Arreſt, Trouble, Vex, Injure, or Moleſt in our Name or otherwiſe, Our ſaid Uncle, or our ſaid Counſellors, or any of them, or any other Perſon, for any Cauſe, Matter, Deed, Thing or Things, which he or they, or any of them have done, or ſhall do, execute, or cauſe to be executed or done as aforeſaid; But alſo We require, and nevertheleſs ſtraitly Charge and Command, by theſe Preſents, all and every our Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, of what Eſtate, Degree, or Condition ſoever he or they be, or ſhall be, to be obedient, aiding, attendant and aſſiſting to Our ſaid Uncle and Counſellors, and to every of them as behoveth, for the execution of this Charge and Commiſſion given and committed unto Our ſaid Uncle and Council as aforeſaid, as they tender our Favour, and their own Weals, and as they will anſwer unto Us at their uttermoſt Perils for the contrary. In Witneſs whereof, We have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents; Witneſs our Self at *Weſtminſter*, the 13*th* day of *March*, in the firſt Year of our Reign.

E. Somerſet.

T. Cantuarien. *W. St. John.* *J. Ruſſel.* *W. Northamp.*

T. Cheynie. *William Paget.*

Anthony Brown.

Number

Number 7.

The King's Letter to the Arch-Bishop of York, *concerning the Visitation then intended.*

EDwardus sextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Rex, Fidei Defensor, ac in terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ supremum Caput, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, ac prædilecto Consiliario nostro Roberto permissione divina Eboracen. Archiepisc. Angliæ Primati & Metropolitano salutem. Quum nos, suprema Authoritate nostra Regia, omnia & singula loca Ecclesiastica, clerumq; & populum infra & per totum nostrum Angliæ Regnum constituta, propediem visitare statuerimus, Vobis tenore præsentium stricte inhibemus atq; mandamus & per vos Suffraganeis vestris confratribus Episcopis, ac per illos suis Archidiaconis ac aliis quibuscunq; jurisdictionem Ecclesiasticam exercentibus, tam exemptis quam non exemptis, infra vestram Provinciam Eboracens. ubilibet constitutis sic inhibere volumus atq; præcipimus, quatenus nec vos nec quisquam eorum Ecclesias, aut alia loca prædicta Clerumve aut populum visitare, aut ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis exercere seu quicquam aliud in præjudicium dictæ nostræ Visitationis generalis quomodo attemptare præsumat sive præsumant sub pœna contemptus, donec & quousq; licentiam & facultatem vobis & eis in ea parte largiend. & impertiend. fore duxerimus. Et quia non solum internam animarum subditorum nostrorum pacem; verum etiam externam eorum concordiam multiplicibus opinionum procellis ex contentione, dissentione & contraversiis concionatorum exortis, multum corruptam, violatam & misere divulsam esse cernimus; Idcirco nobis admodum necessarium visum est ad sedandas & componendas hujusmodi opinionum varietates, quatenus inhibeatis, seu inhiberi faciatis omnibus & singulis Episcopis, ne alibi quam in Ecclesiis suis Cathedralibus, & aliis Personis Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, ne in alio loco quam in suis Ecclesiis, Collegiatis, sive Parochialibus, in quibus intitulati sunt, prædicent, aut subditis nostris quovismodo concionandi munus exerceant, nisi ex gratia nostra speciali id postea licentiati fuerint, sub nostræ indignationis pæna. In cujus rei testimonium, Sigillum nostrum, quo ad causas Ecclesiasticas utimur, præsentibus apponi mandavimus. Dat. quarto die mensis Maii, Anno Dom. 1547. & Regni nostri Anno primo. *Cotton* Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

E. Somerset.

T. Seimour.

T. Cantuarien. *W. St. John.* *J. Russel.* *Will. Petre* Secretary.

John Barker.

John Gage.

Number

Number 8.

The Form of bidding Prayer before the Reformation.

The Bedes on the Sunday.

Out of the Feſtival, printed *An.* 1509.

YE ſhall kneel down on your Knees, and lift up your Hearts, making your Prayers to Almighty God, for the good State and Peace of all-holy Church, that God maintain, ſave, and keep it. For our Holy Father the Pope, with all his true College of Cardinals, that God for his Mercy them maintain and keep in the right Belief, and it hold and increaſe, and all Miſbelief and Hereſy be leſs and deſtroyed. Alſo ye ſhall pray for the Holy Land, and for the Holy Croſs, that Jeſus Chriſt died on for the redemption of Mens Souls, that it may come into the Power of Chriſtian Men the more to be honoured for our Prayers. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all Arch-biſhops and Biſhops; and eſpecially for the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* our Metropolitane, and for the Biſhop of *N.* our Dioceſan, that God of his Mercy give to them Grace ſo to govern and rule Holy Church, that it may be to the Honour and Worſhip of him, and Salvation of our Souls. Alſo ye ſhall pray for Abbots, Priors, Monks, Canons, Friers, and for all Men and Women of Religion, in what Order, Eſtate, or Degree that they ſtand in, from the higheſt Eſtate unto the loweſt Degree. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all them that have Charge and Cure of Chriſtian Mens Souls, as Curats and Parſons, Vicars, Prieſts and Clarks; and in eſpecial for the Parſon and Curat of this Church, and for all the Prieſts and Miniſters that ſerve therein, or have ſerved therein; and for all them that have taken any Order, that Almighty God give them Grace of continuance well for to keep and obſerve it to the honour and health of their Souls. Alſo ye ſhall pray for the Unity and Peace of all Chriſtian Realms, and in eſpecial for the good Eſtate, Peace and Tranquillity, of this Realm of *England*, for our Liege Lord the King, that God for his great Mercy ſend him Grace ſo to Govern and Rule this Realm, that God be pleaſed and worſhipped, and to the Profit and Salvation of this Land. Alſo ye ſhall pray for our Liege Lady the Queen, my Lord Prince, and all the noble Progeny of them; for all Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights and Eſquires, and other Lords of the King's Council, which have any Rule and Governance in this Land, that God give them Grace ſo to Council, Rule, and Govern, that God be pleaſed, the Land defended and to the Profit and Salvation of all the Realm. Alſo ye ſhall pray for the Peace, both on Land and on the Water; that God grant Love and Charity among all Chriſtian People. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all our Pariſhes, where that they be, on Land or on Water, that God ſave them from all manner of Perils; and for all the good Men of this Pariſh for their Wives, Children, and Men, that God them maintain, ſave and keep. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all true Tithers, that God multiply their Goods and Encreaſe; for all true Tillers that labour for our Suſtenance, that Till the Earth; and alſo for all the Grains and Fruits that be ſown, ſet, or done on the Earth, or ſhall be done, that God ſend ſuch

ſuch Weather that they may grow, encreaſe, and multiply, to the help and profit of all Mankind. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all true Shipmen and Merchants, whereſoever that they be, on Land or on Water, that God keep them from all Perils, and bring them home in ſafety, with their Goods, Ships, and Merchandiſes, to the Help, Comfort, and Profit of this Realm. Alſo ye ſhall pray for them that find any Light in this Church, or give any Beheſts, Book, Bell, Chalice, or Veſtment, Surplice, Water-cloath, or Towel, Lands, Rents, Lamp or Light, or any other Adornments, whereby God's Service is the better ſerved, ſuſtained and maintained in Reading and Singing, and for all them that thereto have counſelled, that God reward and yield it them at their moſt need. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all true Pilgrims and Palmers, that have taken their way to *Rome*, to *Jeruſalem*, to *St. Katherines*, or *St. James*, or to any other place, that God of his Grace give them time and ſpace, well for to go and to come, to the profit of their Lives and Souls. Alſo ye ſhall pray for all them that be ſick or diſeaſed of this Pariſh, that God ſend to them Health, the rather for our Prayers; for all the Women which be in our Lady's Bands, and with Child, in this Pariſh, or in any other, that God ſend to them fair Deliverance, to their Children right Shape, Name, and Chriſtendom, and to the Mothers, Purification; and for all them that would be here, and may not, for Sickneſs or Travail, or any other lawful Occupation, that they may have part of all the good Deeds that ſhall be done here in this Place, or in any other. And ye ſhall pray for all them that be in good Life, that good Men hold long therein; and for them that be in Debt, or deadly Sin, that Jeſus Chriſt bring them out thereof, the rather for our Prayers. Alſo ye ſhall pray for him or her that this day gave the Holy Bread, and for him that firſt began and longeſt holdeth on, that God reward it them at the day of Doom; and for all them that do well, or ſay you good, that God yield it them at their need, and for them that otherwiſe ſhould that Jeſus Chriſt amend them; For all thoſe, and for all Chriſtian Men and Women, ye ſhall ſay a *Pater Noſter*; *Ave Maria*; *Deus Creator noſtri*; *Gloria Patri*; *Kyrie Eleiſon*; *Chriſte Eleiſon*; *Kyrie Eleiſon*; *Pater Noſter*; *Et ne nos*; *Sed libera*; *Verſus*; *Oſtende nobis*; *Domine exaudi*; *Domine ſalvum fac Regem*; *Salvum fac Populum*; *Domine da Pacem*; *Domine exaudi*; *Dominus vobiſcum*; *Oremus*; *Eccleſiæ tuæ quæſumus*; *Deus in cujus manu*; *Deus a quo ſancta*, &c. Furthermore, ye ſhall pray for all Chriſtian Souls, for Arch-biſhops and Biſhops Souls; and in eſpecial, for all that have been Biſhops of this Dioceſs; and for all Curats, Parſons and Vicar's Souls, and in eſpecial, for them that have been Curats of this Church, and for the Souls that have ſerved in this Church. Alſo ye ſhall pray for the Souls of all Chriſtian Kings and Queens, and in eſpecial for the Souls of them that have been Kings of this Realm of *England*; and for all thoſe Souls that to this Church have given Book, Bell, Chalice, or Veſtment, or any other thing, by the which the Service of God is better done, and Holy Church worſhipped. Ye ſhall alſo pray for your Father's Soul, for your Mother's Soul; for your Godfathers Souls, for your Godmothers Souls, for your Brethren and Siſters Souls, and for your Kindreds Souls, and for your Friends Souls, and for all the Souls we be bound to pray for; and for all the Souls that be in the Pains of Purgatory,

there abiding the Mercy of Almighty God; and in especial for them that have most need and least help, that God of his endless Mercy lessen and minish their Pains by the means of our Prayers, and bring them to his Everlasting Bliss in Heaven. And also of the Soul Day or of them that upon such a day this Week we shall have the Anniversary; and for all Christian Souls ye shall devoutly say a *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*; *Psalmus de profundis*, *&c.* with this Collect, *Oremus*; *Absolve quæsumus Domine animas famulorum tuorum Pontificum, Regum, Sacerdotum, Parentum, Parochianorum, Amicorum, Benefactorum Nostrorum, & omnium fidelium defunctorum, ab omni vinculo delictorum; ut in Resurrectionis Gloriâ inter sanitos & electos tuos resuscitati respirent, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.* Amen.

Number 9.

Bishop Tonstal's *Letter, proving the Subjection of* Scotland to England.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Caligula* B. 7

PLease it your Grace, my Lord Protector, and you right honourable Lords of the King's Majesty's Council, to understand, that I have received your Letter of the 4*th* of this month, by which ye will me to search all mine old Registers, and ancient Places to be sought where any thing may be found for the more clear declaration to the World of the King's Majesty's Title to the Realm of *Scotland*, and to advertise you with speed accordingly: And also to signify unto you what ancient Characters and Monuments for that purpose I have seen, and where the same are to be sought for. According unto which your Letters, I have sought with all diligence all mine old Registers, making mention of the Superiorities of the Kings of *England* to the Realm of *Scotland*, and have found in the same of many Homages made by the Kings of *Scots* to the Kings of *England*, as shall appear by the Copies which I do send to your Grace and to your Lordships herewith. Ye shall also find in the said Copies the Gift of the Barony of *Coldingham* made to the Church of *Duresm* by *Edgar* the King of *Scots*; which Original Gift is under Seal, which I shewed once to my Lord *Meux* at *Duresm*, in the presence of you my Lord Protector. I find also a confirmation of the same Gift by King *William Rufus* in an old Register but not under Seal, the Copy whereof is sent herewith. The Homages of Kings of *Scotland* which I have found in the Registers, I have sent in this Copy. I send also herewith the Copy of a Grant made by King *Richard* the First unto *William* King of *Scots* and his Heirs, How as oft as he is summoned to come to the Parliament, he shall be received in the Confines of the Realm of *Scotland*, and conducted from Shire to Shire unto his coming to the Parliament; and what the King doth allow him for his Diet every day unto the Court; and also what Diet and Allowance he hath, being at the Parliament, both in Bread and Wine, Wax and Candle, for his time of his abode there; and of his Conduct in his return home.

And

And where King *William*, King of *Scots*, made Homage to King *Henry* the Second, and granted, That all the Nobles of his Realm should be his Subjects, and make Homage to him; and all the Bishops of his Realm should be under the Arch-bishops of *York*: And the said King *William* delivered to the said King *Henry*, the Castles of *Roxburgh*, *Edinburgh*, and the Castle of *Barwick*, as is found in my Register; and that the King of *England* should give all Abbeys and Honours in *Scotland*, or at least they should not be given without his Counsel. I do find in the confirmation of the same, out of the old Registers of the Priors of *Duresm*, Homage made by the Abbots, Priors, and Prioresses of *Scotland*, to King *Edward* the First, in French, which I do send herewith. Also I do send herewith in French, how King *Edward* the First was received and taken to be Supream Lord in *Scotland*, by all those that pretend Title to the Crown of *Scotland*, as next Heirs to the King, that was then dead without Issue, and the compromise of them all made unto the said King *Edward* the First to stand to his Judgment, which of all them that did claim should have the Crown of *Scotland*: The Transcript of which Compromise in French, was then sent by the said King *Edward*, under the Seal of the King's *Exchequer* in green Wax, to the Prior of *Duresm*, to be registred for a perpetual memory, that the Supremity of *Scotland* belonged to the Kings of *England*, which yet the Chapiters of *Duresm* have to shew, which thing he commandeth them to put in their Chronicles.

And touching the second part of your Letter, where you will me to certifie you what I have seen in the Premisses; so it is, that I was commanded by mine old Master, of famous memory, King *Henry* the Seventh, to make search among the Records of his Treasury, in the Remembrance for Solemnities to be done at his Coronation in most solemn manner; according to which commandment, I made search in the said Treasury, where I fortuned to find many Writings for the Supremacy of the King to the Realm of *Scotland*; and among others also, a Writing with very many Seals of Arms of *Scots*, confessing the right of the Supremacy to the King of *England*; which Writings I doubt not may be found there.

I have also sent a Copy of a Book my self have of Homages made to the Kings of *England* by the Kings of *Scotland*, which the Chancellor of *England* in King *Henry* the Seventh's days had gathered out of the King's Records, which I doubt not, but out of the King's Records and Ancient Books, the same may be found again by my Lord Chancellor and the Judges.

Furthermore your Grace, and you the Right Honourable Lords of the Council, shall understand, That in making much search for the Premisses, at the last we found, out of the Registers of the Chapters of *Duresm*, when it was a Priory, the Copy of a Writing, by which King *Edward* the Second doth renounce such Superiority as he had in the Realm of *Scotland*, for him and his Heirs, to *Robert* King of *Scots* then being, as will appear by a Copy of the same, which I do send you herewith, making mention, in the end of the said Writings, of a Commission that he gave to *Henry* the Lord *Percy*, and to *William* the Lord *Souch*, under his Letters Patents, to give his Oath upon the same. And after the said Writing, we found also in the said Book, a

Renunciation of the ſaid King *Edward*, of a Proceſs that he had commenced before the Biſhop of *Rome*, againſt *Robert* King of *Scots* and his Subjects, for breaking their Oath to him, as will appear by the Copy thereof, which I do ſend alſo herewith. And touching the ſaid Renunciation of King *Edward* the Second, to the Superiority of the Realm of *Scotland*, I have often heard it ſpoken of by *Scots*, but I did never ſee the form of it in writing, until I ſee it now; which thing it is not unlikely but the *Scots* have under the Seal of the ſaid King *Edward*. Whereunto anſwer is to be made, That a King renouncing the right of his Crown, cannot prejudice his Succeſſors, who have at the time of their entry, the ſame whole right that their Predeceſſors had at their firſt entry, as Men learned in the Civil Law can by their learning ſhew.

And furthermore, ſearch is to be made in the King's Records in the Treaſury, whether Homages have been made ſithence King *Edward* the Second's Time; that is to ſay, in the Times of King *Edward* the Third, King *Richard* the Second, King *Henry* the Fourth, King *Henry* the Fifth, and King *Henry* the Sixth. In which Times, if any Homage can be found to be made, it ſhall appear the ſame Renunciation to have taken none effect in the Succeſſors, and Ancient Right to be continued again. For after King *Edward* the Fourth and King *Henry* the Sixth ſtrove for the Crown, I think none Homage of *Scotland* will be found, for then was alſo loſt *Gaſcoigne* and *Guienne* in *France*. It is alſo to be remembred, that when the Body of King *Henry* the Fifth was brought out of *France* to be buried at *Weſtminſter*, the King of *Scots* then being came with him, and was the chief Mourner at his Burial; which King of *Scots*, whether he made any Homage to King *Henry* the Fifth in his Life-time, or to King *Henry* the Sixth at his Coronation, it is to be ſearched by the Records of that time.

This is all that can be found hitherto, by all the moſt diligent ſearch that I could make in my Records here; and if any more can be found, it ſhall be ſent with all ſpeed.

And thus Almighty preſerve your Grace, and your Honourable Lordſhips, to his Pleaſure and yours.

From *Ackland* the 15*th* Of *October*, 1547.

Your Grace's moſt humble Orator at Commandment,

Cuth. Dureſme.

Number

Number 10.

A Letter from the Scottiſh Nobility to the Pope, concerning their being an *Independant* Kingdom.

An Original.

Literæ directæ ad Dominum Summum Pontificem per Communitatem Scotiæ. 1320.

Sanctiſſimo Patri in Chriſto, ac Domino D. Johanni Divina Providentia Sacroſanctæ Romanæ & Univerſalis Eccleſiæ Summo Pontifici, Filii ſui humiles & devoti, Duncanus Comes de Fife, Thomas Randolph Comes Moraviæ, D. Manniæ & Vallis Annandiæ, Patricius de Dunbar, Comes Marchiæ, Maliſius Comes de Straherne, Malcolmus Comes de Levenex, Willielmus Comes de Roſs, Magnus Comes Cathanæ & Orcadiæ, & Willielmus Comes Sutherlandiæ, Walterus Senefcallus Scotiæ, Willielmus de Souls Buttelarius Scotiæ, Jacobus D. Douglas, Rogerus de Moubray, David D. de Brechen, David de Grahame, Ingelramus de Umphavill, Johannes de Meneteth cuſtos Comitatus de Meneteth, Alex. Fraſer, Gilbertus de Haia Conſtabularius Scotiæ, Robertus de Keith Mariſcallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Sancto Claro, Johannes de Grahame, David de Lindſey, Willielmus Oliphant, Patricius de Grahame, Johannes de Tenton, Willielmus de Abernethie, David de Weemes, Willielmus de Monte fixo, Ferguſus de Ardroſſane, Malachius de Maxwell, Willielmus de Ramſay, Willielmus de Monte alto, Alanus de Moravia, Donenaldus Campbell, Johannes Cambrime, Reginaldus de Chein, Alex. de Seaton, Andreas de Leſcelyne, & Alex. de Straton, cæteriq; Barones & Libere-tenentes, ac tota Communitas Regni Scotiæ, omnimodam reverentiam filialem, cum devotis pedum oſculis Beatorum; Scimus, Sanctiſſime Pater, & Domine, & ex antiquorum geſtis & libris colligimus, quod inter cæteras nationes egregias, noſtra [ſcilicet Scotorum Natio] multis præconiis fuerit inſignita; quæ de majori Scythia per Mare Tyrrhenum & Columnas Herculis tranſiens, & in Hiſpania inter færociſſimos per multa temporum curricula reſidens, a nullis quantumcunq; Barbaricis poterat alicubi ſubjugari; Indeq; veniens poſt mille & ducentos annos a tranſitu Populi Iſraelitici ſibi ſedes in occidente, quas nunc obtinet, expulſis Brittonibus, & Pictis omnia deletis: licet per Norwagienſes, Dacos & Anglicos ſæpius impugnata fuerit, multis ſibi victoriis & laboribus quamplurimis adquiſita; ipſaſq; ab omni ſervitute liberas (ut priſcorum teſtantur Hiſtoriæ) ſemper tenuit: In quorum Regno centum & tres decem Reges de eorum regali præſapia, nullo alienigena interveniente, Regnaverunt; Quorum Nobilitas & merita (licet ex aliis non clarerent) ſatis patenter effulgent ex eo; quod Rex regum D. Jeſus Chriſtus poſt Paſſionem & Reſurrectionem ſuam ipſos in ultimis terræ finibus conſtitutos, quaſi primos ad ſuam fidem ſanctiſſimam convocavit, nec eos per quemlibet in dicta fide confirmari voluit, ſed per ſuum primum Apoſtolum, quamvis ordine ſecundum vel tertium, Sanctum Andream meritiſſimum beati Petri

Ex *Autogr.* apud Ill. Com. de H.

Petri Germanum, quem ſemper ipſis præeſſe voluit Patronum. Hæc autem Sanctiſſimi Patres & Prædeceſſores veſtri ſollicita mente penſantes, ipſum Regnum & Populum, ut beati Petri germano peculium multis favoribus & privilegiis quam plurimis muniverunt. Itaque gens noſtra ſub ipſorum protectione libera hactenus degit & quieta; donec ille princeps Magnificus Rex Anglorum Edwardus, Pater iſtius, (qui nunc eſt) Regnum noſtrum Acephalum, populumq; nullius mali ſui doli conſcium, nec bellis aut inſultibus tunc aſſuetum ſub amica & confœderata ſpecie innumerabiliter infeſtavit. Cujus injurias, cædes, & violentias, prædationes, incendia, Prælatorum incarcerationes, Monaſteriorum combuſtiones, Religioſorum ſpoliationes & occiſiones, ac quoq; enormia, quæ in dicto populo exercuit, nulli parcens ætati aut ſexui, Religioni aut ordini, nullus ſcriberet nec ad plenum intelligat, niſi quem experientia informaret: a quibus malis innumeris (ipſo juvante qui poſt vulnera medetur & ſanat) liberati ſumus per ſerenissimum Principem Regem & Dominum noſtrum, D. Robertum, qui pro populo & hæreditate ſuis de manibus inimicorum liberandis, quaſi alter Maccabeus aut Joſua, labores, & tædia, inedias & pericula, lectiſſimi nuit animo; quem etiam divina diſpoſitio, & juxta leges & conſuetudines noſtras, quas uſq; ad mortem ſuſtinere volumus, juris Succeſſor, & debitus noſtrorum omnium conſenſus & aſſenſus, noſtrum fecerunt Principem ac Regem: Cui, tanquam illi, per quem ſalus in populo facta eſt, pro noſtra libertate tuenda tam jure quam meritis tenemur & volumus in omnibus adhærere; quem (ſi ab inceptis deſiſtet, Regi Anglorum aut Anglicis nos, aut Regnum noſtrum, volens ſubjicere) tanquam inimicum noſtrum, & ſui noſtriq; juris ſubverſorem, ſtatim expellere nitemur; & alium Regem noſtrum, qui ad defenſionem noſtram ſufficiet, faciemus: Quia, quamdiu centum vivi remanſerint nunquam Anglicorum dominio aliquatenus volumus ſubjugari. Non enim propter gloriam, divitias, aut honores, pugnamus; ſed propter libertatem ſolummodo, quam nemo bonus niſi ſimul cum vita amittet. Hinc eſt, Reverende Pater & Domine, quod ſanctitatem veſtram cum omni precum inſtantia genuflexis cordibus exoramus, quatenus ſincero cordis intuitu, pia recenſentes, quod apud eum, cujus vices in terris geritis, non ſit pondus & pondus, nec diſtinctio Judæi & Græci, Scoti aut Anglici, tribulationes & Anguſtias nobis & Eccleſiæ Dei illatas ab Anglicis, paternis oculis intuentes Regem Anglorum, cui ſufficere debet quod poſſidet (cum olim Anglia ſeptem aut pluribus ſolebat ſufficere Regibus) monere & exhortari dignemini, ut nos Scotos in exili degentes, Scotia (ultra quam habitatio non eſt) nihilq; niſi noſtrum cupientes, in pace dimittat: Cui pro noſtra procuranda quiete, quicquid poſſumus (ad ſtatum noſtrum reſpectu habito) facere volumus cum effectu. Veſtra enim intereſt, Sancte Pater, hoc facere, qui paganorum ferita-tem Chriſtianorum culpis exigentibus in Chriſtianos ſævientem aſpicitis, & Chriſtianorum terminos arctari indies.*

* Quædam ſunt deleta.

Sanctitatis memoriæ derogat, ſi (quod abſit) Eccleſia in aliqua ſui parte veſtris temporibus patiatur Eccliſin aut Scandalum, vos videntis: Exhortet igitur Chriſtianos Principes, qui non cauſam ut cauſam ponentes ſe fingunt in ſubſidium terræ ſanctæ propter guerras, quas habent cum proximis ire non poſſe; Cujus impedimenti cauſa eſt verior, quod in minoribus proximis debellandis utilitas propior, & reſiſtentia debilior

bilior estimantur. Sic quam leto corde dictus D. Rex Noster & nos; Si Rex Anglorum nos in pace dimittit, illuc iremus; qui nihil ignorat satis novit: quod Christi Vicario totiq; Christianitati ostendimus & testamur. Quibus, si Sanctitas vestra Anglorum relatibus nimis credula, fidem sinceram non adhibet, aut ipsis in nostram confusionem favere non desinat, Corporum excidia, animarum exitia, & Cætera quæ sequentur in commoda, quæ ipsi in nobis & nos in ipsis fecerimus, vobis ab altissimo credimus imputanda; ex quo sumus & erimus in his quæ tenemur, tanquam obedientiæ filii, vobis tanquam ipsius vicario, in omnibus complacere; ipsiq; tanquam summo Regi & judici causam nostram tendam committimus, cogitatum nostrum jactitantes in ipso, sperantes finem; quod in nobis virtutem faciet,& ad nihilum rediget Hostes nostros Serenitatem ac Sanctitatem vestram conservet Altissimus,Ecclesiæ suæ Sanctæ per tempora diuturna. Datum apud Monasterium de Aberbrothi in Scotia, 6 die Aprilis, Anno gratiæ Millesimo trecentesimo vigesimo. Anno vero Regni Regis nostri supradicti quintodecimo.

Number 11.

The Oath given to the *Scots*, who submitted to the Protector.

YOu shall bear your Faith to the King's Majesty, our Sovereign Lord Edward the Sixth, &c. till such time as you shall be discharged of your Oath by special License. And you shall, to the uttermost of your power, serve his Majesty, truly and faithfully, against all other Realms, Dominions, and Potentates, as well Scots as others. You shall hear nothing that may be prejudicial to his Majesty in any of his Realms or Dominions, but with as much diligence as you may, shall cause the same to be opened, so as the same come to his Majesty's Knowledg, or to the knowledg of the Lord Protector, or some of his Majesty's Privy Council. You shall, to the uttermost of your possible Power, set forwards and advance the King's Majesties affairs in Scotland, for the Marriage and Peace. Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 139.

Number

Number 12.

The Protestation of the Bishop of London *made to the Visitors, when he received the King's Majesties Injunctions and Homilies.*

Ex Libro Concilii. *Fol.* 110.

I Do receive these Injunctions and Homilies, with this Protestation, That I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's Law, and the Statutes and Ordinances of this Church.

The Submission and Revocation of the same Bishop, made before the Lords of the King's Majesties Council, presently attending upon his Majesty's Person; with the Subscription of his Name thereunto.

WHereas I *Edmund* Bishop of *London*, have at such time as I received the King's Majesty's, my most dread Sovereign Lord's Injunctions and Homilies at the Hands of his Highness Visitors, did unadvisedly make such Protestation, as now, upon better consideration of my duty of Obedience, and of the ill Example that may ensue to others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the Duty of an humble Subject; forasmuch as the same Protestation, at my request, was then by the Register of the Visitation enacted and put in Record; I have thought it my bounden Duty, not only to declare before your Lordships, That I do now, upon better consideration of my Duty, renounce and revoke my said Protestation, but also most humbly beseech your Lordships, that this my Revocation of the same may likewise be put in the same Records for a perpetual Memory of the Truth: Most humbly beseeching your good Lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former unadvised doings may, by your good Mediations, be pardoned of the King's Majesty.

Edmund London.

Number 13.

Gardiner's *Letter to Sir* John Godsalve *concerning the Injunctions.*

Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

MR. *Godsalve*, after my right hearty Commendations, with like thanks for the declaration of your good mind towards me (as you mean it) although it agreeth not with mine Accompt, such as I have had leisure to make in this time of Liberty, since the Death of my late Soveraign Lord, (whose Soul Jesu pardon). For this have I reckoned,

reckon'd, that I was called to this Bishoprick without the offence of God's Law, or the King's, in the attaining of it. I have kept my Bishoprick these sixteen Years, accomplished this very day, that I write these my Letters unto you, without offending God's Law, or the King's, in the retaining of it, howsoever I have of frailty otherwise sinned. Now if I may play the third part well, to depart from the Bishoprick without the offence of God's Law, or the King's, I shall think the Tragedy of my Life well passed over: and in this part to be well handled is all my care and study now, how to finish this third Act well; for so I offend not God's Law, nor the King's, I will no more care to see my Bishoprick taken from me, than my self to be taken from the Bishoprick. I am by Nature already condemned to die, which Sentence no Man can pardon, nor assure me of delay in the execution of it; and so see that of necessity I shall leave my Bishoprick to the disposition of the Crown from whence I had it, my Household also to break up, and my bringing up of Youth to cease, the remembrance whereof troubleth me nothing. I made in my House at *London* a pleasant study that delighted me much, and yet I was glad to come into the Country and leave it; and as I have left the use of somewhat, so can I leave the use of all to obtain a more quiet; it is not loss to change for the better, Honesty and Truth are more leef to me than all the Possessions of the Realm, and in these two to say and do frankly, as I must, I never forbear yet: And in these two, Honesty and Truth, I take such pleasure and comfort, as I will never leave them for no respect, for they will abide by a Man, and so will nothing else. No Man can take them away from me but my self; and if my self do them away from me, then my self do undo my self, and make my self worthy to lose my Bishoprick, whereat, such as gape, might take more sport than they are like to have at my hands. What other Men have said or done in the Homilies I cannot tell, and what Homilies or Injunctions shall be brought hither, I know not; such as the Printers have sold abroad, I have read and considered, and am therefore the better instructed how to frame my self to the Visitors at their repair hither, to whom I will use no manner of Protestation but a plain Allegation, as the Matter serveth, and that Honesty and Truth shall bind me to speak; for I will never yield to that should not beseem a Christian. Bishops ought never to lose the inheritance of the King's Laws due to every English Man for want of Allegation. I will shew my self a true Subject, humble and obedient, which repugneth not with the preservation of my Duty to God, and my Right in the Realm, not to be enjoined against an Act of Parliament: which mine intent I have signified to the Council, with request of redress in the Matter, and not to compel me to such an Allegation, which, without I were a Beast, I cannot pretermit: and I were more than a Beast, if after I had signified to the Council Truth and Reason in words, I should then yield in my Deeds not to care for it. My Lord Protector, in one of such Letters as he wrote to me, willed me not to fear too much; and added I know him so well, and divers others of my Lords of the Council, that I cannot fear any hurt at their hands, in the Allegation of God's Law and the King's, and I will never defame them so much as to seem to fear it. And of what strength an Act of Parliament is, the Realm was taught in the Case of her that we called Queen *Ann*,

where all ſuch as ſpake againſt her in the Parliament-Houſe, although they did it by ſpecial Commandment of the King, and ſpake that was truth, yet they were fain to have a Pardon, becauſe that ſpeaking was againſt an Act of Parliament. Did you never know, or here tell of any Man, that for doing that the King our late Sovereign Lord willed, deviſed, and required to be done, He that took pains, and was commanded to do it, was fain to ſue for his Pardon, and ſuch other alſo as were doers in it: and I could tell who it were. Sure there hath been ſuch a Caſe, and I have been preſent when it hath been reaſoned, That the doing againſt an Act of Parliament, excuſeth not a Man, even from the Caſe of Treaſon, although a Man did it by the King's Commandment. You can tell this to your remembrance, when you think further of it, and when it cometh to your remembrance, you will not be well content with your ſelf, I believe, to have adviſed me to enter the breach of an Act of Parliament, without ſurety of Pardon, although the King command it, and were ſuch indeed as it were no matter to do it at all. And thus I anſwer the Letters with worldly civil Reaſons, and take your mind and Zeal towards me to be as tender as may be; and yet you ſee that the following of your Advice might make me loſe my Biſhoprick by mine own Act, which I am ſure you would I ſhould keep, and ſo would I, as might ſtand with my Truth and Honeſty, and none otherwiſe, as knoweth God, who ſend you heartily well to fare.

Number 14.

The Concluſion of Gardiner's *Letter to the Protector, againſt the lawfulneſs of the Injunctions.*

Cotton Libr. *Veſp.* D. 18.

WHether the King may command againſt the Common Law, or an Act of Parliament, there is never a Judg, or other Man in the Realm, ought to know more by experience, of that the Lawyers have ſaid, than I.

Firſt, My Lord Cardinal had obtained his Legacy by our late Sovereign Lord's Requeſt at *Rome*; yet being it was againſt the Laws of the Realm, the Judges cenſured the Offence of Premunire; which Matter I bore away, and take it for a Law of the Realm, becauſe the Lawyers ſaid ſo, but my Reaſon digeſted it not.

The Lawyers, for the confirmation of their Doings, brought in a Caſe of my Lord *Typtoft*, an Earl he was, and learned in Civil Laws; who being Chancellor, becauſe in execution of the King's Commiſſion he offended the Laws of the Realm, he ſuffered on *Tower Hill*: they brought in the Examples of many Judges that had Fines ſet on their Heads in like caſe, for tranſgreſſion of the Laws by the King's Commandment; and this I learned in this Caſe.

Since that time being of the Council, when many Proclamations were deviſed againſt the Carriers out of Corn; when it came to puniſhing the Offenders, the Judges would anſwer, it might not be by the Laws, becauſe the Act of Parliament gave liberty, Wheat being under a price: Whereupon at the laſt followed the Act of Proclamations,

tion, in the passing whereof were many large words.

When the Bishop of *Exeter* and his Chancellor were by one *Body* brought into a Premunire, I reasoned with the Lord *Audley*, then Chancellor, so far, as he bad me hold my peace, for fear of entring a Premunire my self: But I concluded, that although I must take it as of their Authority that it is Common Law, yet I could not see how a Man authorised by the King, as since the King's Majesty hath taken upon him the Supremacy, every Bishop is, that Man could fall in a Premunire.

I reasoned once in the Parliament House, where was free Speech without danger; and there the Lord *Audley* Chancellor, then to satisfy me, because I was in some secret estimation as he knew. Thou art a good Fellow, Bishop, (quoth he) look the Act of the Supremacy, and shew the King's Doings be restrained to Spiritual Jurisdiction: And in another Act, No Spiritual Law shall have place contrary to a Common Law, or an Act of Parliament. And if this were not (quoth he) the Bishops would enter in with the King, and by means of his Supremacy order the Law as you listed; but we will provide (quoth he) that the Premunire shall never go off your Heads. This I bare away there, and held my peace.

Since that time, in a Case of Jewels, I was fain, with the Emperor's Ambassador *Chapinius* when he was here, and in the Emperor's Court also, to defend and maintain by Commandment, that the King's Majesty was not above his Laws, and therefore the Jeweller, although he had the King's Bill signed, yet it would not serve, because it was not obtained after the Order of the Law, in which Matter I was very much troubled. Even this time twelve-month, when I was in Commission with my Lord great Master, and the Earl of *Southampton*, for the altering of the Court of *Augmentations*, there was my Lord *Montague*, and other of the King's Learned Council, of whom I learned what the King might do against an Act of Parliament, and what danger it was to them that medled. It is fresh in my Memory, and they can tell whether I say true or no; and therefore being learned in so notable Causes, I wrote in your absence therein, as I had learned by hearing the Common Lawyers speak (whose Judgment rule these Matters) howsoever my reason can digest them. When I wrote thereof, the Matter was so reasonable, as I have been learned by the Lawyers of the Realm, that I trusted my Lords would have staied till your Graces return.

Number 15.

A Letter from the Duke of Somerset *to the Lady* Mary, *in the beginning of King* Edward's *Reign.*

Madam, my humble Commendations to your Grace premised;

THese may be to signify unto the same, that I have received your Letters of the second of this present, by *Jane* your Servant, acknowledging my self thereby much bound unto your Grace; nevertheless I am very sorry to perceive that your Grace should have or *Cotton* Libr. *Faustin.* C. 2.

conceive any ſiniſter or wrong Opinion in me and others, which were by the King, your late Father, and our moſt gracious Maſter, put in truſt as Executors of his Will, albeit the truth of our Doings being known to your Grace, as it ſeemeth by your ſaid Letter not to be. I truſt there ſhall be no ſuch Fault found in us, as in the ſame your Grace hath alleaged; and for my part, I know none of us that will willingly neglect the full execution of every Jot of his ſaid Will, as far as ſhall and may ſtand with the King our Maſter's Honour and Surety that now is: otherwiſe I am ſure that your Grace, nor none other his faithful Subjects, would have it take place; not doubting but our Doings and Proceedings therein, and in all things committed to our Charge, ſhall be ſuch as ſhall be able to anſwer the whole World, both in honour and diſcharge of our Conſciences. And where your Grace writeth, that the moſt part of the Realm, through a naughty Liberty and Preſumption, are now brought into ſuch a Diviſion, as if we Executors go not about to bring them to that ſtay that our late Maſter left them; they will forſake all Obedience, unleſs they have their own Will and Phantaſies, and then it muſt follow that the King ſhall not be well ſerved, and that all other Realms ſhall have us in an Obloquy and Deriſion, and not without juſt cauſe. Madam, as theſe words written or ſpoken by you ſoundeth not well, ſo can I not perſwade my ſelf, that they have proceeded from the ſincere mind of ſo vertuous and ſo wiſe a Lady, but rather by the ſetting on and procurement of ſome uncharitable and malicious Perſons, of which ſort there are too many in theſe days, the more pity: but yet we muſt not be ſo ſimple ſo to weigh and regard the ſayings of ill-diſpoſed People, and the Doings of other Realms and Countries, as for that Report we ſhould neglect our Duty to God, and to our Soveraign Lord and Native Country, for then we might be juſtly called evil Servants and Maſters; and thanks be given unto the Lord, ſuch hath been the King's Majeſty's Proceedings, our young noble Maſter that now is, that all his faithful Subjects have more cauſe to render their hearty thanks for the manifold Benefits ſhewed unto his Grace, and to his People and Realm, ſithence the firſt day of his Reign until this hour, than to be offended with it; and thereby rather to judg and think, that God, who knoweth the Hearts of all Men, is contented and pleaſed with his Miniſters, who ſeek nothing but the true Glory of God, and the Surety of the King's Perſon, with the Quietneſs and Wealth of his Subjects. And where your Grace writeth alſo, That there was a Godly Order and Quietneſs left by the King our late Maſter, your Grace's Father, in this Realm at the time of his Death; and that the Spirituality and Temporality of the whole Realm, did not only, without compulſion, fully aſſent to his Doings and Proceedings, eſpecially in Matters of Religion, but alſo in all kind of Talk, whereof, as your Grace wrote, ye can partly be witneſs your ſelf; at which your Grace's Sayings I do ſomething marvel: For if it may pleaſe you to call to your remembrance what great Labours, Travels, and Pains, his Grace had, before he could reform ſome of thoſe ſtiff-necked Romaniſts or Papiſts: yea, and did not they cauſe his Subjects riſe and rebel againſt him, and conſtrained him to take the Sword in his hand, not without danger to his Perſon and Realm? Alas, why ſhould your Grace ſo ſhortly forget that great Outrage done by thoſe Generations of

of Vipers unto his Noble Perſon only for God's Cauſe? Did not ſome of the ſame ill kind alſo, I mean that Romaniſt Sect, as well within his own Realm as without, conſpire oftentimes his Death, which was manifeſtly and oftentimes proved, to the confuſion of ſome of their privy Aſſiſters. Then was it not that all the Spirituality, nor yet the Temporality, did ſo fully aſſent to his Godly Orders, as your Grace writeth of? Did not his Grace alſo depart from this Life before he had fully finiſhed ſuch Orders as he minded to have eſtabliſhed to all his People, if Death had not prevented him? Is it not moſt true, that no kind of Religion was perfected at his Death, but left all uncertain, moſt like to have brought us into Parties and Diviſions, if God had not only helpt us? And doth your Grace think it convenient it ſhould ſo remain? God forbid. What regret and ſorrow our late Maſter had, the time he ſaw he muſt depart, for that he knew the Religion was not eſtabliſhed as he purpoſed to have done, I and others can be witneſs and teſtify; and what he would have done further in it, if he had lived, a great many know, and alſo I can teſtifie: And doth your Grace, who is learned, and ſhould know God's Word, eſteem true Religion, and the knowledg of the Scriptures, to be new-fangledneſs and fantaſie? For the Lord's ſake turn the Leaf, and look the other while upon the other ſide, I mean, with another Judgment, which muſt paſs by an humble Spirit through the Peace of the Living God, who of his infinite Goodneſs and Mercy grant unto your Grace plenty thereof, to the ſatisfying of your Sovereign, and your moſt noble Hearts continual deſire.

Number 16.

Certain Petitions and Requeſts made by the Clergie of the Lower Houſe of the Convocation, to the moſt Reverend Father in God the Arch-biſhop of Canterbury *his Grace, and the reſidue of the Prelats of the Higher Houſe, for the furtherance of certain Articles following.*

Firſt; That Eccleſiaſtical Laws may be made and eſtabliſhed in this Realm by thirty two Perſons, or ſo many as ſhall pleaſe the King's Majeſty to name and appoint, according to the effect of a late Statute made in the 35*th* Year of the moſt noble King, and of moſt famous Memory, King *Henry* the 8*th*. So that all Judges Eccleſiaſtical, proceeding after thoſe Laws, may be without danger and peril. Ex MS. Dr. *Stillingfleet.*

Alſo that according to the Ancient Cuſtom of this Realm, and the Tenour of the King's Writ for the ſummoning of the Parliament, which be now, and ever have been, directed to the Biſhops of every Dioceſs, the Clergy of the Lower Houſe of the Convocation may be adjoined, and aſſociate with the Lower Houſe of the Parliament; or elſe, That all ſuch Statutes and Ordinances as ſhall be made concerning all Matters of Religion and Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, may not paſs without the ſight and aſſent of the ſaid Clergy.

Alſo

Alſo that whereas by the Commandment of King *Henry* the 8th, certain Prelats and learned Men were appointed to alter the Service in the Church, and to deviſe other convenient and uniform Order therein; Who according to the ſame Appointment, did make certain Books, as they be informed: Their Requeſt is, That the ſaid Books may be ſeen and peruſed by them, for a better expedition of Divine Service to be ſet forth accordingly.

Alſo that Men being called to Spiritual Promotions, or Benefices, may have ſome Allowance for their neceſſary Living, and other Charges to be ſuſtained and born, concerning the ſame Benefices, in the firſt Year wherein they pay the firſt Fruits?

Whether the Clergy of the Convocation may liberally ſpeak their Minds without danger of Statute or Law?

Number 17.

A ſecond Petition to the ſame purpoſe.

Ex MS. Dr. *Stillingfleet.*

WHere the Clergy, in this preſent Convocation aſſembled, have made humble ſuit unto the moſt Reverend Father in God, my Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and all the other Biſhops, That it may pleaſe them to be a Mean to the King's Majeſty, and Lord Protector's Grace, that the ſaid Clergy, according to the Tenour of the King's Writ, and the Ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of this Noble Realm, might have their Room and Place, and be aſſociated with the Commons in the Nether Houſe of this preſent Parliament, as Members of the Common-Wealth, and the King's moſt humble Subjects. And if this may not be permitted and granted unto them, that then no Statutes or Laws concerning the Chriſtian Religion, or which ſhall concern eſpecially the Perſons, Poſſeſſions, Rooms, Livings, Juriſdictions, Goods or Chattels of the ſaid Clergy, may paſs nor be enacted, the ſaid Clergy not being made privy thereunto, and their Anſwers and Reaſons not heard. The ſaid Clergy do moſt humbly beſeech an Anſwer and Declaration to be made unto them, what the ſaid moſt Reverend Father in God, and all other the Biſhops, have done in this their humble Suit and Requeſt, to the end that the ſaid Clergy, if need be, may chuſe of themſelves ſuch able and diſcreet Perſons, which ſhall effectually follow the ſame Suit in the Name of them all.

And whereas in a Statute ordained and eſtabliſhed by Authority of Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, in the 25th Year of the Reign of the moſt excellent Prince King *Henry* the 8th; The Clergy of this Realm ſubmitting themſelves to the King's Highneſs, did knowledg and confeſs, according to the Truth, That the Convocations of the ſame Clergy have been, and ought to be aſſembled by the King's Writ, and did promiſe farther, *in Verbo Sacerdotii*, that they never from thenceforth would preſume to attempt, alledg, claim, or put in uſe, or enact, promulge, or execute any new Canons, Conſtitutions, Ordinances, Provincials,

Provincials, or other, or by whatsoever other Name they shall be called in the Convocation, unless the King's most Royal Assent and License may to them be had to make, promulge, and execute the same. And his Majesty to give his most Royal Assent and Authority in that behalf, upon pain of every one of the Clergy doing the contrary, and being thereof Convict, to suffer Imprisonment, and make Fine at the King's Will. And that no Canons, Constitutions, or Ordinances shall be made or put in execution within this Realm, by Authority of the Convocation of the Clergy, which shall be repugnant to the King's Prerogative Royal, or the Customs, Laws, or Statutes of this Realm; which Statute is eft-soons renewed and established in the 27th Year of the Reign of the most noble King, as by the Tenour of both Statutes more at large will appear. The said Clergy being presently assembled in Convocation, by Authority of the King's Writ, do desire that the King's Majesty's License in writing, may be for them obtained and granted, according to the effect of the said Statutes authorising them to attempt, entreat, and commune of such Matters, and therein freely to give their Consents, which otherwise they may not do upon pain and peril premised.

Also the said Clergy desireth, that such Matters as concerneth Religion, which be disputable, may be quietly and in good order reasoned and disputed among them in this House, whereby the Verities of such Matters shall the better appear, and the Doubts being opened, and reasonably discussed, Men may be fully perswaded with the quietness of their Consciences, and the time well spent.

Number 18.

A Paper offered to Q. *Elizabeth*, and afterwards to K. *James*, concerning the Inferior Clergies being brought to the House of Commons.

Reasons to induce her Majesty, that Deans, Arch-deacons, and some other of her grave and wise Clergie, may be admitted into the Lower House of Parliament.

1. IN former Times, when Causes Ecclesiastical were either not at all, or else very rarely treated of in that Assembly, the Clergy were thought Men most meet to consult and determine of the Civil Affairs of this Realm. Ex MS. Dr. *Barlace.*

2. The Supream Authority in Church-Causes, is not newly granted, but reunited and restored to the Crown; and an Order is by Law already established, how all Abuses in the Church are to be reformed: so as no Cause concerning Religion may be handled in that House, without her Majesty's special leave, but with the manifest impeaching of her Prerogative Royal, and contempt of the said Order.

3. If it shall please her Highness to give way to this Course, that Church-Matters be there debated, and in part concluded: How much more necessary is it now, than it was in former Times, that some of the Clergy should be there present at the same?

4. *It

4. * It doth not appear why they were excluded, but as it is thought either the King offended with ſome of them, did ſo grievouſly puniſh the whole Body, or elſe the Ambition of one of them meeting with the ſubtilty of an undermining Politick, did occaſion this cauſeleſs Separation.

* In the ſame Paper written over to be preſented to K. *James*, this Article is thus varied. *It is thought the Clergy falling into a Premunire, and ſo not in the King's Protection, it did afterwards pleaſe the King to pardon them, but not to reſtore them. So began this Separation, as far forth as can be collected; then the Wiſdom of a great Politician, meeting with the Ambition of as great a Prelat, wrought the continuance of the ſaid Separation; under this pretence, That it ſhould be moſt for the Honour of him and his Clergy, to be ſtill by themſelves in two Aſſemblies of Convocation, anſwerable in proportion to the two Houſes of Parliament.* There are many other inconſiderable Amendments made by Biſhop *Ravis*'s own hand.

5. They are yet to this day called by ſeveral Writs, directed into their ſeveral Dioceſſes under the Great Seal, to aſſiſt the Prince in the High Court of Parliament.

6. Though the Clergy and the Univerſities be not the worſt Members of this Common-Wealth, yet in that reſpect they are of all other in worſt condition; for in that Aſſembly every Shire hath their Knights, and every incorporate Town their Burgeſſes, only the Clergy and the Univerſities are excluded.

7. The Wiſdom and Juſtice of this Realm doth intend, That no Subject ſhould be bound to that Law, whereunto he himſelf (after a ſort) hath not yielded his Conſent; but the Clergy and the Univerſities may now be concluded by Law, without their Conſent, without their juſt Defence, without their Privity.

8. The many Motions made ſo prejudicial to the State and Being of the Clergy and Univerſities, followed now with ſo great eagerneſs in that Houſe, would then be utterly ſilenced, or ſoon repreſſed, with the ſober and ſufficient Anſwers of the Clergy preſent.

9. It would much repair the Reputation and Credit of the Clergy, which now is expoſed to great contumely and contempt, as generally abroad in this Land, ſo particularly in that Houſe. And whoſo is religious and wiſe may obſerve, That the Contempt of the Clergy is the high way to Atheiſm and all Prophaneneſs. Men are Fleſh and not Spirit, led by ordinary outward Means, and not uſually overwrought by extraordinary Inſpirations; and therefore do eaſily deſpiſe their Doctrine, whoſe Perſons they have in contempt.

10. Look into the whole World, Chriſtian or Unchriſtian, and ſee if the Civil State in every Place be not ſupported and maintained by the Dignity and Authority of their Clergies, ſubordinate and ſubjected unto them: As on the contrary, where the Clergy is baſe and contemptible, there grows an Anarchy and Confuſion. It is Conſcience that works Obedience to the temporal Magiſtrate, not Conſtitutions, nor Couſtraint; the one may command it, the other may correct the breach of it, only Religion effects a peaceable Subjection.

11. It concerneth the Clergy, moſt of all Men in *England*, that the preſent State be continued, as now it is happily eſtabliſhed without any alteration. Whereas ſome others in that Houſe may think it would be good for them to fiſh in troubled Waters, or that any change would be better

being to them, than their present Estate wherein they live so Malecontent, through their own unthriftiness or malignity of Nature, or perverseness of Opinion.

12. If hereafter God in justice shoul plague us for our Sins, by taking away the joy of our Hearts, yet how greatly would it tend to his Glory, the Good of this Land, and the honour of her blessed Memory; if it shall please her Majesty, to leave a Portion of the Clergy interessed in that House, where they may stand for the Godly Government established in her days, against all Innovation of Popery or Puritanism?

13. In the mean time (which God in Mercy grant may be for many Generations) her Majesty shall be sure of a number more in that Assembly, that ever will be most ready to maintain her Prerogative, and to enact whatsoever may make most for her Highness safety and contentment, as the Men that next under God's Goodness do most depend upon her Princely Clemency and Protection.

14. It would much recover the ancient Estimation and Authority of that Assembly, if it might be encreased with Men of Religion, Learning and Discretion; which now is somewhat imbased by Youths, Serving-men, and Out-Laws, that injuriously are crept into the Honorable House.

15. And it is the more necessary that there were some more Men of Gravity and Judgment in that Meeting, that might counterpoise the Rashness and headiness of others that have intruded themselves, especially considering that a Cipher is as sufficient to promote a single Figure of One into the place of Ten, as the best Man that giveth Voice in that House, when they come to calculating.

Number 19.

A Letter of Martin Bucers *to* Gropper.

Gratiam & Pacem Doctissime & Amicissime Vir.

Quod tam sero respondeo ad tuas Literas, quanquam etiam occupationes Ministerii mei, tamen id magis in causa fuit, quod non satis sciverem, quomodo respondere conveniret, simul meæ in te Charitati meoq; Ministerio, & præsenti temporis conditioni. Sed tamen quia Charitati Deus facile omnia secundat, & frugifera facit, hac incitatus nunc respondeo, & respondeo ex ejus dictatione. Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

Et primum de eo, quod te de meo adventu & Ministerio non præmonuerim. Quod per totam Germaniam increbuerat, etiam antequam Ego certus de vocatione ista essem, non putavi te latere posse. Nec etiam ut adveni & priusquam aliquid Ministerii inivissem, tuum colloquium expetii. Certe nihil maluissem quam a te ante omnia doceri & instrui. Novit Christus quid tibi Tribuam.

Quod scribis te cupere meam conditionem sic esse ut Clero & populo Vestræ Coloniæ Agrippinæ gratus esse & placere possem, hanc cum secus se res habeant, non esse quod tibi quid imputem. Tibi optime Groppere nihil hujus imputo, confido enim te,

me, quo ipſe loco habes, eo etiam ſtudere apud alios collocare.

Sed cogitemus juxta, cui, Ego Clero iſtic, cui populo & cui gratus minus ſim, & non placeam, Clerus & Populus Chriſti cum Domino ſuo. Perſonam nullam in invocantibus Chriſtum, in iis præſertim, quos aliqua Religionis Noſtræ opinio commendat, averſatur: quamvis deprehenſi in contumelia Chriſti, in deſertione verbi ejus, in Scandalo objecto Eccleſiæ ejus; Lex noſtra non Judicat quenquam niſi audierit prius ab eo, & cognoverit quid fecerit. Audiant, cognoſcant, tum Judicent: audire & cognoſcere nolunt nec Judicare jure poſſunt. Vulgata eſt hæc Reſponſio, ſed noſti etiam Jure Divino, Naturæ, & ſcripto ab hominibus niti.

Sed O Clerum, O ſortem Domini, & habentes Chriſtum ſortem ſuam. Gratias ago Chriſto Domino noſtro quod in me nihil deprehendet veſter Clerus & Populus, cur me ullo Jure abjicere, nedum proſequi queant. Aſſumpſit me Dominus, Servorum non eſt rejicere: poſuit me in Miniſterium ſuum Chriſtus, depelli ine eo nemo de Clero Chriſti poſtulabit. Agnoſcunt ſe invicem & amant, atq; in opere eodem permovent, quicunq; Chriſti Spiritu vivunt & aguntur, qui hunc non habet, Chriſti non ſunt, quicquid ipſi ſe, vel alii eos vocent.

Diſplicet in me quod videor aliquid Canonum, ſed humanitus tum Conditorum, tranſgreſſus. Hoc ſi propter Eccleſiam Chriſti, vel ejus ædificationem vel ornatum diſpliceret, non tolerata fuiſſent tam diu, & hodie tolerarentur, tam horrendæ & Manifeſtæ Simoniæ, Sacrilegia, & vitæ totius tanta, adeoq; & Canonibus, & Divinis Legibus graviter damnata fœditas. Chriſti igitur veritas, & libertas in me diſplicet, non tranſgreſſio Canonum, quam in ſummis neceſſariis Sanctionibus penitus & tot jam ſæculis pro ridiculo habent.

Conſolabor itaq; me in Domino, Beati eſtis, cum vos odio habuerint homines, & a ſe excluſerint, atq; convitiis proſciderint & rejecerint nomen veſtrum tanquam nefandum; Cauſa Filii hominis, Qui in Cœlis ſedet. Pater videt profecto hoſce conatus contra Regnum Filii ſui, & brevi loquetur illis in ira ſua. Avertat miſericordia ejus, quæ ſequuntur.

Deploranda profecto Cæcitas, non videre hanc Dei clariſſimam lucem, infanda ſtupiditas, iſta Dei Judicia non ſentire. Quotidie cernunt & audiunt ut collidantur, qui impingunt in hanc Petram Scandali, & ut commolat illa, in quos ipſa ceciderit, & tamen conantur huc rejicere hunc lapidem, quem Pater in Zion pro fundamento & angulo poſuit. Sed dolent hæc & tibi, ac mecum ea deploras, provides enim quid iſta malorum invehant, & adhuc invectura ſint.

Audio pleroſq; multo quam antea ſolitum fuit concionari purius, audivi etiam quoſdam ipſe, in quorum concionibus nihil reprehendendum audiebatur, aut quam multa deſiderabantur. Nam pro Amplitudine Majeſtatis Chriſti, prædicanda Chriſti omnia ſunt: hoc eſt ſumma perſpicuitate, libertate & virtute, non enim ut multa præclara cogitemus, aut loquamur, ſed ut Domino magis magiſq; fidamus, nomen ejus celebremus: idq; verbis & factis omnibus, ſacræ Conciones habendæ ſunt. Quare etiam oppoſita juxta ſe ponenda ſunt ut magis illuceſcant, ſed ad ſingularia Sermo dimittendus eſt ut plus moneat.

In Templo D. Columbæ, aiunt Idolo ejus Imaginis parari veſtem majoris precii quam Centum Florenorum. Si jam Paſtor hujus Parochiæ

Chriſtum

Christum pure & ἐνεργῶς cum effectu prædicat, qui ferat tam pudendam Idolatriam? Et si ornari statuam posse aliquo colore dicere conetur, quare non eum cultum præscribet, quem gratum Martyribus & S. Patres tradiderunt, cultum qui Cruci Christi sit consentaneus: Sed sicut ipsi verbis Christo omnia tribuunt, facto autem quærunt & prosequuntur ea multa contra Christum, ita faciunt etiam populum delectari nonnihil Saniore Doctrina. Omni autem Vita & Religione permanere in omnibus Superstitionibus & Vitæ impuritate in qua antea hærebat.

Jactatur magna populi devotio istis & erga Pastores suos reverentia, hoc autem gravius peccatur, cum illis Christus non quam simplicissime in omnibus etiam Ceremoniis prædicatur. Sed O spinas existimationis & commoditas mundialis, O fundum tenuem, & humorem malignum, in quo æstus Crucis enatum semen tam cito arefacit! Hæc de iis scribo ad quos pertinent.

De te non dubito Gloriam Christi & propugnationem Regni ejus ubi quoq; ut scribis, cordi esse: tamen te rogo per Christum id quod agis diligenter & coram Christo Domino exercitas.

Sed nolui tamen sic urgere Causam Christi, ut dum promotam eam velim, magis remorer. Zelum oportet esse secundum scientiam. Recte hæc, si rite intelligantur. Sed scientia Spiritus, non Carnis, hic opus est. Causa Christi nec debet nec potest per se quidem urgeri nisi assiduis precibus, & modesta, leni, Religiosa, sed libera, sed clara, sed integra confessione & prædicatione Christi, eaq; quæ non verbis tantum sed etiam factis constet. Hoc si scimus & agimus, Zelum habemus secundum scientiam, & Causam Christi tantum promovere, & remorari non possumus. Nam Christo tradita est omnis potestas in Cœlo & in Terra, ipsique nihil est Potestatis per se Pontifici, cucullatis & personatis, ac quibusvis titulis titulatis hominibus, qui scilicet ægreferant liberam & apertam Christi Prædicationem. Est quidem aliquando tacendum Evangelium Christi, sed apud canes & porcos, imo nec apud hos tacendum est, cum Gloria Christi agitur: sed animose confitendum est, quanquam non sit illis late explicandum, id est, Sanctum hoc projiciendum & Margaritæ istæ spargendæ.

Sunt qui ferre nos Lutheranos non possunt, & tamen a Regno Christi non abhorrent? Ubi quæso sunt & qui? Qui enim aliquid Christi sapiunt, ii neminem odisse & condemnare sustinent, non auditum, non cognita causa; nam Filii Dei agnoscunt loquelam Christi, oves quæ sequuntur vocem ejus, per quemcunq; eam insonari fecerit.

Si Reformatio Ecclesiæ per istos ulla quæritur, indubie id quærent, ut Membra Christi omnia sub Capite Christo recolligantur & reconcinnentur & conptentur. Quare nemo horum, qui vero Reformationis sunt studio tenetur, ullum hominem sub ullo titulo, quamvis odiosum scandalo Crucis Christi, cuiquam imposuerit, ab hoc sancto opere instaurandi Ecclesias rejiciat, præsertim cum luce meridiana constet clarius, Pontificios nihil prorsus passuros mutari. Quid ergo? non quæremus ut Patria nostra tam pernitiosis desidiis aliquando liberaretur, ut uno tandem ore Christum glorificemus.

Ne resecemus vites, & uvas queramus a Spinis. Valeat apud nos præjudicium Christi; quoscq; ille assumpsit, eos conservi ne repudiemus. Quid cuiq; datum sit facile videre est: arbor quælibet ut plantata est, ut ingenium habet, ita fert fructum. Ne fugiamus Scandalum

Crucis cum quo Christus est. Et si Christi nos non pudet, nec servorum ejus nos pudeat. Paulus scribit Timotheo, ne pudet te Testimonii Domini nostri, neq; mei vincti ejus: ita dum nos negotia Domini agimus sinceriter, nec nostri quisquam, quamtumlibet nos Mundus inter damnatos numeret, qui Christi sit, pudebit. Non est res ulla, ad quam quisquam eam sincere agit, magis expetat adjuvari se, etiamsi fieri posset ab omnibus Creaturis, atq; est negotium Reformationis Christianæ.

Irascentur quidam, tumultuabuntur graviter credo, & impedient negotium Domini; hoc non credo, neq; enim poterunt. Et ut Dominus eis gravissima contra Regnum suum facere concedat, tamen nobis Filii Dei propterea nihil tacendum, nihil dissimulandum, nihil remittendum est in hac Causa Christi.

Jubes me non suspicari te sic mundo inescatum, ut refugias Crucem Domini ferre, si ita res postulet, & fructum facturus videare: de te profecto hoc bonis apud quos convenit semper Testor, te mihi multo plura in Causa Christi hactenus semper reipsa præstitisse, quam promisisse aut etiam verbis præ te tulisse: apud me quidem, cum contrarium tuæ vitæ cidat a quodam, nisi te Christi membrum & præclaris dotibus ornatum suspicerem, credo, ita dedit mihi Dominus sublimia Mundi non mirari, tuam amicitiam & familiaritatem tantopere non quæsiviſſem, nec ut studio colerem: sed valde oro Dominum det tibi videre ubi, quando & qua ratione fructum pro Regno facere possis; & animet te ac corroboret forti contemplatione Potestatis & Majestatis suæ, ut vere dicas, non mihi gloriari nisi in Cruce Domini Nostri Jesu Christi per quem mihi Mundus Crucifixus est & ego mundo. Tantæ opes, honores, Curiarum sæcularium, tamen spinæ sunt, tamen onera sunt. Presbyteri Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, cujus præcipuum munus est prædicare Christum. Clericum veteres Sancti non patiebantur, vel tutelam pupillorum, vel curam viduarum suscipere, tam liberum volebant esse eris hujus Sæculi omnem Clericum: at quantis tu ac etiam privatis cum, nec tamen semper Pupillorum & Viduarum prægravaris, id dolet hodie & tibi ipsi. Acceptabile Tempus nunc est & Dies Salutis, sed tempus breve, visitationem Nostram tempore agnoscamus & sequamur.

Hæc dum non datur commentari tecum coram, quia te vere diligo, quia colo sinceriter, cum hunc certum haberem nuncium, ad te scribere volui.

Quod magnificum D. Cancellarium meis Verbis diligenter Salutasti, gratias ago, utinam autem & resalutare ille, vel hic cum fuit, quod usq; ad eam Diem quo iterum abiit clam me fuit, admittere me ad pium colloquium dignatus esset. Tamen rogo salutes illum officiose meis verbis.

Dominus Jesus qui solus & efficit & largitur omne bonum, donet ut omnia in ipso quæramus, & ab ipso expectemus: Sic facile nos in ipso agnoscemus & complectemur, quicquid odiosorum Titulorum Diabolus & Membra ejus injiciant. In Christo enim nec Mas quidem & Fœmina, Judæus & Ethnicus, nedum Lutherani & Romani; sed omnes unum sunt. In hoc bene vale, & fac pro Christi Charitate ut tandem nos aliquando videamus, & Sancto Colloquio nos mutuo recreemus. Optime

mi & colende atq; vere dilecte Cordi meo Groppere. Bonn pridie Calendas Februarii 1543.

Deditus Tibi in Domino,

M. Bucerus.

Præcipuum oblitus eram, te per Christum rogo & obtestor, mone ad hunc me, versantem in Negotio Christi. Debes hoc Christo; & apud me tuto depones omnia nec unquam frustra monebis.

Number 20.

Questions and Answers concerning the Divorce of the Marquess of Northampton.

1. QUid dirimit Matrimonii Vinculum? Ex MS. Dr. *Stillingfleet.*
2. Quas ob causas dirimi poterit?
3. An dirimi poterit Conjugium a thoro, non a vinculo?
4. Quibus casibus possit sic dirimi?
5. An exceptio illa (*excepta Fornicationis causa*) etiam in Lucæ, Marci & Pauli locis, qui de his rebus tractant, est subaudienda?
6. An etiam Uxor, repudiata propter Adulterium, alteri poterit nubere?
7. An redire ad priorem maritum, repudiatæ Adulteræ liceat?
8. An Maritus, propter Adulterium, ab Uxore casta possit repudiari?

Ad primam Respondemus; Ipso Adulterii facto Matrimonii vinculum dirimi. Nam alioquin, ob solum Adulterium non liceret viro Uxorem repudiare: voluntas viri solicitat judices, Judices palam faciunt Ecclesiæ, virum licite talem repudiare Uxorem.

Ad secundam Resp. Quod ob solam causam stupri dirimitur Matrimonii vinculum: cujus ipso quidem facto, Conjugii dissolvitur nodus; & loquimur his, qui Sacrosancti Matrimonii jus agnoscunt.

Ad tertiam Resp. Quod non; quia Mulier quamdiu vixerit, *alligata est viro*, Rom. 7. *item ne fraudetis vos invicem*, 1 Cor. 7. item in eodem loco Uxori Vir debitam benevolentiam reddat simpliciter, & Uxor viro, *non Vir non habat potestatem sui corporis*, sed Uxor similiter; *nec Uxor habeat potestatem sui corporis, sed Vir.*

Ad quartam patet in responsione ad tertiam.

Ad quintam Respondemus; quod exceptio ista, viz. *Nisi causa stupri*; est subaudienda in Luca, Marco & Paulo: alioquin manifesta erit repugnantia inter Matthæum & eos.

Ad sextam respond. Quod repudiata propter Adulterium, quia Uxor repudiantis desiit esse, ob idq; libera est sicut aliæ omnes post obitum virorum possunt aliis nubere; æquo jure juxta illud *Pauli, si non continent, contrahant Matrimonium*, 1 Cor. 7.

Ad septimam respond. Quod non licet repudiatæ Adulteræ redire ad repudiantem, tanquam alligatæ ei Jugi vinculo Matrimonii.

Ultima Quæstio Nihil ad Nos.

Injunctions

Number 21.

Injunctions given by the King's Majesty's Visitors, to all and every the Clergie and Laity, now resident within the Deanry of Ducastre.

Ex MS. Dr. Johnson.

Item. YOu shall not hereafter, in the Pulpit or elsewhere, on the *Sunday*, or any other day, give knowledg to your Parishioners, when or what day in the Week any of the Abrogate Holy-days were solemnized or kept in the Church, but omit the same with silence as other Working-days, for the utter abolishing of the remembrance thereof.

Item. You shall teach your Parishioners, That Fasting in the Lent, and other days, is a meer Positive, that is to say, Man's Law; and by the Magistrates, upon considerations, may be altered, changed, and dispensed with: and that therefore all Persons having just cause of Sickness, or other Necessity, or being licensed thereto, may temperately eat all kinds of Meat, without scruple or grudg of Conscience.

Item. You shall every day, that an High Mass is said or sung at the High Altar, before the same Mass, read openly in your Church the English *Suffrages*, for the preservation and safeguard of the King's Majesty's People, and prosperous success of his Affairs.

Item. You shall every *Sunday*, at the time of your going about the Church with Holy-Water, into three or four places, where most audience and assembly of People is, for the declaration of the Ceremonies, say, distinctly and plainly, that your Parishioners may well hear and perceive the same, these words,

Remember Christ's Blood-shedding, by the which only sprinkling of all your Sins you have free pardon.

And in like manner, before the dealing of the Holy Bread, these words,

Of Christ's Body this is a Token; which on the Cross for our sins was broken; wherefore of his Death if you will be partaker, Vice and Sin you must be forsaker.

And the Clarke in the like manner shall bring down the Pax, and standing without the Church-Door, shall say loudly to the People these words;

This is a Token of joyful Peace, which is betwixt God and Man's Conscience: Christ alone is the Peace-maker, which straitly commands Peace between Brother and Brother.

And so long as ye use these Ceremonies, so long shall ye use these Significations.

Item

Item. The Church-Wardens of every Parish-Church shall, some one *Sunday*, or other Festival day, every Month, go about the Church, and make request to every of the Parish for their charitable Contribution to the Poor; and the Sum so collected, shall be put in the Chest of Alms for that purpose provided. And forasmuch as the Parish-Clark shall not hereafter go about the Parish with his Holy Water as hath been accustomed, he shall, instead of that labour, accompany the said Church-Wardens, and in a Book Register the Name and Sum of every Man that giveth any thing to the Poor, and the same shall intable; and against the next day of Collection, shall hang up some-where in the Church in open place, to the intent the Poor having knowledg thereby, by whose Charity and Alms they be relieved, may pray for the increase and prosperity of the same.

Item. The Church-Wardens, for the better relief of honest Poverty, shall, upon sufficient Surety found for the repayment of the same, lend to some young married Couple, or some poor Inhabitants of their Parish, some part of the said Alms, whereby they may buy some kind of Stuff, by the working, sale, and gains whereof, they may repay the Sum borrowed, and also well relieve themselves; or else the said Church-Wardens to buy the Stuff themselves, and pay the Poor for their working thereof; and after sale of the same, to return the Sum, with the gain, to the said Chest, there to remain to such-like use.

Item. Forasmuch as heretofore you have not, by any means, diligence or study, advanced your selves unto knowledg in God's Word, and the Scriptures, condignly, as appertaineth to Priests, and Dispensers of God's Testament; to the intent you may hereafter be of better ability to discharge your selves towards God, and your Offices to the World, you shall daily, for your own study and knowledg, read over diligently, and weigh with judgment, two Chapters of the New Testament, and one of the Old, in English, and the same shall put in use and practice, as well in living as preaching, at times convenient, when occasion is given.

Item. Forasmuch as Drunkenness, Idleness, Brawls, Dissention, and many other Inconveniences do chance between Neighbour and Neighbour, by the assembly of People together at Wakes, and on the Plough-*Mondays*; it is therefore ordered and enjoined, That hereafter the People shall use, make, or observe no more such Wakes, Plough-*Mondays*, or drawing of the same, with any such Assembly or Rout of People, or otherwise, as hath been accustomed, upon pain of forfeiting to the King's Highness 40 *s.* for every Default, to be paid by the Owner of the Plough and Housholder, whereunto the said Plough is drawn, or Wakes are kept.

The Names of the Visitors.

Sir *John Markham.*	*Roger Tongue.*
John Hearn.	*William Moreton.*
Thomas Gragrave.	*Edmund Farley.*

Number

Number 22.

A Proclamation against those that do innovate, alter, or leave undone any Rite or Ceremony in the Church on their private Authority; and against them which preach without License. Set forth the 6th day of *February*, in the second Year of the King's Majesty's most gracious Reign.

Ex Reg. *Cranmer.* Fol. 111.

THe King's Majesty, by the advice of his most entirely beloved Uncle, the Duke of Somerset, Governor of his said Royal Person, and Protector of all his Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, and others of his Counsel; Considering nothing so much to tend to the disquieting of this Realm, as diversity of Opinions and variety of Rites and Ceremonies concerning Religion, and Worshipping of Almighty God; and therefore studying all the ways and means which can be to direct this Church, and the Cure committed to his Highness, in one and most true Doctrine Rite, and Usage, yet is advertised, That certain privat Curats, Preachers, and other Lay-men, contrary to their bounden Duties of Obedience, have attempt, of their own and singular Wit and Mind, in some parts of their Churches, and otherwise, not only to persuade the People from their old and accustomed Rites and Ceremonies, but also themselves use-eth in new Orders every one in their Church, according to their Phantasies; the which, as it is an evident token of Pride and Arrogance, so it tendeth both to Confusion and Disorder, and also to the high displeasure of Almighty God, who loveth nothing so much as Order and Obedience. Wherefore his Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, That no manner of Person, of what Estate, Order, or Degree soever he be, of his privat Mind, Will, or Phantasie, do omit, leave undone, change, alter, or innovate any Order, Rite, or Ceremony, commonly used and frequented in the Church of England, and not commanded to be left undone at any time in the Reign of the late Soveraign Lord, his Highness Father, other than such as his Highness, by the Advice aforesaid, by his Majesty's Visitors, Injunctions, Statutes, or Proclamations, hath already, or hereafter shall command to be omitted, left, innovated, or changed, but that they be observed after that sort as before they were accustomed, or else untill by prescribed by the Authority of his Majesty, or by the means aforesaid; upon pain, That whosoever shall offend contrary to this Proclamation, shall incur his Highness Indignation, and suffer Imprisonment, and other grievous Punishments, at his Majesty's Will and Pleasure. Provided always, that for not bearing a Candle upon Candlemas-day; not taking Ashes upon Ash-wednesday; not bearing Palm upon Palm-Sunday; not creeping to the Cross; not taking Holy Bread, or Holy Water; or for omitting other such Rites and Ceremonies concerning Religion, and the use of the Church, which the most Reverend Father in God, the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, by

by his Majesty's Will and Commandment, with the Advice aforesaid, hath declared, or hereafter shall declare to the other Bishops, by his Writing under Seal, as heretofore hath been accustomed to be omitted or changed, no Man hereafter be imprisoned, nor otherwise punished, but all such things to be reputed for the observation and following of the same, as though they were commanded by his Majesty's Injunctions. And to the intent that rash and seditious Preachers should not abuse his Highness People, it is his Majesty's Pleasure, That whosoever shall take upon him to preach openly in any Parish-Church, Chappel, or any other open place, other than those which be licensed by the King's Majesty, or his Highness Visitors; the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of the Diocess where he doth preach, except it be Bishop, Parson, Vicar, Dean, Warden, or Provost, in his or their own Cure, shall be forthwith, upon such attempt and preaching, contrary to this Proclamation, be committed to Prison, and there remain, until such time as his Majesty, by the advice aforesaid, hath taken order for the further punishment of the same. And that the Premises should be more speedily and diligently done and performed, his Highness giveth straitly in Commandment, to all Justices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Constables, Headboroughs, Churchwardens, and all other his Majesty's Officers and Ministers, and Rulers of Towns, Parishes, and Hamlets, that they be diligent and attendant to the true and faithful execution of this Proclamation, and every part thereof, according to the intent, purport, and effect of the same. And that they of their proceedings herein, or if any Offence be, after they have committed the same to Prison, do certifie his Highness the Lord Protector, or his Majesty's Council, with all speed thereof accordingly, as they tender his Majesty's Pleasure, the Wealth of the Realm, and will answer to the contrary at their utmost perils.

God save the King.

Number 23.

An Order of Council for the Removing of Images.

AFter our right hearty Commendations to your good Lordship, where now of late, in the King's Majesty's Visitation, among other godly Injunctions commanded to be generally observed throughout all Parts of this his Highness Realm, one was set forth for the taking down all such Images as had at any time been abused with Pilgrimages, Offerings, or Censings. Albeit that this said Injunction hath in many parts of the Realm been well and quietly obeyed and executed, yet in many other places much Strife and Contention hath arisen, and daily ariseth, and more and more encreaseth, about the execution of the same: some Men being so superstitious, or rather willful, as they would by their good-wills, retain all such Images still, although they have been most manifestly abused; and in some places also the Images, which by the said Injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again;

Regist. *Cran.* *Fol.* 32.

again; and almoſt in every place is contention for Images, whether they have been abuſed or not. And whiles theſe Men go about on both ſides contentiouſly to obtain their Minds, contending whether this or that Image hath been offered unto, kiſſed, cenſed, or otherwiſe abuſed, Parties have in ſome places been taken, in ſuch ſort, as further inconvenience is very like to enſue, if Remedy be not provided in time. Conſidering therefore that almoſt in no places of the Realm is any ſure quietneſs, but where all Images be wholly taken away and pulled down already; to the intent that all Contention in every part of the Realm for this Matter may be clearly taken away, and that the lively Images of Chriſt ſhould not contend for the dead Images, which be things not neceſſary, and without which the Churches of Chriſt continued moſt Godly many Years, We have thought good to ſignify unto you, That his Highneſs Pleaſure, with advice and conſent of us the Lord Protector, and the reſt of the Council, is, That immediately upon the ſight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you ſhall not only give order, that all the Images remaining in any Church or Chappel within your Dioceſs be removed and taken away, but alſo by your Letters ſignify unto the reſt of the Biſhops within your Province, this his Highneſs Pleaſure, for the like Order to be given by them, and every of them within their ſeveral Dioceſs; and in the execution hereof We require, both you and the reſt of the ſaid Biſhops, to uſe ſuch foreſight, as the ſame may be quietly done, with as good ſatisfaction of the People as may be. Thus fare your good Lordſhip well. From *Somerſet* Houſe, the 21 of *February*, 1547.

Your Lordſhips aſſured Friends,

E. Somerſet. *T. Seymour.*
Jo. Ruſſel. *Anthony Wingfield.*
Henricus Arundel. *William Paget.*

Number 24.

The Copy of a Letter ſent to all thoſe Preachers which the King's Majeſty hath licenſed to preach, from the Lord Protector's Grace, and other of the King's Majeſty's moſt honourable Council; the 13th day of May, *in the Second Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, King* Edward *the 6th.*

AFter our right hearty Commendations, as well for the Conſervation of the Quietneſs and good Order of the King's Majeſty's Subjects, as that they ſhould not, by evil and unlearned Preachers, be brought unto Superſtition, Error, or evil Doctrine, or otherwiſe, be made ſtubborn and diſobedient to the King's Majeſty's Godly Proceedings, his Highneſs, by our Advice, hath thought good to inhibit all manner of Preachers, who have not ſuch Licenſe, as in the ſame Proclamation is allowed, to preach, or ſtir the People, in open and common preaching of Sermons, by any means, that the devout and godly Homilies,

Homilies, might the better, in the mean while, ſink into his Subjects Hearts, and be learned the ſooner, the People not being toſſed to and fro with ſeditious and contentious Preaching, while every Man, according to his Zeal, ſome better, ſome worſe, goeth about to ſet out his own Phantaſie, and to draw the People to his Opinion. Nevertheleſs it is not his Majeſty's Mind hereby clearly to extinct the lively Teaching of the Word of God, by Sermons made after ſuch ſort, as for the time the Holy Ghoſt ſhall put into the Preacher's Mind, but that raſh, contentious, hot, and undiſcreet Preachers ſhould be ſtopped; and that they only which be choſen and elect, be diſcreet and ſober Men, ſhould occupy that place, which was made for Edification, and not for Deſtruction; for the Honour of God, and Peace and Quietneſs of Conſcience to be ſet forward, not for private Glory to be advanced; to appeaſe, to teach; to inſtruct the People with Humility and Patience, not to make them contentious and proud; to inſtil into them their Duty to their Heads and Rulers, Obedience to Laws and Orders, appointed by the Superiors who have Rule of God; not that every Man ſhould run before their Heads have appointed them what to do, and that every Man ſhould chuſe his own way in Religion: The which thing yet being done of ſome Men, and they being rather provoked thereto by certain Preachers, than dehorted from it, it was neceſſary to ſet a ſtay therein: And yet foraſmuch as we have a great confidence and truſt in you, that you will not only Preach truly and ſincerely the Word of God, but alſo will uſe circumſpection and moderation in your Preaching, and ſuch Godly Wiſdom as ſhall be neceſſary and moſt convenient for the Time and Place. We have ſent unto you the King's Majeſty's Licenſe to Preach; but yet with this Exhortation and Admoniſhment, That in no wiſe you do ſtir and provoke the People to any Alteration or Innovation, other than is already ſet forth by the King's Majeſty's Injunctions, Homilies, and Proclamations; but contrariwiſe, That you do in all your Sermons exhort Men to that which is at this time more neceſſary; that is, to the emendation of their own Lives, to the obſervance of the Commandments of God, to Humility, Patience, and Obedience to their Heads and Rulers; comforting the Weak, and teaching them the right way, and to flee all old Erroneous Superſtitions, as the Confidence in Pardons, Pilgrimages, Beads, Religious Images, and other ſuch of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Traditions and Superſtions, with his uſurped Power; the which things be here in this Realm moſt juſtly aboliſhed; and ſtraitly rebuking thoſe, who of an arrogancy and proud haſtineſs, will take upon them to run before they be ſent, to go before the Rulers, to alter and change things in Religion without Authority, teaching them to expect and tarry the time which God hath ordained, to the revealing of all Truth, and not to ſeek ſo long blindly and hidlings after it, till they bring all Orders into contempt. It is not a private Man's Duty to alter Ceremonies, to innovate Orders in the Church; nor yet it is not a Preacher's part to bring that into contempt and hatred, which the Prince doth either allow, or is content to ſuffer. The King's Highneſs, by our Advice, as a Prince moſt earneſtly given to the true knowledg of God, and to bring up his People therein, doth not ceaſe to

labour and travel by all godly means, that his Realm might be brought and kept in a moſt Godly and Chriſtian Order, who only may and ought to do it. Why ſhould a private Man, or a Preacher, take this Royal and Kingly Office upon him; and not rather, as his Duty is, obediently follow himſelf, and teach likewiſe others to follow and obſerve that which is commanded. What is aboliſhed, taken away, reformed, and commanded, it is eaſy to ſee by the Acts of Parliament, the Injunctions, Proclamations, and Homilies: the which things moſt earneſtly it behoveth all Preachers in their Sermons to confirm and approve accordingly; in other things which be not yet touched, it behoveth him to think, that either the Prince doth allow them, or elſe ſuffer them; and in thoſe it is the part of a Godly Man, not to think himſelf wiſer than the King's Majeſty, and his Council: but patiently to expect and to conform himſelf thereto, and not to intermeddle further to the diſturbance of a Realm, the diſquieting of the King's People, the troubling of Mens Conſciences, and diſorder of the King's Subjects.

Theſe things we have thought good to admoniſh you of at this time, becauſe we think you will ſet the ſame ſo forward in your preaching, and ſo inſtruct the King's Majeſty's People accordingly, to the moſt advancement of the Glory of God, and the King's Majeſty's moſt Godly Proceedings, that we do not doubt but much Profit ſhall enſue thereby, and great Conformity in the People the which you do inſtruct; and ſo we pray you not to fail to do. And having a ſpecial regard to the weakneſs of the People what they may bear, and what is moſt convenient for the time: in no caſe to intermeddle in your Sermons, or otherwiſe, with Matters in Contention or Controverſion, except it be to reduce the People in them alſo to Obedience, and following of ſuch Orders as the King's Majeſty hath already ſet forth, and no others, as the King's Majeſty and our Truſt is in you, and as you tender his Highneſs Will and Pleaſure, and will anſwer to the contrary at your Peril.

Fare you well.

Printed at *London*, *June* 1. 1548.

Number 25.

Queries put concerning ſome Abuſes of the Maſs; with the Anſwers that were made by many Biſhops and Divines to them.

Queſt. 1.

Whether the Sacrament of the Altar was inſtituted to be received of one Man for another, or to be received of every Man for himſelf? Ex MS. Dr. *Stillingfleet.*

Anſwers.

THe Sacrament of the Altar was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for another, but to be recived by every Man for himſelf. *Cantuarien.*

The Sacrament of the Altar was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for one other, but of every Man for himſelf. *Eboracen.*

I think that the Sacrament of Thanks was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for another, but of every Man for himſelf. *London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven.*

The Sacrament of the Altar was inſtituted, to be received of every Man by himſelf, to make him a Member of Chriſt's Myſtical Body, and to knit and unite him to Chriſt our Head; as St. *Paul* ſaith, 1 *Cor.* 10. *Unus Panis, & unum Corpus, multi ſumus omnes qui de uno pane participamus.* *Dunelm.*

The Sacrament of the Altar was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for another Sacramentally, no more than one Man to be Chriſtened for another: notwithſtanding the Grace received by him that is Houſled, or Chriſtened, is profitable and available to the whole Myſtical Body of Chriſt, and therefore to every lively Member thereof. *Sarisburien.*

The Sacrament (as they call it) of the Altar, was not inſtituted to be received of one for another, but of every Man for himſelf: For Chriſt, the Inſtitutor of this Sacrament, ſaith, with manifeſt words, *Take, eat,* &c. *Mat.* 26. And alſo, *John* 6. *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you. Whoſo eateth my Fleſh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal Life.* Nor the receiving of one Man doth avail or profit any other; otherwiſe than by the way of Example, whereby the People preſent are provoked to the imitation of the thing that is good. *Lincoln.*

The

Elien. The Sacrament of the Altar was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for another, but of every Man for himſelf.

Covent. & Litchfield. I think and ſuppoſe, that the Sacrament of the Altar was inſtituted to be received of every Man for himſelf; for ſo are the words of Chriſt, *Comedite & bibite*, ſpeaking to them preſent, and to every one of them.

Carliolen. The Sacrament of the Altar was not ordained or inſtituted to be received of one Man alone, but of all, and for all, becauſe it is the general and continual Remedy, help, and ſuccour of all, which maketh no let or ſtop of themſelves, and their own unfaithful or ſinful Life.

Roffen. Of every Man for himſelf.

Briſtollen. The Sacrament of the Altar was not inſtituted to be received of one Man for another Sacramentally, no more than one Man to be Chriſtened for another, but every Man to receive it in Faith and cleanlineſs of Life for himſelf.

Meneven. The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt was not inſtituted, that one Man ſhould receive it for another, but every Man for himſelf. *Probet autem ſeipſum homo, & ſic de pane illo edat, & de populo illo bibat.* Cor. 11.

Dr. *Cox.* The Sacrament of Thanks was inſtituted to be received of every Man for himſelf, and not of one for another.

Dr. *Tyler.* Of every Man for himſelf.

Queſt. 2.

Whether the Receiving of the ſaid Sacrament of one Man, doth avail and profit any other?

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. THe Receiving of the ſaid Sacrament by one Man, doth avail and profit only him that receiveth the ſame.

Eboracen. The Receiving of the Sacrament only availeth the Receivers thereof, except it be by reaſon of ſuch Communion as is among the Members of the Myſtical Body of Chriſt.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven. I think that the receiving of the ſaid Sacrament, doth not avail or profit any other, but only as all other good Works done of any Member of Chriſt's Church, be available to the whole Myſtical Body of Chriſt, and to every lively Member of the ſame, by reaſon of mutual participation,

Participation, and ſpiritual Communion between them. And alſo it may be profitable to others, as an Example whereby others may be ſtirred to Devotion, and to like Receiving of the ſame.

The Receiving of the Sacrament of one Man doth profit another, as the health and good-liking of one Member, doth in part ſtrengthen the Body, and other Members of the ſame: for St. *Paul* ſaith, *Multi unum corpus ſumus in Chriſto, ſinguli autem alter alterius membra*, Rom. 12. & 1 Cor. 12. *Si gaudet unum membrum, congaudent omnia membra.* And in a Myſtical Body, the good living of one Man, ſtirreth another to the ſame. *Dunelm.*

The Oblation made after the Conſecration in the Maſs, is the offering unto the Father of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, by the Miniſter, with the Commemoration of the Paſſion, and with Thankſgiving for the ſame, and with the Prayers of the Miniſter and People, that it may be available to all Chriſtian People. *Sarisburien.*

The receiving thereof of one Man, doth not avail or profit any other, but as all good Deeds profit the Congregation; and as one Member healed or taking nouriſhment, profiteth another Member. *Elien.*

And I ſuppoſe alſo, that the Receiving of one Man doth not avail or profit another, but as every good Act or Deed of one Member doth profit to the whole Body. *Covent. & Litchfield.*

The Receiving of the Sacrament, as it noteth the Act of him who receiveth, it may be, that it neither availeth or profiteth him who receiveth, nor any other, but alſo hurts the Receiver, if he preſume to take it raſhly or unworthily. But as touching the thing which is Sacred, offered, and diſtributed by the Common Miniſter in the *Maſs*, repreſenting the Holy Church, or Myſtical Body of Chriſt, and is received both of him and other that will, whatſoever the Receiving or Receiver be, it availeth and profiteth all preſent, abſent, Living and Dead. *Carliolen.*

No, but as the receipt of wholſome Doctrine, the receipt of the Fear of God, the receipt of any Godly Gift that is profitable to any one Member of Chriſt's Myſtical Body, may be ſaid generally to profit the whole Body, becauſe there is a myſtical Communion, and a ſpiritual Participation amongſt all the Members of Chriſt in all Godlineſs; as there is in the natural Body a natural participation of all natural Affections both good and evil. *Roffen.*

It appeareth, by the words of St. *Cyprian*, *Epiſt. 6. Lib.* 3. that it ſhould be profitable and available to others, foraſmuch as he wrote theſe words of the faithful Chriſtians which departed this World in Perſion, and ſaid; *Quanquam fideliſſimus & devotiſſimus frater noſter, inter cætera ſolicitudinem & curam ſuam cum fratribus in omni obſequio pietatis impertitur, qui nec illic curam corporum —— ſcripſerit ac ſcripſit ac ſignificat mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres noſtri ad immortalitatem* *Briſtollen.*

litatem glorioſæ mortis exitu tranſeant & celebrentur, hic a nobis Oblationes & Sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum, quæ cito vobiſcum, domine proſperante, celebrabimus. Ita enim docuit Apoſtolus Chriſti unus Panis & unum
1 Cor. 1. *Corpus multi ſumus omnes, qui de uno Pane, & de uno Calice participamus. Nec loquitur de his ſolis qui eo tempore* Corinthi *conveniebant, & Sacramentum ab unius Sacerdotis manu recipiebant; Verum potius de ſeipſis tunc procul a* Corintho *agente, &* Corinthiis *ipſis omnibuſq; in Chriſtum credentibus ubi tandem conſtituti eſſent quos omnes ſignificat unum eſſe Corpus qui toto orbe de uno Pane communicantes participarent.*

Meneven. The Sacrament profiteth him only, that receiveth it worthily; like as it damnifieth him only that receiveth it unworthily. *Nam qui edit aut bibit indigne, judicium ſibi ipſi edit ac bibit,* 1 Cor. 11.

Dr. *Cox.* The Receiving of the ſaid Sacrament, doth avail and profit the Receiver only, and none other, but by occaſion to do the like.

Dr. *Tyler.* So much as the Chriſtening of one Man profiteth another, which after my Opinion profiteth nothing.

Queſt. 3.

What is the Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the Maſs?

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. THe Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs* is not ſo called, becauſe Chriſt indeed is there offered and ſacrificed by the Prieſt and the People, (for that was done but once by himſelf upon the Croſs) but it is ſo called, becauſe it is a Memory and Repreſentation of that very true Sacrifice and Immolation which before was made upon the Croſs.

Eboracen. The Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is the preſenting of the very Body and Blood of Chriſt to the Heavenly Father, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, conſecrated in the remembrance of his Paſſion, with Prayer and Thankſgiving for the Univerſal Church.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven. I think it is the preſentation of the very Body and Blood of Chriſt being really preſent in the Sacrament; which Preſentation the Prieſt maketh at the *Maſs*, in the Name of the Church, unto God the Father in memory of Chriſt's Paſſion and Death upon the Croſs; with thankſgiving therefore, and devout Prayer, that all Chriſtian People, and namely they which ſpiritually join with the Prieſt in the ſaid Oblation, and of whom he maketh ſpecial remembrance, may attain the benefit of the ſaid Paſſion.

Dunelm. The Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is the preſenting of Chriſt by the Prieſt, in commemoration of his Paſſion, being one eternal and permanent Sacrifice, preſent in the Sacrament by his Omnipoten-

potent Word left to us, to have his Death and Paſſion in remembrance, with giving thanks for the ſame, and Prayer of the Miniſter, and them which be preſent, that the ſame may be available to the whole Church of Chriſt, both Quick and Dead in the Faith of Chriſt.

Which Oblation, commemoration of Chriſt's Paſſion, giving of Thanks and Prayer, taketh effect only in them which by their own proper Faith ſhall receive the ſame effect. *Sarisburien.*

There is properly no Oblation nor Sacrifice, but a remembrance of the One Oblation of Chriſt upon the Croſs, made once for all; a giving of Thanks for the ſame, and the Prayer of the publick Miniſter for the whole Congregation; which Prayer only taketh effect in them, who by their own proper Faith receive the benefit of Chriſt: And where many of thoſe Authors do ſay there is an Oblation and Sacrifice, they ſpoke ſo, becauſe in this Sacrament we be admoniſhed of the Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt upon the Croſs. *Lincoln.*

If Oblation be taken *pro re Oblata*, then, as old Ancient Doctors write, it is, *Corpus & Sanguis, ſcil. Verum, & Corpus, ſcil. Myſticum.* If ye take it *pro actu offerendi*, it is a Commemoration and Repreſentation of Chriſt's Death once ſuffered upon the Croſs, with Thankſgiving for the ſame. *Elien.*

I ſuppoſe the very Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is this; That after the Benediction, that is to ſay, the words of Conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, and the divine working of Chriſt preſently, by the which there is the very precious Body, and the precious Blood of Chriſt preſent to be ſo received; then the Prieſt offereth up the holy Memory of our Redemption to God the Father, moſt humbly praying, that as it was once offered up by Chriſt upon the Croſs, for the Redemption of Man-kind, ſo it may take effect now, and at all times, eſpecially in thoſe that with a true Faith, with a full Truſt and Hope will ſo worthily receive it. *Covent. & Litchfield.*

The Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is, even the ſame which was offered by Chriſt on the Croſs, ever and every-where abiding and enduring of like ſtrength, virtue and power. The difference is, That on the Croſs Chriſt being there both Prieſt and Sacrifice, offered himſelf viſibly; and in the *Maſs*, being likewiſe both Prieſt and Sacrifice, offereth himſelf inviſibly, by the common Miniſter of the Church, who in the name and ſtead of the whole faithful Congregation offereth and preſenteth, as he bid and commanded by Chriſt. *Carliolen.*

The Repreſentation and Commemoration of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion, ſaid and done in the *Maſs*, is called the Sacrifice, Oblation, or Immolation of Chriſt: *Non rei veritate*, (as learned Men do write) *ſed intelligendi Myſterio.* *Roffen.*

In giving Thanks unto the Father, as Chriſt did himſelf at his Supper, taking the Bread and Wine into his hands, and with the words *Briſtollen.*

of Conſecration, conſecrating the ſame, and then making preſentation of the very Body and Blood of Chriſt unto God the Father, in the Name of the Church, in the memory of Chriſt's moſt painful Paſſion and Death, ſuffered upon the Croſs; and ſo worthily receiving the ſame, and with giving Thanks again for the ſame at the latter end; as the Goſpel ſaith, *Hymno dicto*; but what this Hymn or Prayer was, I find no mention.

Meneven. The Oblation and Sacrifice of Chriſt mentioned in the *Maſs*, is a memorial of Chriſt's only Sacrifice upon the Croſs, once offered for ever; *Unica enim Oblatione, perfectos effecit in perpetuum eos qui ſanctificantur*, Heb. 10.

Dr. *Cox.* The Oblation of the Sacrifice of Chriſt in the *Maſs*, is the Prayer, the Praiſe, the Thankſgiving, and the remembrance of Chriſt's Paſſion and Death.

Dr. *Tyler.* There is no Oblation, ſpeaking properly; but ſome Ancient Doctors, and the uſe of the Church, calleth the receiving of it, with the Circumſtances then done, an Oblation; that is to ſay, a Memorial and Remembrance of Chriſt's moſt precious Oblation upon the Croſs.

Queſt. 4.

Wherein conſiſteth the Maſs *by Chriſt's Inſtitution?*

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. THe *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in thoſe things which be ſet forth in the Evangeliſts, *Mat.* 26. *Mark* 14. *Luk.* 22. 1 *Cor.* 10, & 11.

Eboracen. The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in the Conſecration and Oblation of the very Body and Blood of Chriſt, with Prayer, Thankſgiving, and Receiving of the ſame, as appeareth in the Evangeliſts *Matth.* 26. 27. *Mark* 14, & 15. *Luke* 22, and 23. *John* 6. 1 *Cor.* 10. & 11. *Acts* 2.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven. I think it conſiſteth principally, in the Conſecration, Oblation and Receiving of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, with Prayers and Thankſgiving; but what the Prayers were, and what Rites Chriſt uſed or commanded at the firſt Inſtitution of the *Maſs*, the Scripture declareth not.

Dunelm. The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in thoſe things which be ſet forth by the Evangeliſts, *Matth.* 26. *Mark* 19. *Luke* 22. and Paul 1 *Cor.* 10, 11, & 12. and *Acts* 2. with humble and contrite Confeſſion, the Oblation of Chriſt, as before: the Receiving of the Sacrament, giving of Thanks therefore, and Common Prayer for the Myſtical Body of Chriſt.

The

The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in thoſe things which be ſet forth in the Evangeliſts, *Mat.* 26 *Mark* 14. *Luk* 22. 1 *Cor.* 10, & 11. *Act* 2. and 13. *Sarisburien.*

It conſiſteth in theſe things which be ſet forth *Mat.* 26. *Mark* 19. *Luk* 22. 1 *Cor.* 10. 11. *Acts* 2. *Lincoln.*

The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in thoſe things which be ſet forth in the Evangeliſts, *Matth.* 26. *Luke* 22. and 1 *Cor.* 10. 11. and *Acts* 2. *Elien.*

The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, only expreſſing the Form of Chriſt by the Scripture, conſiſteth in the taking of the Bread, and giving thanks to God the Father, in the Benediction and Conſecration, in the receiving or diſtribution, and receiving of them, to whom the diſtribution is made by the hands of the Prieſt: as the Eldeſt Authors affirm, in the renewing of the memory of our Redemption by an undoubted Faith, and for that to give moſt humble thanks; ſo calling to remembrance, as often as it is thus done, the ineſtimable benefit of our Redemption. What Thanks that Chriſt gave before this moſt holy Action, or what Thanks that he gave after it, by the general words of *Matthew*, *Hymno dicto*, are not expreſſed: So that there appeareth, both before this moſt Holy Action, and alſo after, to be a certain Ceremony appointed by Chriſt more than is expreſſed: Moreover, by the Doctrine of the Apoſtle, it behoveth every Man to be wiſe and circumſpect, that he receive not this moſt bleſſed Sacrament unworthily and unreverently, not making difference betwixt the receiving of the moſt bleſſed Body of Chriſt, and other Meats. *Covent.* & *Litchfield.* Chap. 24. 1 Cor. 11.

The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in Conſecrating, Offering, Receiving, and Diſtributing of the bleſſed Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, according to that he himſelf did, willed, and commanded to be done. This we have manifeſted by the Evangeliſts, St. *Paul*, and St. *Luke*, in the *Acts*. But becauſe Chriſt was, after his Reſurrection long with his Diſciples, communicating and treating of the Kingdom of God, what ſhould be done here to come thither, it may be well thought, that whatſoever he or his Holy Spirit left with the Apoſtles, and they with others, after which alſo the whole Univerſal Congregation of Chriſtian People uſeth and obſerveth, moſt ancient and Holy Doctors in like form noteth, may likewiſe be ſaid and taken to be Chriſt's Inſtitution. *Carliolen.*

I am not able to ſay, that the *Maſs* conſiſteth by Chriſt's Inſtitution in other things, than in thoſe which be ſet forth in the Evangeliſts, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, in the *Acts*, and 1 *Cor.* 10. & 11. *Roffen.*

As I take it, the *Maſs* by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in thoſe Things and Rites, which be ſet forth unto us, in the 26*th* of St. *Matthew*, the 14*th* of St. *Mark*, and the 22 of St. *Luke*; and alſo as mention is made in the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. 10. *Briſtollen.*

and 11. and *Acts* 11. any other Inſtitution I read not of by Scripture.

Meneven. Chriſt's Inſtitution compriſeth no more in the *Maſs*, than the Communion of the Body and Blood to be miniſtred and received under both kinds, of Bread and Wine, according as is declared by the Evangeliſts, *Mat.*26. *Mark* 14. *Luke*, in the *Acts* 2.

Dr. *Cox.* The *Maſs*, by Chriſt's Inſtitution, conſiſteth in Thankſgiving to the Father, in diſtributing of the Body and Blood of Chriſt to the Congregation, to have the Death and Paſſion of Chriſt in remembrance, and in the end to laud and praiſe God.

Dr. *Tyler.* In giving of Thanks to God the Father, and bleſſing and breaking it, and reverently receiving the Holy Sacraments, with all ſuch Rites and Circumſtances as Chriſt did in both the kinds.

Queſt. 5.

What time the accuſtomed Order began firſt in the Church, that the Prieſt alone ſhould receive the Sacrament?

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. I Think the uſe, that the Prieſt alone did receive the Sacrament without the People, began not within ſix or ſeven hundred Years after Chriſt.

Eboracen. The accuſtomed Order that the Prieſt alone ſhould receive the Sacrament, began about the time of *Zepherinus*; who when the common People had left their daily and frequent Communion, ordained that they ſhould communicate, at the leaſt once in the Year, that was *Eaſter*; which Ordinance *Innocentius* the third confirmed.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven. I know no further Order or Commandment of the Church, but what time the devotion of the People was ſo greatly decayed, that they would not come to receive the Sacrament, then the Prieſts were compelled to receive it alone.

Dunelm. The cuſtom began, that the Prieſt alone ſhould receive the Sacrament of neceſſity, when the People falling from Devotion would not come to the Communion, but cared more for their worldly Buſineſs, than for godly receiving the Sacrament: for in the beginning they received it daily by frequent Devotion; after, thrice a Week; after, on the *Sundays* only; after, thrice in the Year, at *Chriſtmaſs*, *Eaſter*, and *Whitſunday*; after, only once in the Year, at *Eaſter*, by coldneſs of Devotion.

The

The time certain is not known, moſt Men aſcribe it unto *Gregory*, who was more than 600 Years after Chriſt; for that every Biſhop of *Rome* bringing in his Portion, (ſome *Introitus*, ſome *Kyrie Eleiſon*, ſome *Graduale*) the *Maſs* in the ſaid *Gregory*'s time, was grown to the full quantity it is now of, and Mens Inventions began to ſtep before, and get ground of Chriſt's Inſtitution; but from the beginning it was not ſo, for Chriſt did not eat and drink alone at his laſt Supper, but gave the Bread and Cup to all preſent. In the Primitive Church one did not eat alone, and the reſt look on, but they did eat together, and drink together, as it is to be ſeen *Acts* 2. 1 *Cor.* 11. And *Anacletus* writes thus, *Peracta Conſecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint Eccleſiaſticis careant liminibus. De Conſe. Diſt.* 1. *Cum Epiſcopus*, &c. *Lincoln.*

The very time I know not, but is to be ſuppoſed, that that cuſtom crept into the Church by negligence and ſlackneſs of the Lay-People, who would not ſo oft receive it as the Prieſt would; for in the beginning, the Communion with the Laity was *Quotidiane*, which the Prieſt obſerveth ſtill unto this day, and not the Laity; and there be Canons that bindeth the Prieſt to the receiving of it as oft as he doth Conſecrate; and the cauſe why the Prieſts did not receive it, after they had conſecrated, ſhould ſeem to be, that there was none to receive it with them, which was the occaſion of the making of thoſe Canons, as I ſuppoſe. *Elien.*

Becauſe Scripture ſaith, *Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis eſt*, &c. Likewiſe *de Chalice, cui benedicimus*; and alſo, *bibite ex eo omnes.* And the Canons ſaid to be of the Apoſtles, *Can.* 10. and 10. and of the *Antiochian* Council, *Can.* 2. *Anacletus* in an Epiſtle, commandeth the Sacrament to be received of more than of the Prieſt alone. *Dyoniſe* alſo declareth the ſame, and alſo long after *Chryſoſt.* St. *Ambroſe* and St. *Auſtin*, both complain of the ſlackneſs of ſome, and earneſtly exhort the People to the receipt thereof. Therefore I ſuppoſe that cuſtom, that the Prieſt ſhould receive it alone, where it was celebrated openly, was not received in the Church of Chriſt by the ſpace of four or five hundred Years at leaſt after Chriſt. *Roffen.*

I know no ſuch Order or Commandment of the Church, but what time the Devotion of the People began greatly to decay, and would not come to receive the Sacrament, then I think the Prieſts were compelled to receive it alone. *Briſtollen.*

I ſuppoſe not long after the Apoſtles time, the godly Devotions of the People decaying, who at the beginning uſed to come daily, and after that weekly, after that thrice in the Year, and at laſt but once in the Year, the Prieſt was forced to receive the Sacrament alone. Dr. *Cox.*

Queſt.

Queſt. 6.

Whether it be convenient that the ſame Cuſtom continue ſtill within this Realm?

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. I Think it more agreeable to the Scripture and Primitive Church, that the firſt uſage ſhould be reſtored again, that the People ſhould receive the Sacrament with the Prieſt.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven. I would wiſh, that at every *Maſs*, there would be ſome to receive the Sacrament with the Prieſt: Nevertheleſs if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient, that the Prieſts of this Realm of *England* may ſay *Maſs*, and receive the Sacrament alone.

Dunelm. It were much convenient that People were exhorted to come to it oftner, if they could be brought thereto. Nevertheleſs, if none will communicate, it is not meet that the Prieſts ſtirred to communicate, or ſhould forbear for coldneſs or lack of other Mens Devotion.

Lincoln. Nothing can be better, or more wiſely deviſed than Chriſt did ordain, and the Apoſtles, according to his Ordinance, did uſe; we ought therefore to captivate our Senſes and Underſtandings to the Wiſdom of Chriſt; and think that moſt convenient, that to his Ordinance is moſt correſpondent: And as St. *Paul* notes, by eating all of one Bread, and drinking all of one Cup, we be put in remembrance, that we be all one Body in Chriſt, and have received all one Spirit. Nevertheleſs the ſlackneſs of ſome ought not to be prejudicial to the reſt, nor the refuſing of one to be Impediment to another.

Elien. If the Lay-men could be brought to it, it were better not to continue; but if they cannot, it is not convenient that Prieſts, who would communicate for their own Comfort, ſhould be defrauded by other Mens ſlackneſs.

Roffen. I ſuppoſe it were beſt, that that Cuſtom ſhould be reformed unto the Rule of Scripture, and unto the Patern of the Primitive Church.

Briſtollen. I think it were good, that at every *Maſs* there were ſome to receive the Sacrament with the Prieſt; nevertheleſs, if none will come to receive it, I think it lawful and convenient, that the Prieſt ſay *Maſs*, and receive the Sacrament alone, when he is diſpoſed, or by the Chriſtian Congregation deſired.

Dr. *Cox.* I think it not convenient that the ſaid Cuſtom ſhould continue, if by any godly Mean the People might be brought to receive the Sacrament with the Prieſt.

Queſt.

Quest. 7.

Whether it be convenient that Masses Satisfactory should continue, (that is to say) Priests hired to sing for Souls departed.

Answers.

I Think it not convenient that Satisfactory Masses should continue. *Cantuarien.*

I think that such of the School-men as do write of Masses Satisfactory, do define them otherwise than is declared in this Question: Nevertheless I think, that it is not against the Word of God, but that Priests praying in the Mass, both for the Quick and Dead, and doing other things in the Church about the Ministration of the Sacraments, may take a Living for the same. *London. Worcester. Hereford. Norwich. Chichester. St. Asaph.*

All Priests saying Mass be bound in the same, to pray for the whole mystical Body of Christ, Quick and Dead, though they be not hired thereto; and those that be deputed thereto, if they say Mass, must do the same though they were not hired: And yet, as St. *Paul* saith, Those that be partakers of Spiritual Things with others, ought to minister unto them temporal Things in recompence, *Rom.* 15. *Dunelm.*

St. *Paul* saith, *Heb.* 10. That *we are made Holy by the Offering of the Body of Jesus once for all*; and *Heb.* 9. That *Christ by his own Blood, entred in once to the Holy Place, and found eternal Redemption*; which Redemption and Satisfaction, unless we think insufficient, it were meet Masses Satisfactory to be taken away, and not to count Christ and his Apostles, either unlearned, or unloving Teachers; and who could not or would not teach a thing so necessary. *Nauclerus* does write, that *Gregory* the third gave commandment to Priests to pray and offer for the Dead. And though ancient Writers make oft mention of Prayer for the Dead, yet they never allow any Hireling to that purpose. *Lege Augst. ad Aurel. de coercenda temulentia.* *Lincoln.*

It is one thing to sing Satisfactory, and another to be hired to sing Mass for the Souls departed: for the first importeth, that the Mass should be a Satisfaction for the sins of the Soul departed; which is not so, but the second, that is, to sing or pray for the Souls departed, is a laudable custom, and seemeth to have some ground in Scripture; which custom hath been always continued from the Apostles time, and hath been used in the Mass, as appeareth by Ancient Doctors, *Aust. Amb. Chrys.* and others; and therefore this to continue I think it meet. But to say Mass for Mony, thinking it a Commutation or just Compensation betwixt the Prayer and the Mony that he is hired for, I think it soundeth to Avarice and Simonie; and yet, *dignus est operarius mercede su.* Like-as, *Prædicans Evangelium sine sumptu debet ponere Evangelium* *Elien.*

lium, & tamen Dominus ordinavit his qui Evangelium annunciant de Evangelio vivere.

Carlile. If by this be meant, that any Thing, or Action either of the Priest, should be a full and perfect Satisfaction of Sins Venial and Mortal; I know we read not of any such Satisfactory, neither would I say that Priests be hired after that common fashion and contracts of the World, to sing for Souls departed, but rather that they, as they be ordered to do, do say and sing their Mass, having in their remembrance, both generally and specially, as shall most appertain both to the Living and the Dead; and then, as they be worthy, must have their Livings by the Altar which they serve, as St. *Paul* at large declareth. But as for the full and perfect Satisfaction of all manner of Sins, that is to be attributed only to Christ, his Passion and Justification; yet after the mind of St. *Austin*, St. *Jerom*, with others, *Pro non valde malis possunt atonet fiant & de levioribus peccatis, cum quibus obligati defuncti non possunt post mortem absolvi*, &c.

Rosson. That Masses Satisfactory should continue to be sung for Souls departed, by Priests hired thereunto, I think it not convenient.

Bristollen. I think that the Word of God, and St. *Paul* meant, that all Priests may offer Gifts and Sacrifices unto God for the Offences of the People, (as it is written in the 5th of the *Hebrews*) *Omnis Pontifex*, &c. and may receive and take (ministring the Sacrament and Sacramentals in the Church to the Congregation) a Living for the same.

Dr. Cox. Masses to be said for satisfaction of Sin, (since Christ is the only Satisfaction for all Sin) is an Abuse not to be continued: and Priests to be hired only to sing for Souls departed, seemeth to be a superstitious Function in Christ's Church.

Quest. 8.

Whether the Gospel ought to be taught at the time of the Mass, to the understanding of the People being present?

Answers.

Cantuarien. I Think it very convenient, that the Gospel, concerning the Death of Christ, and our Redemption, should be taught to the People in the Mass.

York. It is expedient that the Gospel be taught at the time of the Mass, to the understanding of the People being present.

London, &c. I think it not necessary to have a Sermon at every Mass, but the oftner the same is done to the edifying of the People, (so that the service of their Vocation be not thereby defrauded) the more it is to be commended.

It

It is much convenient that the Gospel be taught to the understanding of the People being present, when it may be. Howbeit, it is not so of the Substance of the Mass, but the Mass may be done without it, and it done at other times as well as at the Mass. *Dunelm.*

Christ distributing the Sacrament to his Disciples, does say, (as it is *Luk.* 22.) *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem:* And if St. *Paul* doth thus write to the *Corinthians*, *Quotiescunq; manducabitis panem hunc ac Calicem bibitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis donec veniet.* The glad Tydings therefore, the great Benefit that we receive by Christ's Death and Sufferings, (which we see as in a Glass, in this Holy Sacrament) ought to be set forth and preached to the People, so oft as they come to the Holy Communion. *Linceln.*

That the Gospel be read or taught at the time of the Mass, that the People there present may understand; it is good and godly, and convenient it should be so. *Elien.*

I think it convenient and necessary, that as the King's most Excellent Majesty, his most dear Uncle my Lord Protector's Grace, with the most honourable Council beside, hath already appointed and enjoined to be done, that at all such times as the People (as they ought) be most gathered together, in the Principal and High Mass, the Gospel be taught and declared to the best understanding of the People. *Carliolen.*

The Annunciation of Christ's Death and Passion, and the Benefit of the same, that the forgiveness of Sins, to all the true and faithful Believers therein, ought evermore to be set forth in the Mass to the edification of the People; which thing cannot be done, according to St. *Paul's* mind and meaning, 1 *Cor.* 14. as I suppose, except it be set forth to the peoples understanding. *Roffen.*

I think it is not against God's Word, but the oftner the same is done to the edifying of the people, received with Devotion, and intending redress of Life thereby, the more it is to be affected and used. *Briſtollen.*

In the Mass-time, it were convenient to have some Doctrines, after the Example of the Primitive Church, that at the Blessed Communion the people might be edified. Dr. *Cox.*

Queſt. 9.

Whether in the Maſs it were convenient to uſe ſuch Speech as the People may underſtand?

Anſwers.

Cantuarien. I Think it convenient to uſe the Vulgar Tongue in the Maſs, except in certain ſecret Myſteries, whereof I doubt.

Eboracen. It were convenient to uſe ſuch Speech in the Maſs, as the People might underſtand.

London. Worceſter. Hereford. Norvicen. Ciceſtren. Aſſaven. To have the whole Maſs in Engliſh, I think it neither expedient, neither convenient.

Dunelm. It is convenient that the common Latin Tongue to theſe Weſt parts of Chriſtendom, be uſed in the Maſs, being the Common-Prayer of the whole Church, namely, in the Myſteries thereof, leſt rude people ſhould vilely prophane the Holy Myſteries thereof by contempt. Nevertheleſs certain Prayers might be in the Mother Tongue, for the inſtruction and ſtirring of the Devotion of the People, as ſhall be thought convenient.

Lincoln. St. *Paul* would all things in the Congregation, and Publick Aſſembly, ſo to be ſpoken that they might edify; and in ſuch a Language, that the people preſent might ſay *Amen* to our Thankſgiving. And long after the Apoſtles times, all the people preſent did anſwer the Prieſt, (he ſpeaking in a Language that they did underſtand) like as the Clark or Boy doth now anſwer (as he is taught) in a Language that he underſtands not. *Cypri habet de Conſ. diſtinct.* 1. *Ca. Quanda.*

Elien. It was ſo uſed in *Dalmatia* in St. *Hierom's* time, and in *Sclavonia* in *Cyril's* time, who making ſuit to the Court of *Rome* for the ſame; and the Matter being debated in the Conſiſtory, and having many Adverſaries, ſuddenly there was heard a Voice, as it were, from Heaven; *Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis Lingua confiteatur ei.* Whereupon *Cyrillus* had his Petition granted him.

Elien. *Hæc jam mea eſt Opinio, ſed, ſi ut, auditis melioribus cedam.*

Carliolen. This Queſtion was deeply ſearched and tried for, in the moſt excellent and of higheſt memory, King *Henry* the Eighth his time, by the beſt Clerks of his Realm, in his preſence; and then and there concluded, and upon that ſame by Proclamation commanded, That holy Scripture ſhould not be evulgate in Engliſh. Yet after it was otherwiſe ſeen and provided for: Therefore therein I would wiſh, that were moſt to the quiet edification of Chriſtian people, and ſhall ſubmit my ſelf

ſelf to my Superiors and Betters, ſubmitting mine Underſtanding to their Judgments.

I think it not only convenient that ſuch Speech ſhould be uſed in the Maſs as the people might underſtand, but alſo to ſpeak it with ſuch an audible Voice, that the People might hear it, that they be not defrauded of their Own, which Saint *Paul* teacheth to belong to them; and alſo that they may anſwer, as *Cyprian* ſaith, the people did in his days, *Habemus ad Dominum.* Nevertheleſs, as concerning that part that pertaineth to the Conſecration, *Dyoniſe* and *Baſil* moveth me to think it no inconvenience, that part ſhould be ſpoken in ſilence. *Roffen.*

If the Maſs ſhould be wholly in Engliſh, I think we ſhould differ from the Cuſtom and Manner of all other Regions: therefore if it may ſtand with the King's Majeſty's Pleaſure, I think it not good to be ſaid all in Engliſh. *Briſtollen.*

Per me Paulum *Epiſcopum* Briſtollenſem.

Queſt. 10.

When the Reſervation of the Sacrament, and the hanging up of the ſame firſt began?

Anſwers.

The Reſervation of the Sacrament began, I think, ſix or ſeven hundred Years after Chriſt: The hanging up, I think, began of late time. *Cantuarien.*

Polidore Virgil doth write, that *Innocentius* the Third decreed the Sacrament to be kept, to be in a readineſs for the Sick. And *Honorius* the third confirmed the ſame; adding, that it ought to be reſerved *in loco ſingulari, mundo, & ſignato.* Commanding alſo the Prieſts that they ſhould often inſtruct the people reverently to bow down at the Elevation-Time, and when it is born to the Sick. As for the hanging up of the Sacrament over, or ſetting it upon the Altar, is of a later time, not yet received in divers places of Chriſtendom. *Lincoln.*

Some Questions, with Answers made to them by the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Chichester*, and *Hereford*.

The Question.

What or wherein John's *Fasting, giving Alms, being Baptized, or Receiving the Sacrament of Thanks in* England, *doth profit and avail* Thomas *dwelling in* Italy, *and not knowing what* John *in* England *doth?*

The Answer.

Worcester. Chichester. Hereford. THe distance of place doth not lett nor hinder the Spiritual Communion which is between one and another, so that *John* and *Thomas*, whersoever they be, far and sundry, or near together, being both lively Members of Christ, receive either of others Goodness some Commodity; although to limit what or wherein, is unsearchable, and only pertaineth to the Knowledg of God.

The Question.

Whether the said Acts in John *do profit them that be in Heaven, and wherein?*

The Answers.

Luc. 15. *Gaudium est in Cœlo super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente,* &c.

The Question.

Whether it lieth in the said John, *to defraud any Member of Christ's Body of the benefit of his Fasting, Alms-Deeds, Baptism, or Receiving of the Sacrament, and to apply the same benefit to one Person more than to another?*

The Answer.

Charity defraudeth no Man of any such benefit that might come to him; and it lieth in God only to apply the same, and not in any Man, otherwise than by Desire and Prayer; but the better the Man is, the more available his Prayer is to them, for whom he especially prayeth.

The Question.

What thing is the Presentation of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Mass, which you call the Oblation and Sacrifice of Christ? and wherein

wherein ſtandeth it, in Act, Geſture, or Words? and in what Act, Geſture, or Words?

The Anſwer.

The Preſentation, *&c.* ſtandeth in ſuch Words, Prayers, Supplications, and Actions, as the Prieſt uſeth at the Maſs, having the Body and Blood of Chriſt there preſent in the Sacrament.

The Queſtion.

Is there any Rite or Prayer not expreſſed in the Scripture, which Chriſt uſed or commanded at the firſt Inſtitution of the Maſs, which we be now bound to uſe; and what the ſame be?

The Anſwer.

That Chriſt uſed Rites and Prayers at the Inſtitution and Diſtribution of the Sacrament, the Scripture declareth: But what Rites and Prayers they were we know not; but I think we ought to uſe ſuch Rites and Prayers as the Catholick Church hath, and doth uniformly obſerve.

The Queſtion.

Whether in the Primitive Church there were any Prieſts that lived by ſaying of Maſs, Mattins, and Even-ſong, and praying for Souls only? And whether any ſuch ſtate of Prieſthood be allowed in the Scripture, or be meet to be allowed now?

The Anſwer.

There were Prieſts in the Primitive Church which preached not, but exerciſed themſelves in Prayer for the Quick and the Dead, and other Spiritual Miniſtrations in the Church; and accuſtomably uſed common Prayers both Morning and Evening; and ſuch ſtate of Prieſthood is not againſt the Scripture.

The Queſtion.

For what Cauſe it were not expedient nor convenient to have the whole Maſs in Engliſh?

The Anſwer.

This Queſtion is anſwered by *Dyoniſe* and *Baſil*, *De Spiritu Sancto*; and alſo an uniformity of all Churches in that thing is to be kept.

Number

Number 26.

A Collection of ſome of the Chief Indulgences then in the Engliſh Offices.

Horæ B. Mariæ Virg. ad uſum Sarum, Printed *at Paris*, 1526.

Folio 38.

TO all them that be in the State of Grace, that daily ſay devoutly this Prayer before our Bleſſed Lady of Pity, ſhe will ſhew them her bleſſed Viſage, and warn them the Day and the Hour of Death; and in their laſt End, the Angels of God ſhall yield their Souls to Heaven; and he ſhall obtain 500 Years, and ſo many *Lents* of Pardon, granted by five Holy Fathers, Popes of *Rome*.

Folio 42.

Our Holy Father *Sixtus* the 4*th*, Pope, hath granted to all them that devoutly ſay this Prayer before the Image of our Lady, the ſum of 11000 Years of Pardon.

Folio 44.

Our Holy Father the Pope, *Sixtus*, hath granted, at the inſtance of the high-moſt and excellent Princeſs *Elizabeth*, late Queen of *England*, and Wife to our Sovereign Liege Lord King *Henry* the 7*th*, (God have mercy on her ſweet Soul, and all Chriſtian Souls) that every day in the Morning, after three tollings of the *Ave*-Bell, ſay three times the whole Salutation of our Lady, *Ave Maria Gratia*; that is to ſay, at ſix of the Clock in the Morning three *Ave Maries*; at twelve of the Clock at Noon three *Ave Maries*; and at ſix of the Clock at Even; for every time ſo doing, is granted of the Spiritual Treaſure of Holy Church, 300 days of Pardon, *toties quoties*. And alſo our Holy Father, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* and *York*, with other nine Biſhops of this Realm, have granted, three times in the day, forty days of Pardon to all them that be in the ſtate of Grace, able to receive Pardon; the which began the 26*th* day of *March*, *Anno* 1492. *Anno Henrici* 7. and the ſum of the Indulgence and Pardon for every *Ave Maria*, 860 days, *toties quoties*. This Prayer ſhall be ſaid at the tolling of the *Ave*-Bell.

Folio 47.

Our Holy Father the Pope *Boniface*, hath granted to all them that devoutly ſay this lamentable contemplation of our Bleſſed Lady, ſtanding under the Croſs weeping, and having compaſſion with her ſweet Son Jeſus, ſeven Years of Pardon, and forty *Lents*. And alſo Pope *John* the 22*d* hath granted 300 days of Pardon.

Folio 50.

Theſe be the fifteen Do's, the which the Holy Virgin S. *Bridget* was wont to ſay daily before the Holy Rood in S. *Paul's* Church at *Rome*; whoſo ſays this a whole Year, ſhall deliver fifteen Souls out of Purgatory of his next Kindred, and convert other fifteen Sinners to good

good Life; and other fifteen Righteous Men of his kind ſhall perſevere in good Life; and what ye deſire of God ye ſhall have it, if it be to the Salvation of your Souls.

Folio 54.

To all them that before this Image of Pity devoutly ſay five *Pater Noſters*, and five *Ave Maries*, and a *Credo*, piteouſly beholding thoſe Arms of Chriſt's Paſſion, are granted 32755 Years of Pardon; and *Sixtus* the 4*th* Pope of *Rome*, hath made the fourth and the fifth Prayer, and hath doubled his foreſaid Pardon.

Folio 56.

This Epiſtle of our Saviour, ſendeth our Holy Father Pope *Leo*, to the Emperor *Carolo Magno*; of the which we find written, Who that beareth this Bleſſing upon him, and ſaith it once a day, ſhall obtain forty Years of Pardon, and eighty Lentings, and he ſhall not periſh with ſudden Death.

Folio 57.

This Prayer made by S. *Auſtin*, affirming who that ſays it daily kneeling, ſhall not die in Sin; and after this Life ſhall go to the everlaſting Joy and Bliſs.

Folio 58.

Our Holy Father the Pope, *John* 22*d*, hath granted to all them that devoutly ſay this Prayer, after the Elevation of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 3000 days of Pardon for deadly Sins.

Ibid.

Our Holy Father the Pope, *Bonifacius* the Sixth, hath granted to all them that ſay devoutly this Prayer following, between the Elevation of our Lord, and the three *Agnus Dei*, 10000 Years of Pardon.

Folio 61.

Our Holy Father, *Sixtus* the 4*th*, hath granted to all them that be in the ſtate of Grace, ſaying this Prayer following immediately after the Elevation of the Body of our Lord, clean remiſſion of all their Sins perpetually enduring. And alſo *John* the Third, Pope of *Rome*, at the requeſt of the Queen of *England*, hath granted to all them that devoutly ſay this Prayer before the Image of our Lord Crucified, as many days of Pardon, as there were Wounds in the Body of our Lord in the time of his bitter Paſſion, the which were 5465.

Folio 65.

Theſe five Petitions and Prayers made S. *Gregory*, and hath granted unto all them that devoutly ſay theſe five Prayers, with five *Pater Noſters*, five *Ave Maries*, and a *Credo*, 500 Years of Pardon.

Folio 66.

Theſe three Prayers be written in the Chappel of the Holy Croſs in *Rome*, otherwiſe called, *Sacellum Sanctæ Crucis ſeptem Romanorum*, who that devoutly ſay them, they ſhall obtain ten hundred thouſand Years of Pardon for deadly Sins, granted of our Holy Father *John*, 22*d* Pope of *Rome*.

Folio 68.

Who that devoutly beholdeth theſe Arms of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſhall obtain 6000 Years of Pardon of our Holy Father S. *Peter*, the firſt Pope of *Rome*, and of thirty other Popes of the Church of *Rome*, Succeſſors after him. And our Holy Father, Pope *John* the 22*d*, hath

hath granted unto all them, very contrite and truly confeſſed, that ſay theſe devout Prayers following, in the commemoration of the bitter Paſſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 3000 Years of Pardon for deadly Sins, and other 3000 for Venial Sins, and ſay firſt a *Pater Noſter* and *Ave Maria.*

Folio 71.

Our Holy Father, Pope *Innocentius* the Second, hath granted to all them that ſay this Prayer devoutly, in the worſhip of the Wound that our Lord had in his bleſſed Side, when he was dead, hanging in the Croſs, 4000 days of Pardon.

Folio 72.

This moſt devout Prayer, ſaid the Holy Father S. *Bernard*, daily kneeling in the worſhip of the moſt Holy Name Jeſus. And it is well to believe, that through the Invocation of the moſt excellent Name of *Jeſu*, S. *Bernard* obtained a ſingular Ward of perpetual Conſolation of our Lord Jeſu Chriſt. Aud theſe Prayers written in a Table that hanged at *Rome* in S. *Peter's* Church, nigh to the High Altar there, as our Holy Father the Pope evely is wont to ſay the Office of the Maſs; and who that devoutly, with a contrite Heart, daily ſay this Oriſon, if he be that day in the ſtate of eternal Damnation, then his eternal Pain ſhall be changed him in temporal pain of Purgatory; then if he hath deſerved the pain of Purgatory, it ſhall be forgotten and forgiven, through the infinite Mercy of God.

Number 27.

Injunctions for a Viſitation of Chauntries.

To the Parſon, Vicar, Curat, Chaunter, Prieſts, Church-Wardens, and two of the moſt honeſt Perſons of the Pariſh of being no Founders, Patrons, Donors, Leſſees, nor Farmers of the Promotions or Corporations hereafter recited, nor of any part thereof, and to four of them at the leaſt.

Ex MS. Dr. *Johnſon.*

FIrſt, Ye ſhall make diligent ſearch and inquiry, immediately upon the receit hereof, of the number; and how many Chauntries, Hoſpitals, Colleges, free Chappels, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, Guilds and Salaries, or Wages of Stipendiary Prieſts, being Perpetuities now charged, or that ought to be charged, or chargeable, to the paiment of the firſt Fruits and Tenths, and of all Colleges chargeable, and not chargeable to the ſaid paiment of Tenths and firſt Fruits, which be within your Church and Pariſh.

Alſo you ſhall enquire of the Orders, Ordinances, Kinds, Qualities, Degrees, Uſes and Abuſes, or Miſuſes, Conditions, Eſtates, and Neceſſities, of and concerning all and every the ſaid Chantries, Fraternities, Guilds, Stipends, or Wages, and other the Premiſes; and by what Names, Sir-names, Corporations, or Titles, they and every of them be taken or known; and to what intents, purpoſes, and deeds of

of Charity they and every of them were founded, ordained, and made; and ye shall take into your hands, and also bring with you, at the day of your Certificate, the Foundations, and all other Writings which you have or can attain, for the true declaration and proof of the same.

Also you shall enquire, how and what manner or sort the Revenues and Profits of the Lands and Possessions of all the aforesaid Promotions, and every of them, be used, expended, imploied, or bestowed.

Also how many of the said Promotions be Parish-Churches.

Also how far space or distance the said Chantries and Chappels be, and stand from the Parish Churches, of the Parishes wherein they do stand.

Also ye shall enquire of all the Houses, Lands, Tenths, Rents, Possessions and Revenues, united, annexed, or appertaining to the aforesaid Chantries, Hospitals, Guilds, and other Promotions abovesaid, and to every of them, and of the yearly value thereof, and shall make a true and perfect Rental or other Book thereof.

And ye shall enquire of all the Resolutes, Deductions, and yearly paiments or charges going forth of the Premises, and of every part thereof, and shall certify the same in writing; that is to say, for every Chantry, or other the aforesaid Promotions severally by it self; and over this, to bring with you all such Rentals of the same, and every of them, as ye have or may attain or come by.

Also ye shall enquire of all the Lands, Rents, Possessions, and Hereditaments, which were or be united, annexed, or pertaining to the aforesaid Promotions or Corporations, or to any of them, which at any time since the fourth day of *February*, in the 27*th* Year of the King's Majesty's Reign, did appertain or belong to them, or any of them, and of the Goods, Jewels, and Ornaments, lately pertaining or belonging to the same.

Also ye shall enquire how many of the aforesaid Chantries, Hospitals, Guilds, and other the aforesaid Promotions and Corporations, and what Lands, Rents, or parcels thereof, sithence the 4*th* day of *February*, in the 27*th* Year of the Reign of our aforesaid Sovereign Lord, been or have been dissolved, purchased, or by any other means or ways taken, entred unto, or obtained by any of the King's Majesty's Subjects, by their own Authorities, without the King's License.

And ye shall enquire of the Lands, Tenths, Rents, and Hereditaments thereof, and of the yearly value of the same, and of all the Goods and Ornaments of the same; and of the yearly Resolutes, Deductions, and Paiments going forth of the same; and shall make a true Rental or Book thereof, and shall certify the same particularly.

Also ye shall enquire of all the Plate, Jewels, Ornaments, Goods, and Chattels, meerly and truly pertaining or belonging to all the aforesaid Promotions or Corporations, and to every of them severally, and shall make one true Inventory thereof, with the value of the same, and of every parcel thereof, that is to say, in true weight of all parcels of Plate, Chalices, and other; and the price or value of all other Ornaments, Goods, or Chattels, and in whose hands or possession the same be or remain.

Alſo, finally, ye ſhall make ready and finiſh your Certificate in writing, before the of all and ſingular the Premiſes, and of every Article above-ſaid ſeverally, and not in groſs, or in one whole Article, as ye will anſwer and be ſworn to the ſame: And that you, and every of you, being reſident or remaining within the ſaid Pariſh, ſhall Sign and Seal the ſame; and ye ſhall ſend the ſame your Certificate ſealed unto us, at ſuch day and place as hereafter ſhall be aſſigned unto you, by one of the moſt honeſt of the aforeſaid Church-Wardens, and by all the Incumbents of the Chantries, Chappels, Hoſpitals, Guilds and Promotions aforeſaid, if there be but one incumbent in the ſaid Promotions, or any of them; And if there be more Incumbents than one in the ſaid Promotions, or any of them being of one Foundation, that then one of the ſaid Incumbents, together with the ſaid honeſt Church Wardens, and other Incumbents, being but one of one Foundation, as is aforeſaid. Foreſeeing always, that your Proceedings and Certificate of the Premiſes, and every part thereof, be executed, ordered, and done, with all diligence, ſubſtantially and truly, that the ſame may ſo appear unto us at our repair to view and ſurvey the Premiſes, as ye will then have condign thanks for the ſame, and avoiding your extream damage, which may enſue of the contrary.

Robert Arch-biſhop.
Sir *Michael Stanhope.*
Sir *Leonard Bekworth.*
Mr. *Robert Henneage.*
Mr.——*Babthorp.*
Mr. *Wallay.*
Mr. *Norton.*
Mr. *Chaloner.*
Mr. *Gargrave.*
Mr.——Auditor.

Number 28.

The Protector's Letter to Gardiner, *concerning the Points he was to handle in his Sermon.*

Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

WE commend us unto you; We ſent to you yeſterday our Servant *William Cecil*, to ſignify unto you our Pleaſure and Advice, That you ſhould, in this your next Sermon, forbear to intreat upon thoſe Principal Queſtions, which remain among the number of Learned Men in this Realm, as yet in Controverſy, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Maſs; as well for that your private Argument or Determination therein might offend the People, naturally expecting deciſions of litigious Cauſes, and thereby Diſcord and Tumult ariſe; the occaſions whereof we muſt neceſſarily prevent and take away; as alſo for that the Queſtions and Controverſies reſt at this preſent in conſultation, and with the pleaſure of God, ſhall be, in ſmall time by publick Doctrine and Authority, quietly and truly determined. This Meſſage we ſend to you, not thinking but your own Wiſdom had conſidered ſo much in an apparent Matter; or at the leaſt, upon our remembrance, ye would underſtand it and follow it with good Will, conſulting thereby your own Quiet in avoiding Offence, as obſerving our Pleaſure in avoiding Contention. Your Anſwer thereunto, our ſaid

ſaid Servant hath declared unto us in this manner. Ye can no wiſe forbear to ſpeak of the Sacrament, neither of the Maſs; this laſt being the chief Foundation, as ye ſay, of our Religion, and that without it we cannot know that Chriſt is our Sacrifice; the other being ſo ſpoken of by many, that if you ſhould not ſpeak your Mind thereof what ye think, you know what other Men would think of you; in the end, concluding generally, that you will ſpeak the Truth, and that ye doubt not but that we ſhall be therewith content; adding alſo, as our ſaid Servant reporteth unto us, That you would not wiſh that we our ſelves ſhould meddle or have to do in theſe Matters of Religion, but that the care thereof were committed to you the Biſhops, unto whom the blame, if any ſhould be deſerved, might well be imputed.

To this your Anſwer, if ſo it be, we reply very ſhortly, ſignifying unto you our expreſs Pleaſure and Commandment, on our Soveraign Lord the King's Majeſty's behalf, charging you, by the Authority of the ſame, to abſtain in your ſaid Sermon from treating of any Matter in controverſy concerning the ſaid Sacrament and the Maſs, and only to beſtow your Speech in the expert explication of the Articles prefcribed unto you, and in other wholſome Matter, of Obedience of the People, and good Converſation and Living; the ſame Matters being both large enough for a long Sermon, and not unneceſſary for the time. And the treaty of other, which we forbid you not meet in your private Sermon to be had, but neceſſarily reſerved for a public Conſultion, and at this preſent utterly to be forborn for the common Quiet.

This our expreſs Pleaſure, wherein we know how reaſonably we may command you, and you (we think) know how willingly ye ought to obey us. For our intermedling with theſe Cauſes of Religion, underſtand you, that we account it no ſmall part of our Charge, under the King's Majeſty, to bring his People from Ignorance to Knowledg, and from Superſtition to true Religion, eſteeming that the chief Foundation to build Obedience upon: and where there is a full conſent of others, the Biſhops and learned Men, in a Truth, not to ſuffer you, or a few other, with wilful headineſs, to diſſwade all the reſt. And although we preſume not to determine Articles of Religion by our Self, yet from God we knowledg it, we be deſirous to defend and advance the Truth, determined or revealed, and ſo conſequently we will not fail, but withſtand the Diſturbers thereof. So fare you well. From *Sion*, *June* 28. *Anno* 1548.

Your Loving Friend,

E. Somerſet.

Number 29.

Some of the Collects and Hymns to the Saints in the Hours ad uſum Sarum, *printed at* Paris, Anno 1520. *In which, immediate Adoration is offered to them, and thoſe things are asked of them, which God only gives.*

Folio 4. SAncta Dei Genetrix, quæ digne meruiſti concipere, quem totus orbis nequivit comprehendere; tuo pio interventu, culpas noſtras ablue, ut perennis ſedem gloriæ, per te redempti, valeamus ſcandere, ubi manes cum Filio tuo ſine tempore.

Fol. 11. *S. Panthaleon.* Sancte Panthaleon Martyr Chriſti, militari ordine fuiſti, quo promeruiſti;—Demum heremiticum vitam acquiſiſti,—Tu vero hydropicum ſanum reddidiſti.—Miſſus in equuleo ungues perdidiſti—Coſtas cum lampadibus aduſtus fuiſti—Collum ſubdens gladio pronus pertuliſti—Fundens lac pro ſanguine vitam ſic finiſti—Cunctas febres diluc a plebe tam triſti—Qui Cœleſtis Gloriæ Regna meruiſti.

Fol. 12. *S.* Tho. *Cant.* Tu per Thomæ ſanguinem, quem pro te impendit, fac nos Chriſte ſcandere, quo Thomas aſcendit—*Verſicle* gloria & honore coronaſti eum Domine: *Reſp.* & conſtituiſti eum ſupra opera manuum tuarum.

Fol. 12. of Pope *Nicolaus.* And ſo in many other places. Ut ejus meritis & precibus a gehennæ incendiis liberemur.

Fol. 30. Sancta Maria ſuccurre miſeris, Juva puſillanimes, re fove flebiles, ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro devoto femineo ſexu.

Fol. 33. Virgo ſingularis, inter omnes mitis, non culpis ſolutos, mites fac & caſtos: Vitam præſtà puram, iter para tutum, ut videntes Jeſum, ſemper collætemur.

Fol. 44. *A Prayer to the Virgin, to the ſayers of which,* Pope Cœleſtine *granted* 300 *days of Pardon; a part of which is,*

Conſolare peccatorem, & ne tuum des honorem, alieno vel crudeli; precor te Regina Cœli. Me habeto excuſatum, apud Chriſtum tuum natum, cujus iram expaveſco, & furorem pertimeſco, nam peccavi tibi ſoli. O *Maria* Virgo, noli eſſe mihi aliena, gratia Cœleſti plena; eſto cuſtos cordis mei, ſigna me timore Dei, confer vitæ ſanitatem, & da morum honeſtatem: Et da peccata me vitare, & quod juſtum eſt amare. O dulcedo Virginalis, nunquam fuit nec eſt talis, &c.

Fol. 77. *S.* George. Georgi Martyr inclite, te decet laus & gloria: prædotatum militia, per quem puella Regia, exiſtens in triſtitia, coram Dracone peſſimo, ſalvata eſt, & animo; te rogamus corde intimo, ut cum cunctis fidelibus, Cœli jungamur civibus, noſtris abluti ſordibus, ut ſimul cum lætitia, tecum ſimus in gloria, noſtraq; reddant labia laudes Chriſto cum gloria.

Martyr

Martyr Chriſtophore, pro ſalvatoris honore, fac nos mente fore, dignos Deitatis amore, Promiſſo Chriſti, quia quod petis obtinuiſti, da populo triſti, bona quæ moriendo petiſti: confer ſolamen, & mentis tolle gravamen; judicis examen, fac mite ſit omnibus Amen. *Ibid. St.* Chriſtoph.

O Willielme Paſtor bone, Cleri pater & patrone, munda nobis in agone, confer opem & depone vitæ ſordes, & Coronæ Cœleſtis da gaudia. *Fol.* 78.

O vos undena millia, puella glorioſæ, virginitatis lilia, Martyrii Roſæ, in vita me defendite, præbendo mihi juvamen, in morte vos oſtendite ſupremum ferendo ſolamen. *Fol.* 80. 11000 Virgins.

To St. Alban.

Te nunc petimus patrone, præco ſedule, qui es noſtra vera gloria, ſolve precum votis, ſervorum ſcelera.

To St. Peter *and St.* Paul.

Beate Petre qui Maxima reſeras, claudis verbo Cœli limina, ſume pia vota fidelia, peccati cuncta diſſolvendo vincula: Sacra Paule ingere dogmata, illuſtrans plebis pectora.

In die omnium Sanctorum.

Mariam primam vox ſonet noſtra, per quam nobis vitæ ſunt data præmia: Regina quæ es Mater, & caſta, ſolve noſtra per Filium peccamina: Angelorum concio ſacra, & Arch-Angelorum turma inclyta, noſtra diluant jam peccata præſtando ſupernam Cœli gloriam.

Number 30.

Dr. Redmayn's *Opinion concerning the Marriage of the Clergie.*

An Original.

I Think that although the Word of God does exhort and counſel Prieſts to live in Chaſtity, out of the cumber of the Fleſh and of the World, that thereby they may wholly attend to their Calling; yet the Bond of continuing from Marriage, doth only lie upon Prieſts in this Realm, by reaſon of Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church, and not by any Precept of God's Word, as in that they ſhould be bound by any Vow: Which (in as far as my Conſcience is) Prieſts in this Church of *England* do not make. Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

I think that it ſtandeth well with God's Word, that a Man which hath been, or is but once married, being otherwiſe accordingly qualified, may be made a Prieſt.

And I do think, that foraſmuch as Canons and Rules made in this behalf, are neither Univerſal nor Everlaſting, but upon Conſiderations may be altered & changed; Therefore the King's Majeſty, and the higher Powers

Powers of the Church, may, upon ſuch Reaſons as ſhall move them, take away the Clog of perpetual Continence from Prieſts, and grant that it may be lawful for ſuch as cannot, or will not contain, to marry a Wife; and if ſhe die, then the ſaid Prieſt to marry no more, remaining ſtill in the Miniſtration.

John Redmayn.

Number 31.

Articles of High Treaſon, and other Miſdemeanours againſt the King's Majeſty, and his Crown, objected to Sir Thomas Seymour *Kt. Lord* Seymour *of* Sudley, *and High Admiral of* England.

Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 236.

1. WHereas the Duke of *Somerſet* was made Governor of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and Protector of all his Realms and Dominions, and Subjects; to the which you your ſelf did agree, and gave your conſent in writing; it is objected and laid unto your Charge, That this notwithſtanding you have attempted and gone about, by indirect means, to undoe this Order, and to get into your hands the Government of the King's Majeſty, to the great danger of his Highneſs Perſon, and the ſubverſion of the State of the Realm.

2. It is objected, and laid to your Charge, that by corrupting with Gifts, and fair Promiſes, divers of the Privy-Chamber, you went about to allure his Highneſs to condeſcend and agree to the ſame your moſt heinous and perilous purpoſes, to the great danger of his Highneſs Perſon, and of the ſubverſion of the State of the Realm.

3. It is objected, and laid unto your Charge, that you wrote a Letter with your own hand; which Letter the King's Majeſty ſhould have ſubſcribed, or written again after that Copy, to the Parliament Houſe; and that you delivered the ſame to his Highneſs for that intent: With the which ſo written by his Highneſs, or ſubſcribed, you had determined to have come into the Commons-Houſe your ſelf; and there, with your Fautors and Adherents before prepared, to have made a Broil, or Tumult, or Uproar, to the great danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and ſubverſion of the State of this Realm.

4. It is objected, and laid unto our Charge, That you your ſelf ſpake to divers of the Council, and laboured with divers of the Nobility of the Realm, to ſtick and adhere unto you for the Alteration of the State, and Order of the Realm, and to attain your other Purpoſes, to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, now in his tender Years, and ſubverſion of the State of the Realm.

5. It is objected, and laid unto your Charge, that you did ſay openly and plainly, You would make the Blackeſt Parliament that ever was in *England*.

6. It is objected, and laid to your Charge, That being ſent for by the Authority, to anſwer to ſuch things as were thought meet to be reformed in you, you refuſed to come; to a very evil Example of Diſobedience, and danger thereby of the ſubverſion of the State of the Realm.

7. It

7. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That ſith the laſt Seſſions of this Parliament, notwithſtanding much clemency ſhewed unto you, you have ſtill continued in your former miſchievous Purpoſes; and continually, by your ſelf and other, ſtudied and laboured to put into the King's Majeſty's Head and Mind, a miſliking of the Government of the Realm, and of the Lord Protector's Doings, to the danger of his Perſon, and the great peril of the Realm.

8. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That the King's Majeſty being of thoſe tender Years, and as yet by Age unable to direct his own things, you have gone about to inſtill into his Grace's Head, and as much as lieth in you, perſwaded him to take upon himſelf the Government and managing of his own Affairs, to the danger of his Highneſs Perſon, and great peril of the whole Realm.

9. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you had fully intended and appointed, to have taken the King's Majeſty's Perſon into your own Hands and Cuſtody, to the danger of his Subjects, and peril of the Realm.

10. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you have corrupted with Mony, certain of the Privy-Chamber, to perſwade the King's Majeſty to have a credit towards you; and ſo to inſinuate you to his Grace, that when he lacked any thing, he ſhould have it of you and none other Body, to the intent he ſhould miſlike his ordering, and that you might the better, when you ſaw time, uſe the King's Highneſs for an Inſtrument to this purpoſe, to the danger of his Royal Perſon, and ſubverſion of the State of the Realm.

11. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you promiſed the Marriage of the King's Majeſty at your Will and Pleaſure.

12. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have laboured, and gone about to combine and confederate your ſelf with ſome Perſons: and ſpecially moved thoſe Noble-men, whom you thought not to be contented, to depart into their Countries, and make themſelves ſtrong; and otherwiſe to allure them to ſerve your purpoſe by gentle Promiſes and Offers, to have a Party and Faction in readineſs to all your Purpoſes, to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and peril of the State of the Realm.

13. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have parted, as it were, in your imagination and intent the Realm, to ſet Noble-men to countervail ſuch other Noble-men as you thought would let your deviliſh Purpoſes, and ſo laboured to be ſtrong to all your Devices; to the great danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and great peril of the State of the Realm.

14. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you had adviſed certain Men to entertain and win the favour and good-wills of the head Yeomen and Ringleaders of certain Countries, to the intent that they might bring the Multitude and Commons, when you ſhould think meet, to the furtherance of your Purpoſes.

15. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you have not only ſtudied and imagined how to have the Rule of a number of Men in your hands, but that you have attempted to get, and alſo gotten, divers Stewardſhips of Noblemens Lands, & their Manoreds, to make your Party ſtronger, for your Purpoſes aforeſaid; to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and great peril of the State of the Realm.

16. It

16. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you have retained young Gentlemen, and hired Yeomen, to a great multitude, and far above ſuch number as is permitted by the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, or were otherwiſe neceſſary or convenient for your Service, Place, or Eſtate, to the fortifying of your ſelf towards all your evil Intents and Purpoſes; to the great danger of the King's Majeſty, and peril of the State of the Realm.

17. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you had ſo travailed in that Matter, that you had made your ſelf able to make, of your own Men, out of your Lands, and Rules, and other your Adherents, 10000 Men, beſides your Friends, to the advancement of all your Intents and Purpoſes; to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and the great peril of the State of the Realm.

18. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you had conferred, caſt, and weighed ſo much Mony as would find the ſaid 10000 Men for a Month; and that you knew how and where to have the ſame Sum; and that you had given warning to have and prepare the ſaid Maſs of Mony in a readineſs; to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and great peril to the State of the Realm.

19. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have not only, before you married the Queen, attempted and gone about to marry the King's Majeſty's Siſter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, ſecond Inheritor, in remainder to the Crown, but alſo being then let by the Lord Protector, and others of the Council, ſithence that time, both in the life of the Queen, continued your old Labour and Love; and after her death, by ſecret and crafty means, practiſed to atchieve the ſaid purpoſe of marrying the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth*; to the danger of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and peril of the ſtate of the ſame.

20. It is Objected, and laid to your Charge, That you married the late Queen ſo ſoon after the late King's Death, that if ſhe had conceived ſtreight after, it ſhould have been a great doubt whether the Child born, ſhould have been accounted the late King's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might, and was like to have enſued to the King's Majeſty's Succeſſion, and Quiet of the Realm.

21. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you firſt married the Queen privately, and did diſſemble and keep cloſe the ſame, inſomuch that a good ſpace after you had married her, you made labour to the King's Majeſty, and obtained a Letter of his Majeſty's Hand, to move and require the ſaid Queen to marry with you; and likewiſe procured the Lord Protector to ſpeak to the Queen to bear you her favour towards Marriage; by the which colouring, not only your evil and diſſembling Nature may be known, but alſo it is to be feared, that at this preſent you did intend to uſe the ſame practice in the marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Grace.

22. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you not only, ſo much as lay in you, did ſtop and lett all ſuch things as, either by Parliament or otherwiſe, ſhould tend to the advancement of the King's Majeſty's Affairs, but did withdraw your ſelf from the King's Majeſty's Service; and being moved and ſpoken unto, for your own Honour, and for the Ability that was in you, to ſerve and aid the King's Majeſty's Affairs, and the Lord Protector's, you would alway

always draw back, and feign Excuſes, and declare plainly that you would not do it.

Wherefore upon the diſcourſe of all theſe aforeſaid things, and of divers others, it muſt needs be intended, that all theſe Preparations of Men and Mony, the attempts and ſecret practices of the ſaid Marriage; the abuſing and perſwading of the King's Majeſty, to miſlike the Government, State, and Order of the Realm that now is, and to take the Government into his own hands; and to credit you, was to none other end and purpoſe, but after a Tittle gotten to the Crown, and your Party made ſtrong both by Sea and Land, with Furniture of Men and Mony ſufficient, to have aſpired to the Dignity Royal, by ſome heinous Enterpriſe againſt the King's Majeſty's Perſon; to the ſubverſion of the whole State of the Realm.

23. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you not only had gotten into your hands the ſtrong and dangerous Iſles of *Silly*, bought of divers Men; but that ſo much as lay in your Power, you travailed alſo to have *Londay*; and under pretence to have victualled the Ships therewith, not only went about, but alſo moved the Lord Protector, and whole Council, that you might, by publick Authority, have that, which by private fraud and falſhood, and confederating with *Sharington*, you had gotten, that is, the *Mint* at *Briſtol*, to be yours wholly, and only to ſerve your Purpoſes, caſting, as may appear, that if theſe Traiterous Purpoſes had no good ſucceſs, yet you might thither conveigh a good Maſs of Mony; where being aided with Ships, and conſpiring at all evil Events with Pirats, you might at all times have a ſure and ſafe Refuge, if any thing for your demerits ſhould have been attempted againſt you.

24. It is alſo Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That having knowledg that Sir *William Sharington* Kt. had committed Treaſon, and otherwiſe wonderfully defrauded and deceived the King's Majeſty, nevertheleſs you both by your ſelf, and by ſeeking Counſel for him, and by all means you could, did aid, aſſiſt, and bear him, contrary to your Allegiance and Duty to the King's Majeſty, and the good Laws and Orders of the Realm.

25. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where you owed to Sir *William Sharington* Kt. a great ſum of Mony, yet to abet, bear, and cloak the great falſhood of the ſaid *Sharington*, and to defraud the King's Majeſty, you were not afraid to ſay and affirm, before the Lord Protector and the Council, that the ſame *Sharington* did owe unto you a great Sum of Mony, *viz.* 2800 *l.* and to conſpire with him in that falſhood, and take a Bill of that feigned Debt into your cuſtody.

26. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you by your ſelf and Miniſters have not only extorted and bribed great Sums of Mony of all ſuch Ships as ſhould go into *Iſland*, but alſo as ſhould go any other where in Merchandiſe, contrary to the Liberty of this Realm, and to the great diſcouragement and deſtruction of the Navy of the ſame; to the great danger of the King's Majeſty, and the State of the Realm.

27. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where divers Merchants, as well Strangers as Engliſhmen, have had their Goods

piratouſly robbed and taken, you have had their Goods in your hands and cuſtody, daily ſeen in your Houſe, and diſtributed among your Servants and Friends, without any reſtitution to the Parties ſo injured and ſpoiled; ſo that thereby Forreign Princes have in a manner been weary of the King's Majeſty's Amity, and by their Ambaſſadors divers times complained; to the great ſlander of the King's Majeſty, and danger of the State of the Realm.

28. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where certain Men have taken certain Pirats, you have not only taken from the Takers of the ſaid Pirats all the Goods and Ships ſo taken, without any reward, but have caſt the ſaid Takers, for their good Service done to the King's Majeſty, into Priſon; and there detained them a great time, ſome eight Weeks, ſome more, ſome leſs, to the diſcouraging of ſuch as truly ſhould ſerve the King's Majeſty againſt his Pirats and Enemies.

29. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That divers of the Head Pirats being brought unto you, you have let the ſame Pirats go again free unto the Seas; and taking away from the Takers of them, not only all their Commodity and Profit, but from the true Owners of the Ships and Goods, all ſuch as ever came into the Pirats hands, as though you were authoriſed to be the chief Pirat, and to have had all the Advantage they could bring unto you.

30. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where Order hath been taken, by the Lord Protector and the whole Council, that certain Goods, piratically taken upon the Seas, and otherwiſe known not to be Wreck nor forfeited, ſhould be reſtored to the true Owners, and Letters thereupon written by the Lord Protector and the Council; to the which Letters, you your ſelf, among the other, did ſet to your Hand; Yet you, this notwithſtanding, have given Commandment to your Officers, That no ſuch Letters ſhould be obeyed; and written your private Letters to the contrary, commanding the ſaid Goods not to be reſtored, but kept to your own uſe and profit, contrary to your own Hand before in the Council-Chamber written, and contrary to your Duty and Allegiance, and to the perilous Example of others, and great ſlander and danger of the Realm.

31. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That where certain Strangers, which were Friends and Allies to the King's Majeſty, had their Ships, with Wind and Weather broken, and yet came unwrecked to the Shore; when the Lord Protector and the Council had written for the reſtitution of the ſaid Goods, and to the Country to aid and ſave ſo much of the Goods as might, you your ſelf ſubſcribing and conſenting thereto; yet this notwithſtanding, you have not only given contrary Commandment to your Officers, but as a Pirat have written Letters to ſome of your Friends to help, that as much of theſe Goods as they could, ſhould be conveyed away ſecretly by Night further off, upon hope that if the ſame Goods were aſſured, the Owners would make no further labour for them, and then you might have enjoyed them; contrary to Juſtice and your Honour, and to the great ſlander of this Realm.

32. It is Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That you have not only diſcloſed the King's Majeſty's Secret Council, but alſo where you your

your ſelf, amongſt the reſt, have conſented and agreed to certain things for the advancement of the King's Affairs, you have ſpoken and laboured againſt the ſame.

33. It is further Objected, and laid unto your Charge, That your Deputy Steward, and other your Miniſters of the *Holt*, in the County of *Denbigh*, have now, againſt *Chriſtmaſs*-laſt paſt, at the ſaid *Holt*, made ſuch proviſion of Wheat, Malt, beefs, and other ſuch things as be neceſſary for the ſuſtenance of a great number of Men; making alſo by all the means poſſible, a great Maſs of Mony; inſomuch that all the Country doth greatly marvel at it, and the more, becauſe your Servants have ſpread Rumours abroad, that the King's Majeſty was dead; whereupon the Country is in a great maze, doubt, and expectation, looking for ſome Broil, and would have been more, if at this preſent, by your apprehenſion, it had not been ſtaied.

The Lord Admiral's Anſwer to three of the former Articles.

TO the firſt, he ſaith, That about *Eaſter-Tyde* was twelve-months, I be ſaid to *Fowler*, as he ſuppoſeth it was, that if he might have the King in his cuſtody as Mr. *Page* had, he would be glad; and that he thought a Man might bring him through the Gallery to his Chamber, and ſo to his Houſe: But this he ſaid he ſpoke merrily, meaning no hurt. And that in the mean time after he heard, and upon that fought out certain Precedents, that there was in *England* at one time, one Protector, and another Regent of *France*, and the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Biſhop of *Winchester*, Governors of the King's Perſon; Upon that he had thought to have made ſuit to the Parliament-Houſe for that purpoſe, and he had the names of all the Lords, and totted them whom he thought he might have to his purpoſe to labour them. But afterwards communing with Mr. Comptroller at *Ely*-place, being put in remembrance by him of his aſſenting and agreeing with his own Hand, that the Lord Protector ſhould be Governor of the King's Perſon, he was aſhamed of his doings, and left off that ſuit and labour.

To the ſecond he ſaith, He gave Mony to two or three of them which were about the King. To Mr. *Cheek* he ſaith, he gave at *Chriſtmaſs*-tide was twelve-months, when the Queen was at *Enfield* 40 *l.* whereof to himſelf 20 *l.* the other for the King, to beſtow where it pleaſed his Grace amongſt his Servants. Mr. *Cheek* was very loth to take it, howbeit he would needs preſs that upon him; and to him he gave no more, at no time as he remembreth, ſith the King's Majeſty was crowned.

To the Grooms of the Chamber he hath at *Newyears-tydes* given Mony, he doth not well remember what.

To *Fowler*, he ſaith, he gave Mony for the King, ſith the beginning of this Parliament now laſt at *London*, 20 *l.*

And divers times, he ſaith, the King hath ſent to him for Mony, and he hath ſent it. And what time Mr. *Latimer* preached before the King, the King ſent to him to know what he ſhould give Mr. *Latimer*, and he ſent to him by *Fowler* 40 *l.* with this word, that 20 *l.* was a good reward for Mr. *Latimer*, and the other he might beſtow amongſt his

Servants; whether he hath given *Fowler* any mony for himself he doth not remember.

To the third, he saith, It is true, he drew such a Bill indeed himself, and proffered it to the King, or else to Mr. *Cheek*, he cannot well tell; and before that, he saith, he caused the King to be moved by Mr. *Fowler*, whether he could be contented that he should have the Governance of him as Mr. *Stanhope* had. He knoweth not what answer he had; but upon that he drew the said Bill to that effect, that his Majesty was content, but what answer he had to the Bill he cannot tell, Mr. *Cheek* can tell.

Number 32.

The Warrant for the Admiral's Execution.

March 17.

Ex Libro Concilii. Fol. 247.

THis day, the 17*th* of *March*, the Lord Chancellor, and the rest of the King's Council, meeting in his Highness Palace of *Westminster*, heard the Report of the Bishop of *Ely*, who by the said Lords, and others of the Council, was sent to instruct and comfort the Lord Admiral; after the hearing whereof, consulting and deliberating with themselves of the time most convenient for the execution of the said Lord Admiral, now attainted and condemned by the Parliament, They did condescend and agree, that the said Lord Admiral should be executed the *Wednesday* next following, betwixt the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon the same day, upon *Tower-Hill*. His Body and Head to be buried within the *Tower*. The King's Writ (as in such Cases as heretofore hath been accustomed) being first directed and sent forth for that purpose and effect. Whereupon calling to the Council-Chamber the Bishop of *Ely*, they willed him to declare this their Determination to the said Lord Admiral; and to instruct and teach him, the best he could, to the quiet and patient suffering of Justice, and to prepare himself to Almighty God.

E. *Somerset.*

T. Cantuarien.
R. Rich, Chancel.
W. St. John.
J. Russel.
J. Warwick.
F. Shrewsbury.
Thomas Southampton.
William Paget.
Anthony Wingfield.
William Petre.
A. Denny.
Edward North.
R. Sadler.

Number

Number 33.

Articles to be followed and obſerved, accordidg to the King's Majeſty's Injunctions and Proceedings.

1. THat all Parſons, Vicars, and Curats, omit in the reading of the Injunctions, all ſuch as make mention of the Popiſh Maſs, of Chantries, of Candles upon the Altar, or any other ſuch-like thing. Ex MS. Dr. *Johnſon.*

2. *Item.* For an Uniformity, that no Miniſter do counterfeit the Popiſh Maſs, as to kiſs the Lord's Table; waſhing his Fingers at every time in the Communion; bleſſing his Eyes with the Paten or Sudary, or croſſing his Head with the Paten, ſhifting of the Book from one place to another, laying down and licking the Chalice of the Communion; holding up his Fingers, Hands, or Thumbs, joined towards his Temples, breathing upon the Bread or Chalice, ſhewing the Sacrament openly before the diſtribution of the Communion; ringing or ſaying Bells, or ſetting any Light upon the Lord's Board at any time: And finally, to uſe no other Ceremonies than are appointed in the King's Book of Common Prayers, or kneeling otherwiſe than is in the ſaid Book.

3. *Item.* That none buy or ſell the Holy Communion, as in Trentals and ſuch other.

4. *Item.* That none be ſuffered to pray upon Beads, and ſo the People to be diligently admoniſhed; and ſuch as will not be admoniſhed, to put from the Holy Communion.

5. *Item.* That after the Homily, every *Sunday*, the Miniſter exhort the People, eſpecially the Communicants, to remember the poor Mens Box with their Charity.

6. *Item.* To receive no Corpſe but at the Church-yard, without Bell or Croſs.

7. *Item.* That the Common-Prayer, upon *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, be diligently kept, according to the King's Ordinances, exhorting ſuch as may conveniently come, to be there.

8. *Item.* That the Curats, every ſixth Week at the leaſt, teach and declare diligently the Catechiſm, according to the Book of the ſame.

9. *Item.* That no Man maintain Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, the ſix Articles, Bedrolls, Images, Reliques, Lights, Holy Bells, Holy Beads, Holy Water, Palms, Aſhes, Candles, Sepulchres Paſchal, creeping to the Croſs, hallowing of the Font of the Popiſh manner, Oil, Chriſme, Altars, Beads, or any other ſuch Abuſes and Superſtitions, contrary to the King's Majeſty's Proceedings.

10. *Item.* That within any Church or Chappel, be not uſed any more than one Communion upon any day, except *Chriſtmaſs*-day and *Eaſter*-day.

11. *Item.* That none keep the Abrogate Holy-days, other than thoſe that have their proper and peculiar Service.

12. *Item.*

12. *Item.* That the Church-wardens ſuffer no buying nor ſelling, gaming, or unfitting Demeanour, in Church, or Church-yards, eſpecially during the Common-Prayer, the Sermon, and reading of the Homily.

13. *Item.* That going to the Sick with the Sacrament, the Miniſter have not with him either Light or Bells.

Number 34.

A Paper written by Luther *to* Bucer, *concerning a Reconciliation with the* Zuinglians.

An Original.

Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

PRimo, Ut nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici, quod neutri neutros ante Intellexerunt: Nam iſto Pharmaco non medebimur tanto vulneri: cum nec ipſi credamus utrimque hoc verum eſſe, & alii putabunt a nobis hoc fingi; ut ita magis ſuſpectam reddemus cauſam, vel potius per totum dubiam faciemus; cum ſit communis omnium, ut in tantis animorum turbis & ſcrupulis non expedit hoc nomine addere offendiculum.

Secundo, Cum hactenus diſſenſerimus, quod illi ſignum, nos Corpus Chriſti aſſeruerimus plane contrarii: Nihilominus mihi videtur utile, et mediam, ut novam ſtatuamus ſententiam, qua & illi concedant Chriſtum adeſſe vere, & nos concedamus panem ſolum manducari. Conſiderandum certe eſt, quantam hic feneſtram aperiemus in re omnibus communi cogitandi & Orientium hinc fontes queſtionum & opinionum

* Here a word is wanting, it is like it ſhould be *Occludendi.*

* Ut tutius multo ſit illos ſimpliciter manere in ſuo ſigno, cum nec ipſi ſuam, nec nos noſtram partem, multo minus utriq; totum orbem pertrahemus in eam ſententiam; Sed potius irritabimus ad varias Cogitationes. Ideo vellem potius ut ſopitum maneret diſſidium in duabus illis ſententiis, quam ut occaſio daretur infinitis quæſtionibus ad Epicuriſmum profuturis.

Iſtis ſalvis, nihil eſt quod a me peti poſſit: nam ut ego hoc diſſidium vellem (teſtis eſt mihi Chriſtus meus) redemptum Corpore & Sanguine meo. Sed quid faciam? Ipſi forte Conſcientia bona ſunt in altera ſententia. Feramus igitur eos: ſi ſinceri ſunt, liberabit eos Chriſtus Dominus. Ego contra captus ſum bona mea Conſcientia, niſi ipſi mihi ſum ignotus, in meam ſententiam: ferant & me, ſi non poſſunt mihi accedere.

Number

Number 35.

The Sentence againſt Joan *of* Kent, *with the Certificate made upon it.*

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas, Permiſſione Divina Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Metrapolitanus, Thomas Smith Miles, Willielmus Cooke Decanus de Arcubus, Hugo Latimer Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſor, & Richardus Lyell Legum Doctor, Illuſtriſſimi, invictiſſimi in Chriſto Principis & Domini noſtri Domini Edwardi ſexti, Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. per Literas ſuas Regias Patentes, dat. duodecimo die menſis Aprilis, Anno Regni ſui tertio, contra te Joannam Bocher, alias nuncupatam Joannam de Kente, coram nobis ſuper hæretica pravitate, juxta & ſecundum Commiſſionem dicti Domini noſtri Regis detectam & declaratam, ac in ea parte apud bonos & graves Notorie & Publice, diffamatam, rite & legitime procedentes, auditis, viſis, intellectis, cognitis, rimatis, & matura deliberatione diſcuſſis & ponderatis dicti negotii meritis & circumſtantiis, ſervatiſq; in omnibus & per omnia in eodem negotio de jure ſervandis in quomodolibet requiſitis: judicialiter & pro tribunali ſedentes, Chriſti nomine invocato ac ipſum ſolum Deum præ oculis noſtris habentes; Quia per acta inſtrata, deducta, probata, confeſſata, ac per te ſæpius coram nobis in eodem negotio recognita, comperimus & clare invenimus te, tum per confeſſiones, tum per recognitiones tuas coram nobis judicialiter factas, nefandum & intollerabilem errorem, hæreſin damnatam & ſcandaloſam opinionem ſubſcriptam, juri Divino & Fidei Catholicæ obviantem, contrariam & repugnantem: viz. *That you believe, that the Word was made Fleſh in the Virgin's Belly; but that Chriſt took Fleſh of the Virgin, you believe not; becauſe the Fleſh of the Virgin, being the outward Man, was finfully gotten and born in Sin; but the Word, by the conſent of the inward Man of the Virgin, was made Fleſh.* Manutenuiſſe quem quidem errorem, hæreſin damnatam & ſcandaloſam opinionem, juri Divino & Fidei Catholicæ obviantem, contrariam & repugnantem, &c. Idcirco nos Thomas Archiep. &c. te Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kente predictam, de meritis, culpis, obſtinaciis & contumaciis, &c. de & ſuper horrendo hæreticæ pravitatis reatu confeſſam, ad Eccleſiæ unitatem redire volentem, hæreticam opinionem credentem, præmiſſorum prætextu fuiſſe & eſſe, cum animi dolore & cordis amaritudine Judicamus, teq; ex nunc tanquam pertinacem & obſtinatam hæreticam, judicio ſive curiæ ſeculari ad omnem juris effectum, qui exinde ſequi debeat, aut poterit, relinquendam fore decernimus & declaramus, & ſic per præſentes de facto relinquimus; Teq; Joannam Bocher, alias Joannam de Kent, memoratam hæreticam, pertinacem, in majoris Excommunicationis ſententiam occaſione præmiſſorum incidiſſe & incurriſſe, necnon excommunicatam fuiſſe & eſſe, etiam ſententialiter & definitive pronunciamus & declaramus, per hanc noſtram ſententiam definitivam, quam ferimus & promulgamus in his ſcriptis. Lecta fuit hæc ſententia per prænominatos, Reverendum, &c. Regiſt. *Cran. Fol.* 175.

Sermo

Sermo factus Domino Regi contra Joannam Bocher, alias dictam, Joannam de Kent pro Brachio Seculari.

ILluſtriſſimo & Invictiſſimo in Chriſto Principi, Domino noſtro Edwardo ſexto, Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. Thomas Permiſſione Divina Cantuarien, &c. Thomas Smith & Commiſſarii prædicti & Inquiſitores veſtræ Celſitudinis, per Literas veſtras Regias Patentes, dat. 12 Aprilis, Anno Regni veſtri tertio, ſufficienter & legitime deputati honorem & perpetuam fœlicitatem in eo, per quam Reges regnant & Principes dominantur. Veſtræ Regiæ Celſitudini, Tenore præſentium ſignificamus, quod nos adverſus quandam, Joannam Bocher alias Joannam de Kent dictam, ſubditam veſtram de & ſuper nefando Crimine Hæreſeos ac deteſtanda Anabaptiſtarum Secta apud bonos & graves enormiter defamatam, & ſuper reatu earundem nobis detectam, delatam & denuntiatam, rite & legitime juxta literarum veſtrarum Regiarum Commiſſionalium exigentiam, & tenorem procedentes, eandem Joannam, per nos examinatam, comperimus & invenimus Errores, Hæreſes & damnatas Opiniones pertinaciter animo indurato ſæpenumero mantenuiſſe, defendiſſe & in eiſdem permanſiſſe, & ab eiſdem nullo modo reſipuiſſe, nec reſipiſcere curaſſe; ſed ad Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ gremium redire penitus neglexiſſe: Ideo, cum animi amaritudine & cordis dolore, eandem Joannam, ſæpius monitam & per nos ad Eccleſiæ unitatem redire hortatam, ſalutaribus noſtris monitis parere omnino ſpernentem, de & cum conſenſu Collegarum noſtrorum, tanquam ovem morbidam a grege Domini (ne alios viros ſubditos ſua contagione inficiat) ejiciendam & eliminandam fore decrevimus, ipſamq; Joannam occaſione iniquitatis ſuæ inveteratæ, hæreticam ac hæreticis Opinionibus credentem, mediante noſtra ſententia definitiva, pronunciavimus & decrevimus. Cum igitur Sancta Mater Eccleſia non habeat, quod ulterius facere & exequi debeat, in hac parte veſtræ Regiæ ſublimitati & brachio veſtro ſeculari dictam Hæreticam & relapſam relinquimus, condigna animadverſione plectendam. In cujus rei teſtimonum, Nos Thomas Archiep. &c. Commiſſarius veſter humillimus ſupradictus, de conſenſu Collegarum noſtrorum, hic ſe ſubſcribentium, Sigillum noſtrum Archiepiſcopale præſentibus apponi fecimus. Datum ultimo die menſis Aprilis, Anno Dom. 1549. & Regni veſtri fœliciſſimi Anno tertio.

Folio 178. After this followeth the Proceſs, and Sentence of Condemnation of one *George van Parre* a Dutch-man, for obſtinately maintaining the like Opinions; together with a Petition imploring the execution thereof, and the aſſiſtance of the Secular Power, conform to the Tenour of that above-written, bearing date the *6th* of *April*, *Anno Dom.* 1551.

The Judges and Commiſſioners of this Proceſs, were *Thomas* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas* Biſhop of *London*, *William May*, *Griffin Leyſon*, *John Oliver*, *Miles Coverdale*, *Richard Lyell*, *John Goſnold*, and *Chriſtopher Neviſon*.

His

His Hereſy that he believeth, is, That *God the Father is only God: and that Chriſt is not very God, is non-Hereſie.* And being ask'd, by an Interpreter. Whether he would abjure the ſaid Opinion? He anſwered? *No.*

Number 36.

A Letter from the Protector to Sir Philip Hobbey, *concerning the Rebellions at Home.*

KNowing that all ſuch as be Ambaſſadors abroad, are not only deſirous of News, for the love they bear to their own Country naturally, deſiring often to hear of the eſtate of it, but alſo to confirm and confute ſuch Rumors as be ſpread in the Parts where they lie, we have thought good to impart what ſith our laſt Letters hath chanced. The *Devonſhire* Men are well chaſtiſed and appeaſed; three other of their Captains have voluntarily come in, and ſimply ſubmitted themſelves to Sir *Thomas Pomery* Kt. *Wiſe* and *Harrice*, who before were fled, and could not be found; and the Country cometh in daily to my Lord Privy-Seal, by 100 and 1000, to crave their Pardon, and be put in ſome ſure hope of Grace. *Burry*, and ſome one or two more of their blind Guides, that eſcaped from the Sword, have attempted, in the mean Seaſon, to ſtir up *Somerſetſhire*, and have gotten them a Band in Camp; but they are ſent after, and we truſt by this, they have as they deſerve. The Earl of *Warwick* lieth near to the Rebels in *Norfolk*, which faint now, and would have Grace gladly, ſo that all might be pardoned, *Ket*, and the other Arch-Traitors. The number upon them is at a ſtay, and they daily ſhrink ſo faſt away, that there is great hope that they will leave their Captains deſtitute and alone, to receive their worthy Reward; the which is the thing we moſt deſire, to ſpare, as much as may be, the effuſion of Blood, and that namely of our own Nation. In *York-ſhire* a Commotion was attempted the Week laſt paſt; but the Gentlemen were ſo ſoon upon them, and ſo forwardly, that it was ſtraight ſuppreſſed; and with weeping Eyes, the reſt upon their Knees, they wholly together deſired the Gentlemen to obtain their Pardons; the which the King's Majeſty hath ſo granted unto them, as may ſtand with his Highneſs Honour: So that for the Inner Parts (thanks be to the Almighty God) the Caſe ſtandeth in good Points. The Cauſes and Pretences of theſe Uproars and Riſings, are divers and uncertain, and ſo full of variety almoſt in every Camp, (as they call them) that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know, is like to be of People without Head and Rule, and that would have that they wot not what: Some crieth, Pluck down Incloſures and Parks, Some for their Commons; others pretend the Religion; a number would Rule another while, and direct things as Gentlemen have done; and indeed all have conceived a wonderful hate againſt Gentlemen, and taketh them all as their Enemies. The Ruffians among them, and the Souldiers, which be the chief Doers, look for ſpoil. So that it ſeemeth no other

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thing but a Plague and a Fury amongſt the vileſt and worſt ſort of Men: for except only *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*, and they not paſt two or three, in all other places not one Gentleman, or Man of Reputation was ever amongſt them, but againſt their Wills, and as Priſoners. In *Norfolk*, Gentlemen, and all Servingmen, for their ſakes, are as ill handled as may be; but this Broil is well aſſwaged, and in a manner at a point ſhortly to be fully ended, with the Grace of God.

On the other part of the Seas, we have not ſo good News; for the French King taking now his time, and occaſions of this Rebellion within the Realm, is come unto *Bullingnois*, with a great number of Horſemen and Footmen, himſelf in Perſon: And, as we are advertiſed, of the Letters of the 24*th* of this preſent, from *Ambletue* or *Newhaven*, the *Almain* Camp, or *Almain* Hill, a piece appertaining to the ſaid *Ambletue*, was that day delivered to the French, by traiterous conſent of the Camp; their Variance falling out, or feigned, between the Captain and the Souldiers, ſo that they are now beſieged very near, and in a manner round. Howbeit they write, that they truſt the piece it ſelf of *Newhaven* will be well enough defended, God aſſiſting them, who be in as good and ſtout a Courage as any Men may be, and as deſirous to win Honour, and give a good account of their Charge. Thus we bid you heartily farewel. *Auguſt* 24. 1549.

Number 37.

A Letter of *Bonners*'s after he was deprived.

An Original.

The firſt part of this Letter, is the recommending the Bearer, that they might find a good Marriage for him.

——The Pears were ſo well accepted in every place, where I had ſo many Thanks for my Diſtribution, that I intend, by God's Grace, to ſend down to you your Frail again, to have an eching, either of more Pears, or elſe of Puddings, *&c.* ye do know what, *&c.* doth mean, by that Italian Proverb, *Dio me guarda da furia di villani, da Conſcientia di preti, da chi odi due meſſe nel giorno, da quaſibuglie di medici da &c. di notarii, da chi jura per la Conſcientia mia.* I do not write to Sir *John Burne*, nor to my Lady, for any thing, their Conſcience is not over-large; and the like is in Mr. *Hornvale*, and alſo my old Acquaintance *John Badger*. But if amongſt you I have no Puddings, then muſt I ſay, as *Meſſer*, our Prieſt of the Hoſpital, ſaid to his mad Horſe, in our laſt journey to *Hoſtia*, *Al diavolo, al diavolo, ai tutti diavolli.* Our Lord preſerve you, and all yours, with deſire to be recommended to all. *Feſto omnium Sanctorum*, in the *Marſhalſea*.

To my dear beloved Friend, the Worſhipful Richard Lechmore.

Your loving and aſſured old Acquaintance,

Edmund Bonner.

Number

Number 38.

Letters and Inſtructions touching Proceedings with the Emperor, to Sir William Paget, *Knight of the Order, ſent to the Emperor.* 1549.

FIrſt, He ſhall communicate his Inſtructions, and the cauſe of his coming with Sir *Philip Hobbey* Ambaſſador, Reſident with the Emperor, and accompanied with him at his acceſs to the ſaid Emperor, ſhall deliver his Letters of Credit; and for his Credit ſhall utter his Charge as followeth. *Cotton* Libr. *Galba.* B. 12.

First, He ſhall declare what good Will we have to the continuance of the Amity, and the encreaſe of the ſame, by ſuch means as may be deviſed on either Party; and how the Reciproque hath been promiſed on their behalf.

Item. To the intent they may as well perceive our forwardneſs therein, as alſo the World ſee the ſame take effect indeed, he is ſent to ſhew what we have thought upon for this purpoſe; and alſo if they be of a like forwardneſs, to hear again what they think meet in that behalf; and upon this Conference, either to conclude upon both Our Devices, or ſuch one of them as ſhall be thought beſt for both Parties.

Item. We think good, that the Treaty already made between the Emperor and the King's Majeſty of famous Memory, deceaſed, be made perpetual, that is to ſay, confirmed by the Prince, and the Countries on both ſides, whoſe Commodity depend upon the ſame Treaty.

Item. Before the Confirmation, the Treaty to be reviſed by him; and the Ambaſſador, and certain other, to be appointed by the Emperor, to the intent it may appear whether we have both one underſtanding of the words of the Treaty.

Item. Where the debating to and fro of the Amity with his Ambaſſador here, occaſion hath riſen to talk of Marriage between the Infant of *Portugal* and the Lady *Mary*; to which thing we perceive the Emperor hath ſithence been made privy; and that in caſe the Emperor mind to treat further of that Matter, he ſhall ſay he hath Commiſſion to hear and conclude thereof.

Item. To declare the State of our Affairs in *Scotland* at this time; and foraſmuch as the Scots have been very much aided with Victuals, Ammunitions, and other Neceſſaries from his Dominions, by reaſon whereof they are more ſtiff and unwilling to come to Reaſon; the ſaid Comptroller declaring this Conſideration, ſhall do what he may to procure, that not only all ſafe Conducts granted by the Emperor, or the Regent may be caſſed; but alſo his conſent, that if any his Subjects traffique into *Scotland*, being common Enemies, if they be taken beyond *Barwick* thitherward, it may be lawful for our Men to take their Goods as forfeit.

Item. To declare our Proceedings with *France* at this time, and of our ſending Commiſſioners upon the French Motion, who ſhall not conclude any thing prejudicial to the Amity or Treaties already paſſed, or now to be paſſed, between Us and the Emperor, but ſhall depend wholly upon his Proceedings there; ſo as if the Emperor ſhall, upon conſultation of his Affairs, determine with us to do any thing to *France*, we will frame our Communications with the French thereafter: if otherwiſe, than the ſaid Commiſſioners now ſent to the French ſhall do accordingly.

Item. For making the Treaty perpetual, We think convenient, that the Prince of *Spain* do confirm and ſign the ſame, and the *Low Countries* compriſed therein, do alſo in their General Parliaments or Aſſemblies make like Confirmation, and in their Courts to make Decrees thereof; and this, or ſuch form as hath been uſed in thoſe Parts heretofore in like Caſes, to be done for their part: And for our part, the King to Ratify it, the Parliament to Confirm it, and the Courts of *Chancery*, *King's Bench*, and *Common-Pleas*, to make Decrees thereof.

Item. In the reviſing of the Treaty, if any Doubt riſe for the underſtanding of it, which ſhall ſeem by his and the Ambaſſador's diſcretion to be for the King's Profit, to conclude upon it, if they will agree to the ſame; and if there ariſe Doubt, which ſhall ſeem to their diſcretions againſt the King, then to advertiſe hither.

Item. For the caſe of the Marriage, to declare at the firſt what was left by the King's Majeſty deceaſed; and yet nevertheleſs afterward to offer 100000 Crowns, or the Revenue yearly which ſhe hath now upon convenable Dower. The ſaid 100000 Crowns, or Revenue, to be paid at *Calais*, if the Marriage take place; ſhe to be conveyed to *Calais* at the King's Charges; the Marriage to be made in the Emperor's Court, or elſe-where in the *Low-Country*, by his appointment; and for her Dowry to ask by the Year to be paid in caſe of the Infant's Death, at *Calais* yearly, at the Feaſts of and the Feaſt of and She to return into *England* with Jewels, Plate, Houſhold-ſtuff, ſuch as ſhould be agreed upon. And thus far to enter for the firſt Degree; and in caſe of further Communication, to advertiſe and receive Anſwer from hence.

Item. Touching our Proceeding with *France*, to declare how we have continued in War with them, and *Scotland* theſe four Years alone, without help; and that we think it expedient for us, upon this occaſion now miniſtred by *France*, to give ear; in the which hearing, we mind to attribute much to the Emperor's Friendſhip; for loth we are to let ſlip from the King any one jot of his Right, if the Emperor will aſſiſt; but otherwiſe we muſt make ſuch a Bargain for the King, as we may with regard to his Honour and Surety. And in this Point the Comptroller ſhall preſs the ſaid Emperor to enter with us, and to put him in a remembrance of his Quarrels, and all ſuch other things as he can deviſe for this purpoſe; and to put him in hope generally, that we will enter gallantly with him. And if he deſcend to Particulars for the form of the Entry, to hear his Opinion, and to advertiſe, and then proceed as anſwer cometh from hence; but ſpecially to remember to ſet forth the comprehenſion of *Bulloign* for defence, upon a like Reciproque, for ſo ſhall he be brought to think we mind not to conclude with

with *France*, and thereby ſtay ſuch practices, as upon occaſion of the ſaid Comptroller's going, either he with *France*, or *France* with him, might enter together. And ſo the Commiſſioners ſent to *France*, may make the better Bargain for the King. Marry, this Point is not to be opened throughly, till he hear ſome likelihood that our Commiſſioners in *France* break off without concluſion.

Item. The ſaid Comptroller ſhall eſſay, as of himſelf, whether they will accept *Bulloign* at the King's Majeſty's Hands, for ſome other reaſonable recompence.

Item. The ſaid Comptroller ſhall uſe his diſcretion, to open the Points aforeſaid to the Emperor, *Granvela*, or *D'Arras*, either at one time, or ſeveral times, as to his diſcretion ſhall ſeem convenient; and ſhall addreſs his Pacquets to the Commiſſioners for *France* lying at *Calais*, to the end they may ſee his Proceedings, and ſend them over with ſpeed, directing their Charge the better hereafter.

Number 39.

An Account of a Conference the Engliſh Ambaſſadors had with the Emperor's Miniſters, in a Letter to the Protector.

IT may like your Grace to be advertiſed, that upon the 20*th* of this Preſent, came to the Lodging of me the Comptroller, *Monſieur D' Arras*, and in his company the two Preſidents of the Council, St. *Maurice* and *Viglius*; who after a few words of Office paſſed between them and us, entred the Cauſe of their coming, ſaying, That the Emperor having been informed of ſuch Conference as was paſſed this other day between Me and *Granvela*, hath to declare his readineſs to any thing that might ſatisfy his good Will and Affection to the intent of the King, ſent as here to reviſit the Treatiſe, and ſee how we do agree upon the underſtanding of the ſame. I the Comptroller anſwered, That it was not amiſs, howbeit I had not ſo opened the Matters, nor looked to have it paſſed in ſuch order. But firſt to know the Emperor's Reſolution, how he can be contented with the Confirmation of the Treaty, in the form that I had moved, and then that agreed upon, to proceed to the reviſitation of the ſame. In good Faith, quoth *D'Arras*, we did ſo underſtand it, and have ſo reported to the Emperor, and this Commiſſion hath he now given us. Well, quoth I, ſeeing you are now here, and have brought the Treaty with you for that purpoſe, we may do ſomewhat in it, and afterwards be adviſed farther, requiring, that in caſe any thing ſhould be found in the paſſages of the Treaty meet to be conſidered, that we might, before further wading in the Matter, know the Emperor's Reſolution, touching as well the Confirmation of the Treaty, as in ſuch things as now might be moved: which they thought reaſonable. And ſo we began to read the Treaty; and when we came to the ſixth Article, wherein it is provided for the common Enmity in caſe of Invaſion, and by the Eſtabliſhment ſet forth, with what number the Invaſion muſt be made; and that both for the Invaſion, and the Number the Prince required to join, ſhall credit

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credit the Letters of the Prince requiring. I put this Caſe, quoth I, for the underſtanding of this Matter, that the King my Maſter will ſignify by his Letters to the Emperor, that ſuch a day the Scots, our common Enemies, to the number of 7000 Men, with the aid of the French King, affronted the Borders of *England*, comprehended in the Treaty, and ſet above 2000 Men into the Realm to invade: who did indeed invade, and ſpoil, and burn, and take Priſoners; and therefore would require the Emperor, according to the Treaty, to take the French King, who had aided his Enemies, for his Enemies; for ſo doth he, and ſo will uſe him for his Enemies. Is not the Emperor bound to do it? What ſay you, quoth I, how do you underſtand this Article? It ſhould ſeem yes, quoth *D' Arras*, but we will ſpeak with the Emperor in it, and bring you an Anſwer. The words be plain, quoth I, and cannot be avoided.

Then in the ſeventh Article, where it is ſaid, That the Prince requiring for his Aid Mony inſtead of Men, muſt, if the Invaſion made by the Enemy ceaſe, reſtore the Mony again which remaineth. And afterwards ſays, That though the Invaſion ceaſe, yet if he will follow the Enemy, he may uſe the Aid for the Time appointed in the Treaty; ſaying in generality, (*eo caſu ſubſidiis auxiliaribus, &c.*) I asked, Whether in thoſe general words, they mean not the Mony as well as the Men? Whereupon they ſeemed to doubt, and took a Note thereof, to know the Emperor's Pleaſure in the ſame.

In the ninth Article, where it is treated for redreſs of Injuries done by one Subject to the other, there we fell into a Brawl of half an hour, upon a Queſtion that I moved, *viz.* When they took Juſtice to be denied? And their Anſwer was, That we uſed none at all. And here at length, I fell into their manner of Arreſting of one whole Nation upon a Knave Mariner's Complaint. And he, What Thieves our Nation was upon the Sea, and lawleſs People, and that they never proceed to ſuch Extremities, but when their Subjects had been in *England* and Juſtice was denied. That hath never been ſeen, quoth I; but if any of your Subjects think himſelf grieved, ſtreight he runeth to *Monſieur le Protecteur*; and he, by and by, ſetting all the King's Affairs apart, muſt attend to the Affairs of *Monſieur le Mariniure*, or elſe home runneth he with open cry, That he cannot have Juſtice in *England*, and you ſtreight believe; and thereupon cometh theſe often Bluſters. And do you think it reaſon, that *Monſieur G.* or you ſhould attend to every private Man's Complaint; you ſhould then have a goodly Office. No, you ſend them to the ordinary Juſtices, and ſo let that take place and way as it will; but you will never impeach your ſelf more with the Matter. And reaſon, quoth he, but the Cauſe is not alike with you in *England*, for there, quoth he, all things come to the Lord Protector's Hand, there is none other Judg or Juſtice uſed or cared for in the Realm; no, and his Letters ſometimes not eſteemed, and that our Subjects fear full often, and therefore of force they muſt reſort to *Monſieur Protecteur*. And this is not true, quoth I, and that *Monſieur Hobby* knoweth, my Lord Protector, nor none of the Privy-Council, meddle with no private Matters whoſoever it be, but only meddle with Matters of State, leaving all other things to the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, except only many times to gratify your Ambaſſador, and to ſhew himſelf glad

glad to nouriſh the Amity, he troubleth himſelf with the Complaints of your Subjects, which, by St. *Mary*, by my advice, he ſhall do no more, ſeeing it is ſo little conſidered, but ſhall refer them to the common Juſtice. Whither is that? (quoth he). To the Admiralty, quoth I. Marry, a goodly Juſtice, quoth he, for ſo ſhall the poor Man's Cauſe be tried before his Adverſary. And why not tried in our Admiralty (quoth I) as well as in yours? Nay, quoth he, both be naught indeed; they were very ordinary Courts at the beginning of the redreſs of Matters upon the Sea; but now they feel the ſweet of the Gain ſuch, as they care little for Juſtice, and here, as well for relief of poor Men ſpoiled and robbed upon the Seas, as to avoid Arreſts, and ſuch other troubleſome Proceedings on either ſide, we fell to deviſing, and came to this Point; If the Princes for their parts, upon their advertiſement to the Emperor, and we to your Grace, ſhall like it, that Commiſſion ſufficient be given by the Emperor, to two of his Privy-Council, to hear and determine by their diſcretion, ſummary, *& de pleno*, all Complaints by the King's Subjects here for Criminal Cauſes upon the Sea; and the King's Majeſty to do the like to two of his Privy-Council, for the Complaints in like caſe of the Emperor's Subjects.

And this was all was paſſed in open Conference, ſaying, That in the Diſcourſe for the Confirmation in the Treaty by the Prince and their Countries, as they ſeemed to ſhew the Emperor's readineſs, (but yet not ſo reſolved) that the Prince ſhould confirm the Treaty, and that further any other thing ſhould be done that he might reaſonably do, to declare his good Will to the entertainment and augmentation of his Amity and Affection to the King's Majeſty. So he alleaged divers Reaſons why the Emperor ſhould not ſeek to his Subjects to confirm his Treaties with Forreign Princes. We alleaged the Example of the King, and the French King in times paſt; and what was ſaid in that Caſe at *C.* in the preſence of himſelf *de C.* and *Chap.* Whereunto he anſwered, That the State of *France* was more reſtrained than the Emperor's; and that the French King could give no piece of his Patrimony, nor bind his Country, without the conſent of his Parliament at *Paris*, and the three Eſtates; but he thought the King of *England* to have a greater Prerogative, and the Emperor he was ſure had a greater Prerogative; and ſo had all his Anceſtors, and therefore would be loth now to put himſelf ſo far in their danger: They were, he ſaid, fifteen or ſixteen Parliaments, and if a thing ſhould be propoſed unto them, whereof they had never heard the like before, they would not only muſe much at the Matter, but they would have alſo the ſcanning of it; and what would come of it, the Emperor could not tell, peradventure daſh the Matter, and ſo prejudice his Prerogative with them. Yet now where he and his Anceſtors do, and have always paſſed Treaties with other Princes, and bind their Subjects thereby without making them privy thereto, it would by this means come to paſs, that from henceforth their Subjects would look to be privy to every Treaty, which were not convenient; marry, for the Prince which ſhall ſucceed, to confirm the Treaty, he thought the Emperor could not take it but reaſonable, and doubted not to bring a good Anſwer in the ſame. So as we ſee for this Point, it will come to the confirmation of the King and the Prince, and upon any condition

or

or interpretation of the Treaty to them alſo, wherein we intend to go forwards, for ſo our Inſtruction beareth us, unleſs that before the concluſion and ſhutting up of the Matter, we hear from your Grace to the contrary.

The things being thus far paſſed, and our open Talk at a Point, and they ready to depart, *Monſieur D' Arras* taking occaſion (as it ſeemed) to ſtay becauſe of the Rain, took me aſide, and asked me if I would command him any other Service. I anſwered, No Service, but Friendſhip, and the continuance of his good Will to the King's Majeſty's Affairs; whereunto he making large Offers, I began to enter with him, how much your Grace, and all the reſt, repoſed themſelves in the friendſhip of the Emperor, and the good Miniſtry of his Father and him, to the furtherance of the King's Majeſty's Affairs; to whom, as in that behalf, they ſhewed themſelves great Friends, ſo did they, like good Servants to their Maſter, for the proſperous ſucceſs of the Affairs of the one, ſerved the turn of the other, and the contrary. Whereupon I diſcourſed largely, as far as my poor Capacity would extend, how neceſſary it was for the Empereror to aid and aſſiſt us in all things, ſo as we are not oppreſſed by Force, or driven, for want of Friendſhip, to take ſuch ways to keep us in quiet, as both we our ſelves would be loth, and our Friends ſhould afterwards have peradventure cauſe to forethink.

I repeated firſt how we entred the Wars for your ſake; for the King might have made his Bargain honourable with France, which no Man knew better than I: how long we have endured the War, and how long alone; how favourable they are to our common Enemies the Scots; how ungentle the French be to us, and by indirect means think to conſume us, to make the Emperor the weaker.

I recited the practices of the French with the Turk, with the Pope, with the Germans, with *Denmark*; his Aid of the Scots, and all upon intent to impeach the Emperor when he ſeeth time, or at the leaſt attending a good hour, upon hope of the Emperor's Death; the weaker that we be, the eaſilier ſhall he do it; if we forgoe any our Pieces on this ſide, we muſt needs be the weaker; and that ſo we had rather do, than alone to keep War againſt *Scotland* and *France*. Wherefore if they will both provide for their own Strength, and give us courage to keep ſtill that which we have, the Emperor muſt be content to take * 13 into defence, as well as other places comprehended in the Treaty; which, I ſaid, we meant not, but upon a reaſonable Reciproque. What Reciproque (quoth he) roundly? Thereupon adviſe you reaſonably, quoth I. O, quoth he, I cannot ſee how the Emperor can honourably make a true Treaty for that Point, without offence of his Treaty with *France*; and we mean to proceed directly and plain with all Men, quoth he. Why, quoth I, we may bring you juſtly, by and by with us, if we will advertiſe you, as I did even now put my Caſe. Yea, if your Caſe be true, quoth he; but herein we will charge your Honours and Conſciences, whether the Fact be ſo or no? for your Grace ſhall underſtand, that I talked in the Matter ſo ſuſpiciouſly, as though ſuch an Invaſion had been made, and that you would require common Enmity.

* This is a Cipher, and ſtands, I ſuppoſe, for *Bulloign*.

In

In fine, Sir, after many Motions and Perſwaſions, and long Diſcourſes uſed on my behalf, to induce them to take 13 into defence. His refuge was only, That they would fain learn how they might honeſtly anſwer the French; albeit I ſhewed him ſome forms of Anſwers, which he ſeemed not to like; yet in the end I ſaid, He was a great Doctor, and as he had put the Doubt, ſo he was learned ſufficiently, if he liſted, to aſſoil the ſame. He ſaid, he would open theſe Matters to the Emperor, and truſted to bring me ſuch an Anſwer as I ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied, and ſo departed; whereof, as ſoon as we have knowledg, your Grace ſhall be advertiſed accordingly. And thus we beſeech God, to ſend your Grace well to do all your Proceedings.

Number 40.

A Letter from Sir William Paget, *and Sir* Philip Hobbey, *concerning their Negotiation with the Emperor's Miniſters.*

An Original.

IT may like your Grace be advertiſed, That yeſterday at Afternoon, *Monſieur D' Arras*, accompanied with two Preſidents of the Council, & *Maurice* and *Viglius*, came unto the Lodging of me the Comptroller; and after ſome words of Office paſſed on either part, *D' Arras* began to ſet forth the Cauſe of their coming, ſaying, That the Emperor having at good length conſidered and debated the Things proponed and communed of between us ſince my coming hither, had ſent them to report unto me his final Anſwer and Reſolution to the ſame. *Cotton* Libr. *Galba.* B. 12.

And firſt (quoth he) to your Caſe, That at our being together for the reviſitation of the Treaty, ye put forth upon the ſixth Article for the common Enmity in caſe of Invaſion, his Majeſty muſeth much, what ye ſhould mean thereby, for ſeeing the Caſe is not in ure, he thinketh, that doubting of his Friendſhip, ye go about, by theſe means, to grope and feel his Mind; which ye need not do, he having hitherto ſhewed himſelf ready in all things to ſhew the King, his good Brother, pleaſure, and to obſerve the Treaty in all Points to the uttermoſt; and if this Caſe ſhould happen to come in ure, then will he not fail to do whatſoever the Treaty bindeth him unto, till when he can make no other anſwer therein.

As to your Queſtion, moved upon the ſixth Article of the Treaty, viz. Whether Mony be not meant as well as Men by theſe words, *Subſidiis Auxiliaribus?* His Majeſty taketh the words to be plain enough, and thinketh they cannot be otherwiſe interpreted, than to be meant, as well for Mony as Men, for ſo doth he underſtand them.

Unto the Order that was communed upon for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice on both ſides, for matter of Spoil or Piracy upon the Sea, his Majeſty having weighed what is beſt to be done therein further, he hath good cauſe firſt to complain of the over many Spoils that your Men have made on his poor Subjects, and the ſmall Juſtice that hath

been hitherto miniſtred unto them herein, whereof he hath continual Complaints, and therefore he thinketh it were meeter, e're ever any further Order ſhall be concluded upon, that his Subjects were firſt recompenced of theſe wrongs they have ſuſtained, and the Matter brought to ſome equality, and his People put in as much good caſe as yours are; for I aſſure you (quoth he) the Wrongs our Men have ſuſtained are many; among the reſt, a poor Jeweler, having gotten a ſafe Conduct of the King that dead is, to bring into *England* certain Jewels, becauſe after he had the King's Hand and Seal to the Licenſe, he had not the ſame ſealed alſo with the Great Seal of *England*, his Jewels were taken from him; and he, being not preſent (although it were ſo named in the Sentence) condemned to loſe them by the order of your Law, contrary to all Equity and Juſtice: Which ſeemeth ſtrange, that the King's Hand and Seal ſhould not appear to be ſufficient for a greater Matter than this. The Treaties alſo provide, That the Subjects of the one Prince may frankly, without impediment, traffique and occupy into the other Prince's Country; but to ſhadow the Matter with all, one, I cannot tell who, hath been agreed withal, and ſo the poor Man and his Heirs put from their Right, which his Majeſty wiſheth to be conſidered. And albeit he thinketh that the King your Maſter, being under Age, cannot himſelf, by the order of the Law, conclude upon any thing now in his Minority, that ſhall be of due force and ſtrength, able to bind him and his Country when he ſhall come to his perfect Age. Yet taking that his Tutors be authoriſed thereto, by the common Aſſent of your Parliament, may go through and conclude upon theſe, or like things in his Name, his Majeſty thinketh it will do well, when his Subjects ſhall be recompenſed of the Wrongs they have hitherto ſuſtained, that ſome order be deviſed for the adminiſtration of Juſtice hereafter in like Caſes.

As touching the Confirmation of the Treaty, conſidering that the ſame was firſt made between the Emperor and King *Henry* the Eighth, and not ratified by the King your Maſter ſince his Father's Death, his Majeſty thinketh that he hath moſt cauſe to require the ſame: Wherefore becauſe (as I told you even now) he thinketh that theſe things, the King himſelf ſhould conclude upon during his Minority, cannot be of ſufficient force, if his Tutors ſhall be, by the Authority of your Parliament enabled thereto, his Majeſty is content the Treaty be confirmed by them in the King's Name, and by the Prince of *Spain*, in ſuch form as ſhall be thought beſt for both Parties.

As to the comprehenſion of *Bulloign*, ye muſt know, that we have a Treaty with *France* as well as with you, which the Emperor cannot, without ſome touch of his Honour, break, without juſt Grounds: And albeit his Majeſty would be loth to ſee the King, his good Brother, forgoe either that Peace, or any other Jot of his Right, yet can he not enter this Defence, unleſs he would break with *France* out of hand; which in reſpect of his other Affairs he cannot yet do, howbeit he will gladly aſſiſt his good Brother in any other thing the beſt he may, and will not fail to ſhew him all the Pleaſure he can with regard to his Honour; but with *Bulloign* he cannot meddle at this time. And here he ſtaying; Is this the Emperor's reſolute and full Anſwer, *Monſieur D' Arras?* quoth I. Yea, (quoth he); wherewith he prayeth the King,

King, his good Brother, to reſt ſatisfied, and take it in good part. Albeit (quoth I) I have no Commiſſion to make any Reply thereto, becauſe it was not known to your Grace what the Emperor's Reſolution ſhould be; yet in the way of talk I will be bold to ſay my mind herein, We have, *Monſieur D' Arras* (quoth I) always eſteemed the Emperor's Friendſhip, and deſire the obſervation of the Treaties, and the entertainment of the Amity, as a thing neceſſary and common to both the Parties: for the better eſtabliſhment whereof, and that now and in this Time ſome good Fruit, to the benefit of both, might appear to the World to follow of the ſame, I was ſent hither, which was the chiefeſt cauſe of my coming: And becauſe that the Amity between both Princes might be the firmer, and that all Doubts being taken away, no cauſe of Quarrel ſhall be left, We thought beſt to put you in mind of the Confirmation and Reviſitation of the Treaty, to the intent, that by the one, the World might ſee an eſtabliſhment of our Friendſhip by our Deed; and that by the other, one of us might underſtand another, and conſider whether any thing were to be added for the Commodity of both Parties, which I ſuppoſe ſtandeth you as much upon to deſire, as it doth us. And whereas ye ſay that the King's Majeſty, becauſe he is under Age, cannot conclude or go through with any thing that ſhall be of ſufficient Force; I muſt needs tell you plainly, That ye touch his Majeſty's Honour over-near herein, for we think that the Majeſty of a King is of ſuch efficacy, that he hath even the ſame Authority, and full Power, at the firſt hour of his Birth, that he hath thirty Years after. And what your Laws are, I know not, but ſure I am, that by our Laws, whatſoever is done by the King in his Minority, or by his Miniſters in his Name, is of no leſs force and ſtrength, than if it had been done in time of his full Age and Years, if once the Great Seal of his Realm have paſſed, there is no Remedy but needs muſt he ſtand thereto. Marry, let the Miniſters take heed what they do, and look that they may be able to diſcharge themſelves towards him of their Doings, if he ſhall require account of them when he cometh to Age, for it is they muſt anſwer him; but he muſt needs ſtand to whatſoever they have counſelled him to agree unto during his Minority. And to prove that our Laws giveth him the ſame Authority now, that he ſhall have when he cometh to his perfect Age; if any Man, either for inſtruction of Learning, or any other Cauſe, ſhould preſume to lay hands on, or touch his Majeſty in way of Correction, he ſhould by Law be taken for a Traitor. And if the Matter were as ye take it, we ſhould then be in a ſtrange and evil caſe, for neither might we conclude Peace, League, or Treaty, nor make Laws or Statutes, during the King's Minority, that ſhould be of ſufficient force to bind him and his to the obſervation of the ſame. But ye miſtake the Matter much; and therefore if the Emperor mind to proceed to this Confirmation he may, or otherwiſe do as it ſhall pleaſe him.

And as touching my Caſe (quoth I) ye muſt underſtand, I did not move it without ſome juſt ground; for remembring that all your Commiſſioners, and all ours being together at *Utrecht* for the Eſclarciſement of the Treaty, although the words of the Treaty were plain enough, and could receive none other interpretation than was there plainly written, yet would ye needs underſtand the Article for common En-

mity, in case of Invasion, after your own minds. And whereas, by the words of the Treaty, no mention is made of any number, and therefore with howsoever few in number the Invasion be made, ought the Invaders to be taken for common Enemies? Your Commissioners did nevertheless interpret the Matter at their pleasure, and would needs prescribe a number of 8000 Men; under which number of Invasion were made, the Treaties in this case should not stand to any force. And like-as ye put a Doubt here, where none was to be found, so thought I, ye might do in other things were they never so plain; and that moved me to put this case, to see whether ye understood this Point as ye ought to do, after the literal sense; and partly to know your minds therein, because perhaps the Matter hath been already in ure. This, I say, was the occasion why I put further this Question, and not for any mistrust of the Emperor's Friendship, whom I must confess we have always found our Well-willer, and so we doubt not he will continue; and therefore I need not grope his Mind herein, neither did I mean any such thing hereby.

As to your Answer to the order of Justice, I see not that the Emperor hath so much cause to complain of lack of Justice in his Subjects Cases, as ye seem to set forth; for hitherto there hath not any Man complained in our Country, and required Justice, unto whom the same hath been denied. And although some Man abiding the order of our Law, or having had some Sentence that pleased him not, hath complained hither of delay or lack of Justice, ye must not therefore, by and by, judg that he saith true, or that there is not uprightness or equity used in our Country, for we have there, as ye have here, and else-where, Ministers that are wise, and well-learned in our Law, and Men of honesty and good Conscience, who deal and proceed justly, as the order of the Law leadeth them, without respect to favour or friendship to any Man.

And as for the Jewellers Case that ye moved, ye must understand, that as ye have Laws here in your Country, for the direction of your Common-Wealth, so have we also in ours; whereby amongst the rest we do forbid, for good respect, the bringing in, or transporting forth of certain Things, without the King's safe Conduct or Licence. And although, as ye alleadged before, the Treaty giveth liberty to the Subjects of either Prince to traffique into the others Country, it is not for all that meant hereby, that they shall not be bound to observe the Law and Order of the Country whereunto they Traffique: for this liberty is only granted for the security of their Persons to go and come without Impeachment, and maketh them not for all that Lawless. And whereas further it is provided by our Law, that in certain things to be granted by the King, the same Grant must pass under the Great Seal; Then if any of those things pass under any other Seal, they be not of due force until they have also passed the Great Seal of *England*; wherefore if the Jeweller, either by negligence or covetousness, of himself, or of those he put in trust, did not observe this Order; but thereto contrary, for sparing a little Cost, did presume to bring in his Jewels before his License came to the Great Seal, me thinketh neither he, nor any other, can have just cause to say that he was wronged, if according to our Laws he were sentenced to lose the same: and yet, after he was thus

thus condemned, more to gratify the Emperor, than for that I took it to be so reasonable, I my self was a Suitor to my Lord Protector's Grace, for some Recompence to be made to the Jeweller's Wife, whom we knew, and none other to be Party: for she followed the Suit, she presented the Petitions, in her Name were they made; and finally she, and none others, was by the Emperor's Ambassador commended unto us.

I have seen the Sentence (quoth he) and do mislike nothing so much therein, as that the Man is condemned, and named to have been present at the time of his Condemnation, when indeed he was dead a good while before.

He was present (quoth I) in the Person of his Wife, who was his Procurator, and represented himself; and I know, that those before whom this Matter passed, are Men both Learned and of good Conscience, and such as would not have done herein any thing against Right and Order of Law.

The Sentences that are given in our Country, by the Justices and Ministers, they are just and true, and therefore neither can we, nor will we revoke them for any Man's pleasure, after they have once passed the Higher Court, from whence there is no further Appellation, no more than you will here call back such final Order, as hath been in any case taken by your High Court of *Brabant*. And the Cause why we for our part misliked not this Order of Justice, was for the better establishment of the Amity, and to avoid the continual Arrests that are made on our poor Men; to the end also that this sort of Suiters might be the sooner dispatched, without troubling either my Lord Protector in *England*, or you here, when you are busied in other Affairs of more importance.

And as concerning the Comprehension of *Bulloign*, in good Faith, because we thought that if the same should happen to be taken from the King's Majesty by force, as I trust it shall not, the loss should be common, and touch the Emperor almost as near as us; We thought good, for the better security thereof, to move this Comprehension, which we take to be as necessary for the Emperor as us. And though we are not so wise and well seen in your things as your selves are, yet do we look towards you, and guess of your Affairs afar off, and perhaps do somewhat understand the state of the same, whereof I could say more than now intend. But ye say this is the Emperor's Resolution herein; We take it as an Answer, and shall do accordingly. Marry, whereas you stick so much upon your Honour, in breaking your Treaties with the French, I remember *Mousieur Granvela* your Father, at my being with him, did not let to say, That he had his Sleeve full of Quarrels against the French, whensoever the Emperor list to break with them.

Yea, so have we indeed (quoth he) but the Time is not yet come: we must temporize our things in this Case as the rest of our Affairs lead us.

Ye say well (quoth I) ye have reason to regard chiefly the well-guiding of your own things, and yet me thinketh some respect ought to be given to Friends. But seeing this is your Answer, I will reply no more thereto.

Yet

Yet one thing, *Monſieur D' Arras*, (quoth I) I moved to your Father, which ye make no mention of, and I would gladly know your mind in, which is, the granting of ſafe Conducts to the Common Enemy: which the Treaty, by plain and expreſs words, forbiddeth either Prince to do.

Indeed, *Monſieur Ambaſſadeur*, (quoth he) the words of the Treaty are as ye ſay, plain enough; and yet the Matter were very ſtrait, if it ſhould be taken in ſuch extremity; for hereafter, in time of War, ye might happen to have need of Wood, Canvas, or Wine, and we of the like, and other Neceſſaries; and if in ſuch Caſes the Princes ſhould not have Prerogative to grant ſafe Conducts, it ſhall be a great inconvenience, and a thing not hereafter ſeen; howbeit the Emperor for his part will not, I think, ſtick much hereupon, but obſerve the plain meaning of the Treaty. Nevertheleſs I cannot ſay any thing expreſly on his behalf herein, becauſe *Monſieur Granvela* ſpake nothing thereof. And yet did we move him of it (quoth I) and he bad us grant none, and the Emperor for his part would not grant any. No more hath he done, quoth he, ſithence his coming into this Country, nor intendeth not hereafter. He needeth not, quoth I, for thoſe that have been given out before are ſufficient for a great while. Nay, that they are not, quoth he, for the longeſt was granted but for a Year, and now are they expired; and whereas a while ſithence, one preſuming upon his ſafe Conduct, came into this Country to Traffique, becauſe the time thereof was expired, he was taken and impriſoned.

The ſaid *D' Arras*, after this talk, touched further unto me two Points, which the Emperor, he ſaid, deſireth may be reformed; The firſt was, Our Merchants, contrary to our Entercourſe, do enhaunce the prices of their Woolls, and will not ſell at ſuch prices as they are bound by the Entercourſe; wherewith the Merchants here do find themſelves aggrieved, and therefore the Emperor deſireth ſome order may be taken herein.

Whereunto I anſwered, that I underſtood not the Matters, and yet I ſuppoſed our Men did not this but upon ſome grounds and juſt occaſion, by reaſon of other breach of Order on their parts here. Howbeit I ſhewed him I would inform your Grace thereof, and doubted not, but if any thing were amiſs on our parts, it ſhall be reformed; accordingly looking for the Semblable on their behalf.

The other, he ſaid, was, That our Men have of late begun to build a Bulwark, which ſtandeth half on the King's Majeſty's Ground, and half on the Emperor's Territory. And although *Monſieur de Rue* have viewed the ſame, and perceiving the Emperor to be wronged thereby, hath required our Folks to proceed no further therein; yet ceaſe they not to build ſtill, which the Emperor marvelleth much at, and thinks we would not take it well that he ſhould attempt the like Fortification upon the King's Territory; and therefore requireth that ſome Redreſs may be given in time therein.

I anſwered, That I knew not of this Thing; howbeit, as I went homeward, I would inform my ſelf of the Caſe, and make report thereof to your Grace, who I doubted not would take ſuch order therein as ſhould ſtand with Reaſon.

An

And here *Monſieur D' Arras* ſetting forth with many good words the Emperor's Amity towards the King, and his readineſs to ſhew his Majeſty's Pleaſure in all things that he conveniently may; and that in caſe we proceed to any further Treaty with *France*; he doubted not but we would have regard to them, according to our Treaties: and that alſo, if we grew to any Peace with the Scots, ſeeing that his Majeſty is entred in Enmity chiefly for our ſake, whereby his Subjects have been ſundry ways endangered, he truſteth he will have conſideration to ſee that convenient Recompence be made to them by the Scots, e're ever we go through with any concluſion; the rather, becauſe the Scots have, and ceaſe not ſtill to offer, beſides a large Recompence, very great Conditions, if his Majeſty would fall to any Peace with them, which chiefly for our ſakes he hath, and will refuſe to do. We anſwered hereunto generally, That the King's Majeſty, in ſuch caſe, we doubted not, would have due reſpect to the Emperor's Amity, and proceed therein as appertaineth.

This was the ſubſtance of their cold Anſwer, as your Grace may ſee, of ſmall effect, although interlaced with plenty of good words, which we alſo thought beſt to uſe towards them, and requite them with the like. And thus, after I had required of *D' Arras* a time to take my leave of the Emperor, and his promiſe to procure the ſame as ſhortly as he might, we departed. And thus we beſeech God to ſend your Grace as well to do as we do wiſh.

From *Bruges*, *July* 24.

William Paget.

Philip Hobbey.

Number 41.

The Council's Letter to the King againſt the Protector.

An Original.

MOſt high and mighty Prince, our moſt gracious Soveraign Lord. It may pleaſe your Majeſty to be advertiſed, That having heard ſuch Meſſage as it pleaſed your Majeſty to ſend unto us by your Highneſs Secretary, Sir *William Petre*; like as it was much to our grief and diſcomfort to underſtand, that upon untrue Informations, your Majeſty ſeemed to have ſome doubt of our Fidelities; ſo do we, upon our knees, moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to think, that as we have always ſerved the King's Majeſty, your moſt noble Father, and your Highneſs likewiſe, faithfully and truly, ſo do we mind always to continue your Majeſty's true Servants, to the effuſion of our Blood, and loſs of our Lives. And for the ſecurity of your moſt Royal Perſon's ſafeguard, and preſervation of your Realms and Dominions, have at this time conſulted together, and for none other cauſe, we take God to witneſs. We have heretofore, by all good and gentle means, attempted to have had your Highneſs Uncle, the Duke of *Somerſet*, to have

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

have governed your Majeſty's Affairs, by the advice of us, and the reſt of your Councellors; but finding him ſo much given to his own Will, that he always refuſed to hear Reaſon; and therewith doing ſundry ſuch things as were, and be moſt dangerous, both to your moſt Royal Perſon, and to your whole Realm, we thought yet again to have gently and quietly ſpoke with him in theſe things, had he not gathered Force about him, in ſuch ſort, as we might eaſily perceive him earneſtly bent to the maintenance of his old wilful and troublous doings. For redreſs whereof, and none other cauſe, we do preſently remain here ready to live and die your true Servants. And the Aſſembly of almoſt all your Council being now here, we have, for the better Service of your Majeſty, cauſed your Secretary to remain here with us, moſt humbly beſeeching your Grace to think in your Heart, that the only preſervation of your Perſon, and your Eſtate, for the diſcharge of our Duties, enforceth us to deviſe how to deliver your Grace from the peril your Highneſs ſtandeth in, and no other reſpect; for whatſoever is, or ſhall be ſaid to your Highneſs, no earthly thing could have moved us to have ſeemed to ſtand as a Party, but your only preſervation, which your Majeſty ſhall hereafter perceive and (we doubt not) repute us for your moſt faithful Servants and Councellors, as our doings ſhall never deſerve the contrary; as God knoweth, to whom we ſhall daily pray for your Majeſty's preſervation; and with our Bodies, defend your Perſon and Eſtate as long as Life ſhall endure.

R. Rich, Cancel.
W. St. John.
W. Northampton.
J. Warwick.
Arundel.
F. Shrewsbury.
Thomas Southampton.
T. Cheyne.

William Petre, Secretary.
Edward North.
John Gage.
R. Sadler.
Nicholas Wotton.
Edward Montague.
Richard Southwell.

Number 42.

Articles offered by me the Lord Protector, to the King's Majeſty, in the preſence of his Highneſs Council, and others his Majeſty's Lords and Gentlemen, at Windſor, *to be declared on my behalf, to the Lords, and the reſt of his Highneſs Council remaining at* London.

Cotton Libr. *Caligula* B. 7

FIrſt, That I do not, nor did not mean to apprehend any of them, or otherwiſe to diſturb or moleſt them; but hearing tell of their ſuch Meetings and Aſſemblies, and gathering of Horſemen, and other Powers, out of ſeveral Countries, not being privy of the Cauſes thereof, to avoid further inconveniences and danger which might enſue to your Majeſty's Perſon; which by many Rumors, certain Intelligences, and ſundry Meſſages, was declared imminent unto your Highneſs, and to me the Lord

Lord Protector, was forced to seek this Defence, as I at the first beginning declared unto your Highness.

Secondly, That this Force and Power which here is assembled about your Majesty at this present, is to do none of them which be there at *London*, or else-where, either in Person or Goods, any damage or hurt, but to defend only, if any violence should be attempted against your Highness.

As for any contention and strife betwixt me the Lord Protector, and the Council there, I do not refuse to come to any reasonable end and conclusion, that should be for the preservation of your Majesty, and tranquillity of the Realm, if they will send any two of them with Commission on their behalfs, to conclude and make a good end betwixt us.

And I most humbly beseech your Majesty to appoint any two of such as be here about your Majesty, to join with the same; and whatsoever those four, or three of them shall determine, I do, and shall wholly and fully submit my self thereunto. And that for more confirmation, if it shall be so thought good to the said Persons, their Agreement and Conclusion to be established and ratified by Parliament, or any other Order that shall be devised. And I beseech your Majesty, that at my humble suit, and by the advice of me, and other of your Council here, for the better proceedings herein, and to take away all Doubts and Fears that might arise, to grant to them four, or any such two of them, which they shall send for the purpose above-said, free passage to themselves, and with each of them twenty of their Servants, to safely come, tarry here, and return at their pleasure. And I most humbly beseech your Majesty, that this Bill, signed with your Majesty's Hand, and our Seals, may be a sufficient Warrant therefore. Given and exhibited at the Castle of *Windsor*, *October* 8. 1549.

Number 43.

Letters sent from the Lords at London, *to the King's Majesty.*

MOst high and mighty Prince, our most gracious Soveraign Lord, we have received, by Mr. *Hobbey*, your Majesty's most gracious Letters, of the 8*th* of this Instant, and heard such further Matter as it pleased your Majesty to will to be declared by him. And sorry we be, that your Majesty should have these occasions to be troubled, especially in this kind of Matter; the beginning and only occasion whereof, as we be well able to prove to your Majesty, hath proceeded of the Duke of *Somerset*. It is much discomfort to us all, to understand that your Royal Person should be touched with [illegible] of Mind; and most of all it grieveth us, that it should be [illegible] your Majesty, that we have not that care that beseemeth us for the pacifying of these Uproars, and conservation of your Majesty's Common-Wealth and State from Danger; wherein whatsoever [illegible] informed your Highness, we humbly beseech your Majesty to think, we be as careful as any Men living may be; Ex Libro Concilii.

be; and do not, nor (we truſt) ſhall not forget the Benefits received of your Majeſty's moſt noble Father, nor any of our bounden Duties of Allegiance; the conſideration, and the ſpecial care whereof, forced us to conſult ſeriouſly, and to join in this ſort: which thing, if we had not preſently followed, not only your moſt Royal Perſon (whom Almighty God long preſerve) but this your whole Eſtate being already much touched, and in great towardneſs of ruin, was moſt like to come, in ſhort time, to moſt imminent danger and peril; the Cauſes whereof, as we do all well know, and can prove to have proceeded from the ſaid Duke. So if we ſhould not earneſtly provide for the ſame, we ſhould not be able to anſwer to your Majeſty hereafter for not doing our Duties therein; therefore do we nothing doubt, but your Majeſty, of your great Clemency and good Nature, will not think that all and every of us, being the whole State of your Privy-Council, one or two excepted, ſhould be led in theſe things by private Affections, or would preſume to write to your Majeſty, that whereof we were not moſt aſſured; and much more, we truſt that your Highneſs, of your Goodneſs, will, without any jealouſie or ſuſpicion, think that moſt expedient, both for your own moſt Royal Perſon, and all your Subjects, that by the Body of your Council may be thought expedient; to whom, and to no one Man, your Highneſs moſt grave Father, appointed by his laſt Will and Teſtament, the Care of your Majeſty, and all your moſt weighty Affairs. We cannot therefore but think our ſelves much wronged, that your ſaid moſt Royal Perſon is in this ſort by the Duke only detained and ſhut up from us, to all our great heavineſs, and the great fear of all other your Majeſty's true Subjects, and wonder of all the World; ſooner may one Man intend ill, than a multitude of us, who we take God to witneſs to be a thouſand times more careful of Your Highneſs ſurety, than for all our own Lives. We truſt alſo, that of Your Majeſty's good Nature, You will not think that wilfulneſs, which Your whole Council doth, or ſhall agree upon, for Your Majeſty's Surety and Benefit; where the more agreeable we be, the better Opinion we truſt Your Majeſty will conceive of us and our doings. It comforteth us much to ſee the great appearance of Your Majeſty's natural clemency, even in theſe Your young Years; and the aſſured hope which we have thereof, encourageth us to be perſwaded, that You both do, and will conceive good Opinion of us and all our doings; and that Your Majeſty is, and ſo will continue, our gracious good Lord, with whom (as we truſt) we never deſerve willingly to be called in the ſtanding of any Judgment with Your Majeſty.

For the end of this Matter, touching the Duke of *Somerſet*, if he have that reſpect to Your Majeſty's Surety that he pretendeth; if he have that conſideration of his Duty to God that his Promiſe and Oath requireth; if he have that remembrance of the performance of Your Majeſty's Father's Will, that to the effect of a good Executor appertaineth; if he have the reverence to Your Law that a good Subject ought to have, Let him firſt quietly ſuffer us, Your Majeſty's moſt humble Servants, and true Counſellors, to be reſtored to your Majeſty's preſence; let him, as becometh a true Subject, ſubmit himſelf to Your Majeſty's Council, and the order of Your Highneſs Laws; let the Forces aſſembled be ſent away, and then may we do our Duties, in

giving

giving our attendance upon Your Majesty; and after consult there with your Majesty more freely, for such order as may be thought most meet for your Grace's Surety: By these means Your Majesty's Subjects may be at quiet, and all occasions of Stir taken away. And if the said Duke refuse to agree hereunto, we must think him to remain in his naughty and detestable determination. The Protectorship and Governance of your most Royal Person, was not granted him by your Father's Will, but only by agreement, first amongst us the Executors, and after of others. Those Titles and special Trust was committed to him during Your Majesty's Pleasure; and upon condition he should do all things by advice of Your Council. Which condition, because he hath so many times broken, and notwithstanding the often speaking to, without all hope of amendment, we think him most unworthy those Honours or Trust. Other particular things, too many and too long to be written to your Majesty at this time, may at our next access to Your Royal Presence, be more particularly opened, consulted upon, and moderated, for the conservation of Your Majesty's Honour, Surety, and good Quiet of Your Realms and Dominions, as may be thought most expedient.

Number 44.

Letters from the Lords at London, *to the Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury *and Sir* William Paget, *&c.*

MY Lords, after our most hearty Commendations, we have received your Letters by Mr. *Hobbey*, and heard such Credence as he declared on the King's Majesty's and your behalfs unto us. The Answers whereunto, because they may at more length appear to you both, by our Letters to the King's Majesty, and by report also of the said Mr. *Hobbey*, we forbear to repeat here again; most heartily praying, and requiring your Lordships, and every of you; and nevertheless charging and commanding you in the King's Majesty's Name, to have a continual earnest watch, respect and care, to the surety of the King's Majesty, our natural and most gracious Soveraign Lord's Person; and that he be not removed from his Majesty's Castle of *Windsor*, as you tender your Duties to Almighty God and his Majesty, and as you will answer for the contrary at your uttermost perils. We are moved to call earnestly upon you herein, not without great cause, and amongst many others, we cannot but remember unto you, That it appeareth very strange unto us, and a great wonder unto all true Subjects, that you will either assist or suffer his Majesty's most Royal Person to remain in the Guard of the Duke of *Somerset*'s Men, sequestred from his own old sworn Servants. It seemeth strange, that in his Majesty's own House, Strangers should be armed with his Majesty's own Armour, and be nearest about his Highness Person; and those to whom the ordinary Charge is committed, sequestred away, so as they may not attend according to their sworn Duties. If any ill come hereof, you can consider

Ex Libro Concilii.

der to whom it muſt be imputed once; the Example is very ſtrange and perilous. And now, my Lords, if you tender the preſervation of his Majeſty, and the State, join with us to that end: we have written to the King's Majeſty, by which way things may ſoon be quietly and moderately compounded. In the doing whereof, we mind to do none otherwiſe than we would be done to, and that with as much moderation and favour as honourably we may. We truſt none of you have juſt cauſe to note any one of us, and much leſs all of ſuch cruelty, as you ſo many times make mention of. One thing in your Letters we marvel much at, which is that you write, that you know more than we know. If the Matters come to your knowledg, and hidden from us, be of ſuch weight as you ſeem to pretend; or if they touch, or may touch his Majeſty or the State, we think you do not as you ought, in that you have not diſcloſed the ſame unto us, being the whole State of the Council. And thus praying God to ſend you the Grace to do that may tend to the ſurety of the King's Majeſty's Perſon, and tranquillity of the Realm, we bid you heartily farewel, *&c.*

Number 45.

An Anſwer to the former Letter.

An Original.

Ex Libro Concilii. IT may like your good Lordſhips, with our moſt hearty Commendations, to underſtand, That this morning Sir *Philip Hobbey* hath, according to the Charge given him by your Lordſhips, preſented your Letters to the King's Majeſty, in the preſence of us, and all the reſt of his Majeſty's good Servants here, which was there read openly, and alſo the others to them of the Chamber, and of the Houſhold, much to their Comforts, and ours alſo; and according to the Tenours of the ſame, we will not fail to endeavour our ſelves accordingly.

Now touching the marvel of your Lordſhips, both of that we would ſuffer the Duke of *Somerſet*'s Men to guard the King's Majeſty's Perſon; and alſo of our often repeating this word *Cruelty*; although we doubt not but that your Lordſhips have been throughly informed of our Eſtates here, and upon what occaſion the one hath been ſuffered, and the other proceeded; yet at our convening together, (which may be when and where pleaſeth you) we will, and are able to make your Lordſhips ſuch an account, as wherewith we doubt not you will be ſatisfied, if you think good to require it of us. And for becauſe this Bearer, Maſter *Hobbey*, can particularly inform your Lordſhips of the whole diſcourſe of all things here, we remit the report of all other things to him, ſaving that we deſire to be advertiſed, with as much ſpeed as you ſhall think good, whether the King's Majeſty ſhall come forthwith thither, or remain ſtill here; and that ſome of your Lordſhips would take pains to come hither forthwith. For the which purpoſe, I the Comptroller, will cauſe three

three of the best Chambers in the great Court to be hanged and made ready. Thus thanking God that all things be so well acquieted, we commit your Lordships to his tuition.

From *Windsor*, the 10*th* of *Octob.* 1549.

Your Lordships assured loving Friends,

T. Cant. *William Paget.* *T. Smith.*

Number 46.

Articles Objected to the Duke of *Somerset.*

1. *THat he took upon him the Office of Protector, upon expres condition, That he should do nothing in the King's Affairs, but by assent of the late King's Executors, or the greatest part of them.*

2. *That contrary to this condition, he did hinder Justice, and subvert Laws, of his own Authority, as well by Letters as by other Command.*

3. *That he caused divers Persons Arrested and Imprisoned for Treason, Murder, Man-slaughter, and Felony, to be discharged; against the Laws and Statutes of the Realm.*

4. *That he appointed Lieutenants for Armies, and other Officers for the weighty Affairs of the King, under his own Writing and Seal.*

5. *That he communed with Ambassadors of other Realms alone, of the weighty Matters of the Realm.*

6. *That he would taunt and reprove divers of the King's most honourable Councellors, for declaring their Advice in the King's Weighty Affairs against his Opinion; sometimes telling them that they were not worthy to sit in Council; and sometimes, that he need not to open weighty Matters to them; and that if they were not agreeable to his Opinion, he would discharge them.*

7. *That against Law he held a Court of Request in his House; and did inforce divers to answer there for their Freehold and Goods, and did determine of the same.*

8. *That being no Officer, without the Advice of the Council, or most part of them, he did dispose Offices of the King's Gift for Mony; grant Leases, and Wards, and Presentations of Benefices pertaining to the King; gave Bishopricks, and made sales of the King's Lands.*

9. *That he commanded Alchymie, and Multiplication to be practised, thereby to abase the King's Coin.*

10. *That divers times he openly said, That the Nobility and Gentry were the only cause of Dearth; whereupon the People rose to reform Matters of themselves.*

11. *That against the mind of the whole Council, he caused Proclamation to be made concerning Inclosures; whereupon the People made divers Insurrections, and destroyed many of the King's Subjects.*

12. *That he sent forth a Commission, with Articles annexed, concerning Inclosures, Commons, Highways, Cottages, and such-like Matters, giving the Commissioners Authority to hear and determine those causes, whereby the*

the Laws and Statutes of the Realm were ſubverted, and much Rebellion raiſed.

13. *That he ſuffered Rebels to aſſemble and lie armed in Camp, againſt the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, without ſpeedy repreſſing of them.*

14. *That he did comfort and encourage divers Rebels, by giving them Mony, and by promiſing them Fees, Rewards, and Services.*

15. *That he cauſed a Proclamation to be made againſt Law, and in favour of the Rebels, that none of them ſhould be vexed or ſued by any, for their Offences in their Rebellion.*

16. *That in time of Rebellion, he ſaid, That he liked well the Actions of the Rebels; and that the Avarice of Gentlemen gave occaſion for the People to riſe; and that it was better for them to die, than to periſh for want.*

17. *That he ſaid, The Lords of the Parliament were loth to reform Incloſures, and other things, therefore the People had a good cauſe to reform them themſelves.*

18. *That after declaration of the Defaults of* Bulloign, *and the Pieces there, by ſuch as did ſurvey them, he would never amend the ſame.*

19. *That he would not ſuffer the King's Pieces of* Newhaven, *and* Blackneſs, *to be furniſhed with Men and Proviſion; albeit he was adverti ſed of the Defaults, and adviſed thereto by the King's Council; whereby the French King was emboldned to attempt upon them.*

20. *That he would neither give Authority, nor ſuffer Noblemen and Gentlemen to ſuppreſs Rebels in time convenient; but wrote to them to ſpeak the Rebels fair, and uſe them gently.*

21. *That upon the 5th of* October *the preſent Year, at* Hampton-Court, *for defence of his own private Cauſes, he procured ſeditious Bills to be written in counterfeit Hands, and ſecretly to be diſperſed into divers parts of the Realm; beginning thus,* Good People; *intending thereby to raiſe the King's Subjects to Rebellion and open War.*

22. *That the King's Privy-Council did conſult at* London *to come to him, and move him to reform his Government; but he hearing of their Aſſembly, declared, by his Letters in divers places, that they were high Traitors to the King.*

23. *That he declared untruly, as well to the King as to other young Lords attending his Perſon, That the Lords at* London *intended to deſtroy the King; and deſired the King never to forget, but to revenge it; and deſired the young Lords to put the King in remembrance thereof; with intent to make Sedition and Diſcord between the King and his Nobles.*

24. *That at divers times and places, he ſaid, The Lords of the Council at* London *intended to kill me; but if I die, the King ſhall die; and if they famiſh me, they ſhall famiſh him.*

25. *That of his own head he removed the King ſo ſuddenly from* Hampton-Court *to* Windſor, *without any proviſion there made, that he was thereby not only in great fear, but caſt thereby into a dangerous Diſeaſe.*

26. *That by his Letters, he cauſed the King's People to aſſemble in great numbers in Armour, after the manner of War, to his Aid and Defence.*

27. That

27. *That he caused his Servants and Friends at* Hampton-Court, *and* Windsor, *to be apparalled in the King's Armour, when the King's Servants and Guards went unarmed.*

28. *That he intended to fly to* Gernsey *or* Wales, *and laid Post-horses and Men, and a Boat to that purpose.*

Number 47.

A Letter written by the Council to the Bishops, to assure them, That the King intended to go forward in the Reformation.

By the KING.

RIght Reverend Father in God, Right trusty and well-beloved, We greet you well. Whereas the Book entituled, the Book of *Common Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of* England, was agreed upon, and set forth by Act of Parliament; and by the same Act commanded to be used of all Persons within this our Realm. Yet nevertheless we are informed, that divers unquiet and evil-disposed Persons, sithence the apprehension of the Duke of *Somerset*, have noised and bruited abroad, That they should have again their old Latin Service, their Conjured Bread and Water, with such-like vain and superfluous Ceremonies, as though the setting forth of the said Book had been the only Act of the said Duke. We therefore, by the Advice of the Body and State of our Privy-Council, not only considering the said Book to be our Act, and the Act of the whole State of our Realm assembled together in Parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon the Holy Scripture, agreeable to the Order of the Primitive Church, and much to the re-edifying of our Subjects, to put away all such vain expectation, of having the Publick Service, the Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies again in the Latin Tongue, which were but a preferment of Ignorance to Knowledge, and Darkness to Light, and a preparation to bring in Papistry and Superstition again; have thought good, by the Advice aforesaid, to require, and nevertheless straitly do command and charge you, That immediately upon the receipt hereof, you do command the Dean and Prebendaries of your Cathedral Church; the Parson, Vicar, or Curat, and Church-wardens of every Parish, within your Dioceſs, to bring and deliver unto you, or your Deputy, any of them for their Church or Parish, at such convenient place as you shall appoint, all Antiphonals, Missals, Graylles, Processionals, Manuels, Legends, Pies, Portuises, Journals, and Ordinals, after the use of *Sarum*, *Lincoln*, *York*, or any other private use: And all other Books of Service, the keeping whereof should be a lett to the using of the said Book of *Common Prayers*; and that you take the same Books into your hands, or into the hands of your Deputy, and them so to deface and abolish, that they never after may serve, either to any such use as they were provided for, or be at any time a lett to that godly and uniform Order, which by

Regiſt. *Cran.* *Fol.* 56.

by a common Conſent is now ſet forth. And if you ſhall find any Perſon ſtubborn or diſobedient in not bringing in the ſaid Books, according to the tenour of theſe our Letters, that then ye commit the ſaid Perſon to Ward, unto ſuch time as you have certified us of his miſbehaviour. And we will and command you, that you alſo ſearch, or cauſe ſearch to be made, from time to time, whether any Book be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenour of theſe our Letters, and the ſame Book to receive into your Hands, and to uſe all in theſe our Letters we have appointed. And further, whereas it is come unto our knowledg, that divers froward and obſtinate Perſons do refuſe to pay towards the finding of Bread and Wine for the Holy Communion, according to the Order preſcribed in the ſaid Book, by reaſon whereof the Holy Communion is many times omitted upon the *Sunday*. Theſe are to will and command you to convent ſuch obſtinate Perſons before you, and then to admoniſh and command to keep the Order preſcribed in the ſaid Book; and if any ſhall refuſe ſo to do, to puniſh them by Suſpenſion, Excommunication, or other Cenſures of the Church. Fail you not thus to do, as you will avoid our Diſpleaſure.

Weſtminſt. Decemb. 25. *Regni tertio.*

T. Cantuarien. — *J. Ruſſel.*
Rich. Chanc. — *H. Dorſet.*
W. St. John. — *W. Northampton.*

Number 48.

Cardinal Wolſey's *Letters to* Rome, *for procuring the Popedom to himſelf, upon Pope* Adrian's *death.*

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.*

MY Lord of *Bath*, Mr. Secretary, and Mr. *Hannibal*, I commend me unto you in my right hearty manner; letting you wit, That by Letters lately ſent unto me from you my Lord of *Bath*, and Mr. *Hannibal*, dated at *Rome* the 14*th* day of *September*. Which Letters I incontinently ſhewed unto the King's Grace his Highneſs. And I have been adverti[ſed], to our great diſcomfort, that the ſaid 14*th* day, it pleaſed Almighty God to call the Pope's Holineſs unto his Infinite Mercy, whoſe Soul *Jeſu* pardon. News certainly unto the King's Grace and to me right heavy, and for the univerſal weal or quiet of Chriſtendom, (whereunto his Holineſs, like a devout and virtuous Father of Holy Church was very ſtudious) much diſpleaſant and contrarious; Nevertheleſs, conforming our ſelves to the Pleaſure of Almighty God, to whoſe Calling we all muſt be obedient; the Mind and Intention of the King's Highneſs, and of me both, is to put ſome help and furtherances, as much as conveniently may be, that ſuch a Succeſſor unto him may now, by the Holy College of Cardinals, be named and elected, as may, with God's Grace, perform, atchieve, and fulfil the good and vertuous Purpoſes and Intents, concerning the Pacification of Chriſtendom; whereunto our ſaid late Holy Father, as much as the brevity of the time did ſuffer, was, as it ſhould ſeem, minded and inclined;

inclined; which thing, how neceſſary it is to the ſtate of Chriſt's Religion, now daily more and more declining, it is facile and eaſy to be conſider'd; and ſurely amongſt other Chriſtian Princes, there is none which as ye heretofore have perfectly underſtood, that to this purpoſe more dedicated themſelves to give Furtherance, Advice, and Counſel, than the Emperor and the King's Grace, who as well before the time of the laſt Vacation, as ſithence, by Mouth and by Letters, with Report of Ambaſſadors and otherwiſe, had many ſundry Conferences, Communications, and Devices, in that behalf. In which it hath pleaſed them, far above my merits, or deſerts, of their Goodneſs, to think, judg, and eſteem me to be meet and able for to aſpire unto that Dignity; perſuading, exhorting, and deſiring me, that whenſoever opportunity ſhould be given, I ſhould hearken to their Advice, Counſel, and Opinion in that behalf; and offering unto me, to interpone their Authorities, Helps, and Furtherances therein to the uttermoſt. In approbation whereof, albeit the Emperor, now being far diſtant from theſe Parts, could not, nor might in ſo brief time, give unto the King's Grace, new or freſh confirmation of his Purpoſe, Deſire, and Intent herein: Yet nevertheleſs my Lady *Margaret*, knowing the Inclination of his mind in this ſame, hath, by a long Diſcourſe made unto me ſemblable Exhortation; offering, as well on the Emperor's behalf, as on her own, that as much ſhall by them be done, to the furtherance thereof, as may be poſſible. Beſides this, both by your Letters, and alſo by particular moſt loving Letters of the Cardinal's *de Medicis*, *Sanctorum Quatuor & Campegius*, with credence ſhow'd unto me on their behalf, by their Folks here reſident, I perceive their good and kind minds, which they, and divers other their Friends owe unto me in that Matter. And finally, the King's Highneſs doth not ceaſe, by all the gracious and comfortable means poſſible to inſiſt, that I, for manifold, notable, urgent, and great reſpects, in any wiſe ſhall conſent that his Grace and the Emperor do ſet forth the thing with their beſt manner. The Circumſtances of whoſe moſt entire, and moſt firm mind thereunto, with their bounteous, godly, and beneficial Offers for the Weal of Chriſtendom, which his Grace maketh to me herein, were too long to rehearſe. For which Cauſes, albeit I know my ſelf far unmeet and unable to ſo high a Dignity, minding rather to live and die with his Grace in this his Realm, doing Honour, Service, Good or Pleaſure to the ſame, than now (mine old days approaching) to enter into new things; yet nevertheleſs, for the great zeal and perfect mind which I bear to the exaltation of the Chriſtian Faith; the Honour, Weal, and Quiet of the King's Grace, and the Emperor, and to do my Duty both to Almighty God and to the World, I referring every thing to God's Diſpoſition and pleaſure, ſhall not pretermit to declare unto you ſuch things, as the King's Highneſs hath ſpecially willed me to ſignify unto you on his Grace's behalf, who moſt effectually willeth and deſireth to ſet forth the ſame, omitting nothing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his ſpecial truſt is in you.

Firſt, Ye ſhall underſtand, that the mind, and entire deſire of his Highneſs, above all earthly things, is, That I ſhould attain to the ſaid Dignity, having his perfect and firm hope, that of the ſame ſhall enſue; that in brief time, a general and univerſal Repoſe, Tranquillity,

and Quietneſs in Chriſtendom; and as great Renown, Honour, Profit, and Reputation to this Realm as ever was; beſides the ſingular comfort and rejoice that the King's Grace, with all his Friends and Subjects ſhould take thereof; who might be well aſſured thereby, to compose and order their great Cauſes and Affairs, to their high Benefit, Commodity, and moſt Advantage. For this, and other great and urgent Cauſes, the Pleaſure of his Highneſs is, That like-as ye my Lord of *Bath*, and Mr. *Hannibal*, have right prudently and diſcreetly begun: ſo ye all, or as many of you as be preſent in the Court of *Rome*, and continue your Practices, Overtures, Motions and Labours, to bring and conduce this the King's inward Deſire to perfect end and effect.

And becauſe it is not to be doubted, but that before the receipt of theſe my Letters, ye having former Inſtructions, ſhall have far entred your Devices in this Matter, wherein the King's Grace truſteth ye do loſe no time or opportunity that poſſibly may be had; I ſhall therefore briefly and compendiouſly touch ſuch this thing, as the King's Highneſs would ye ſhould ſubſtantially note in this behalf.

One is, That albeit ye both before, and alſo now, know the King's mind and deſire herein, as is aforeſaid, taking that for your Foundation; yet nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as it appeareth by your ſaid Letters, and otherwiſe, that the *Cardinal de Medicis*, whoſe preferment (if this may not be had) both the King's Grace and I tendereth above all other, mindeth to experiment what may be done for himſelf, great policy and dexterity is in your Labours and Communications to be uſed, ſo that ye may firſt, by great enſearch and enquiry, perfectly underſtand, as nigh as may be, the Diſpoſition, Mind, Affection, and Inclination, as well of the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis*, as of all the reſidue, if it be poſſible; which thing, well known, well ponder'd and conſider'd, ye ſhall thereby have a great light to the reſidue of your Buſineſs, wherein always ye muſt ſo order your ſelves, that the Matter appearing unto you much doubtful and uncertain, your particular practices (the deſired Intent peradventure failing) ſhall not be cauſe of diſpleaſure or unkindneſs to be noted by any that may be elected; and for your introduction herein, the King's Grace ſendeth unto you at this time two Commiſſions under his great Seal, the one couch'd under general words, without making mention of any particular Perſon; and in the other, his Highneſs hath made mention of me by ſpecial Name: Beſides that, ye ſhall receive herewith two Letters from his Grace to the College of Cardinals, with the Copies of the ſame; the one in ſpecial recommendation of me, and the other in favour of the *Cardinal de Medicis*; beſide ſuch other particular Letters in my recommendation to certain Cardinals, and other, as by the Copies of them herewith encloſed ye ſhall now perceive. After the receipt thereof, if the Cardinals before that time ſhall not be entred into the Conclave, ye taking your Commodity, as by your Wiſdom ſhall be thought moſt expedient, ſhall deliver unto the *Cardinal de Medicis*, the King's Letters, and mine to him addreſſed, ſhewing unto him, with as good words and manner as ye can, that for his great Vertue, Wiſdom, Experience, and other commendable Merits, with the entire love and favour which the King's Grace and I bear unto him, thinking and repuing him moſt meet and able to aſpire unto the Papal Dignity before

other

other. Ye have Commandment, Commiſſion, and Inſtruction, ſpecially and moſt tenderly, to recommend him unto the whole College of Cardinals, having alſo the King's and my Letters to them in his favour; upon which Declaration ye ſhall perceive his Anſwer to be made unto you in that behalf; whereupon, and by knowledg of the Diſpoſition of the Reſidue, ye may perceive how to govern your ſelves in the delivery of the reſt of your ſaid Letters; for in caſe it may evidently appear unto you, that any of the Cardinals, to whom the King's Letters be directed, have firmly eſtabliſh'd their minds upon the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis* the more circumſpection is to be uſed with any ſuch in the delivery to him of the King's Letters, and Overture of the ſecretneſs of your minds touching me; conſidering, that if the King's Intent might in no wiſe take effect for me, his Grace would, before all other, advance and further the ſaid *Cardinal de Medicis.* Nevertheleſs, if either by his Anſwer to be made unto you, or by other good knowledg, ye ſhall perceive that he hath ſo many Enemies herein, that of likelihood he cannot attain the ſame, ye may be the more bold to feel his mind how he is inclin'd towards me; ſaying, as indeed the King's Grace hath written unto him, That in caſe he ſhould fail thereof, the King's Highneſs would inſiſt, as much as to his Grace were poſſible, for me; which ye may ſay were in manner one thing, conſidering that both the *Cardinal de Medicis* and I bear one mind, zeal, and ſtudy, to the Weal and Quiet of Chriſtendom, the Increaſe and Surety of *Italy*, the Benefit and Advancement of the Emperor's and the King's Majeſty's Cauſes; and I being Pope, he in a manner (whom I above all Men love, truſt, and eſteem) were Pope, being ſure to have every thing according to his mind and deſire, and as much Honour to be put unto him, his Friends and Family, as might be deviſed in ſuch wiſe: That by theſe and other good words and Demonſtrations, ye may make him ſure, as I think he be, that failing for himſelf, he with all his Friends do their beſt for me; and ſeeing no likelihood for him, ye may then right-well proceed to your particular labour and practices for me, delivering the King's Letters, both to the College of Cardinals, and to the other, apart, as ye ſhall ſee the caſe then to require; and ſollicite them, by ſecret labours, alleadging and declaring unto them my poor Qualities, and how I having ſo great experience of the Cauſes of Chriſtendom, with the entire Favour which the Emperor and the King's Grace bear unto me; the knowledg alſo, and deep Acquaintance of other Princes, and of their great Affairs; the ſtudious mind that I have ever been in, both to the Surety and Weal of *Italy*, and alſo to the Quiet and Tranquility of Chriſtendom; not lacking, thanked be God, either Subſtance or Liberality to look largely upon my Friends; beſides the ſundry great Promotions, which by election of me ſhould be vacant, to be diſpoſed unto ſuch of the ſaid Cardinals, as by their true and faſt Friendſhip had deſerved the ſame; the loving Familiarity alſo which they ſhould find in me; and that of my Nature I am not in great diſpoſed to rigour or auſtereneſs, but can be contented, thanked be God, frankly, pleaſantly, and courteouſly, to participate, diſpoſe, and beſtow, ſuch things as I have, or ſhall come to my diſpoſition, not having any ſuch Faction, Family, or Kinſman, to whom I might ſhew any partiality in beſtowing the Promotions and Goods of the Church;

and which is higheſt to be regarded, that is likely and in manner ſure, that by my means, not only *Italy* ſhall be put in perfect ſurety for ever, but alſo a final reſt, peace, and quiet, now moſt neceſſary eſtabliſhed betwixt all Chriſtian Princes; whereupon the greateſt and moſt notable Expedition might be made againſt the Infidels that hath been heard of many Years. For the King's Highneſs in that caſe would be contented, and hath fully promiſed, God willing, to come in Perſon, when God ſhall ſend time, unto *Rome*; whither alſo I ſhould not doubt to bring many more of the Chriſtian Princes, being determined, if God ſhould ſend me ſuch Grace, to expone mine own Perſon in God's Quarrel; by mean of which my preſence many things ſhould be ſtated, that for Superiority and otherwiſe, in times paſt, hath been occaſion of diſagreement amongſt Princes; Albeit peradventure the greateſt reſpect ſhall not now be had hereunto, nor this be the beſt Elective to win the Cardinals Favour; wherein you muſt therefore uſe your ſelf by your Wiſdoms, as you ſhall ſee the time, ſeaſon, and care to require; allowing them, for the removing of the Doubt in changing of the See, or ſpeedy repair thither; that after the Election once paſſed and notified to me, I would not fail, by God's Grace, within three months to be in *Rome*; there, and in the parts thereabout, to remain during my Life, whereof ye may make faithful aſſurance. By theſe, and other good Means and Promiſes on the King's behalf of large Rewards, which his Highneſs referreth to your diſcretion, and is contented to perform that which ye do therein. It is not to be doubted but that you ſhall obtain the Favours of many of them; ſo as if reſpect may be had to the Honour of the See Apoſtolick, and the Surety of *Italy*, the Tranquillity of Chriſtendom, the Defence of the ſame againſt the Infidels, the Exaltation of the Faith, the Perſecution of Chriſt's Enemies, the Increaſe and Weal of the College of Cardinals, with their Advancement and Promotion; gentle, frank, and liberal entertainment of them, and generally to the benefit of all Holy Church. The King's Grace ſuppoſeth his mind and deſire herein, with your good means, diligence, and ſollicitations, is not unlike to take good effect; wherein, for the more authority, and better conducing of your purpoſe, the pleaſure of his Grace is, That you join with the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, as fit as you may ſee and perceive them to favour this the King's Intent, like as his Grace thinketh, that according to the often Conferences, Communications, Promiſes, and Exhortations made by the Emperor to me in this behalf, and according to my ſaid Lady *Margaret*'s deſire or offer, they have commandment to do. In the politick handling of all which Matters, the King's Highneſs putteth in you his ſpecial truſt and confidence, ſo to order your ſelf in the Premiſes, as you ſhall perceive to accord with the inward deſire of his Grace, and the ſtate and diſpoſition of the thing there; for which purpoſe his Grace hath furniſhed you at this time, jointly or ſeverally, with two ſundry Commiſſions, the one general for me, and in my favour, by the which you have ample Authority to bind and promiſe, on the King's behalf, as well gift of Promotions, as alſo as large ſums of Mony to as many, and ſuch as you ſhall think convenient; and as ſure ye may be, whatſoever ye ſhall promiſe, bind his Grace, and do in that behalf, his Highneſs will inviolably obſerve, keep and perform, the other ſpecial, as afore Letters

to

to the College of two effects, the one for the *Cardinal de Medicis*, and the other for me, with other particular Letters in my favour; all which his pleasure is, That you shall use in manner and form aforesaid; that is to say, if you shall perceive the Affair of the *Cardinal de Medicis* to be in such perfect train, that he is like to have the same Dignity, ye then proceed to that which may be his furtherance, using nevertheless your particular labour for me, if you think it may do good, after such sort as ye shall not conceive any ingratitude or unkindness therein. And if you may see that the said *Cardinal de Medicis* be not in such great likelihood thereof; then considering, that as the King's Grace, and I think verily he will do his best for me, ye shall effectually set forth your practices for attaining and winning as many Friends for me as possible may be, delivering your Letters for the Intent, as you shall see cause. Wherein you being now furnished for both Purposes, and also having one of the Commissions general and indifferent, without any Person therein specially recommended, things be to be done or omitted, as you shall know to stand with the state or commodity of the Affairs there, which the Ground of the King's Mind to you now declared, shall be your best and perfect Instruction; and as you shall do or know herein, so the King's Grace desireth you often and speedily to advertise me, by your Letters, having no doubt but that his Highness will see your travels, diligence, and pains in this behalf, so to be considered, as you shall have cause to think the same well employed and bestowed.

And my Lord of *Bath*, as you do know well, because Mr. *Pace*, at the time of the last Vacation, was sent purposely from hence with Commission and Instruction for that Matter; the King, and I, supposing that upon knowledg of this News, he being at *Milan*, would incontinently repair unto *Rome*; hath therefore made the foresaid Commissions, and also this Letter to be directed unto you, jointly and severally willing you, in such substantial and discreet wise to proceed in that Matter, not forbearing any thing that may be to the furtherance thereof, as his Grace, and my special Trust, is in you: And thus most heartily fare you well. At my Mannor of *Hampton Court*, the 4*th* day of *October*.

The rest is the Cardinal's own Hand.

MY Lord of *Bath*, the King hath willed me to write unto you, That his Grace hath a marvellous Opinion of you; and you knowing his mind as you do, his Highness doubteth not but this Matter shall be by your Policy set forth in such wise, as that the same may come to the desired effect, not sparing any reasonable Offers, which is a thing, that amongst so many needy Persons is more regarded, than per-case the Qualities of the Person; ye be wise, and ye wot what I mean; trust your self best, and be not seduced by fair words, and specially of those which (say what they will) desire more their own preferment than mine. Howbeit great dexterity is to be used; and the King thinketh that all the Imperials shall be clearly with you, if Faith be in the Emperor. The young Men, which for the most part being needy, will give good ears to fair Offers, which shall be undoub-

undoubtedly performed; the King willeth you neither to ſpare his Authority, or his good Mony, or Subſtance. You may be aſſured, whatſoever you promiſe ſhall be performed; and our Lord ſend you good ſpeed.

Your loving Friend,

T. *Cardinalis Eborac.*

Number 49.

A Memorial given by the King's Majeſty, with the Advice of his Highneſs Council, to the Lord Ruſſel *Lord Privy Seal, the Lord* Paget *of* Beaudeſert, *Sir* William Petre *Kt. and one of his Highneſs two Principal Secretaries, and Sir* John Maſon *Kt. his Majeſty's Secretary for the French Tongue; being ſent at this preſent in Commiſſion, to treat and conclude upon a Peace, with certain Commiſſioners ſent from the French King at this time for the ſame purpoſe.*

An Original.

EDWARD R.

Cotton Libr. *Caligula* E. 1

FIrſt, As touching the Place of their Meeting, the ſame to be at *Calais* or *Bulloign*, if it may be ſo brought to paſs; otherwiſe to be at ſuch convenient Place, either within our Dominion, or the French; or ſometime in the one, and ſometime the other, as may be beſt agreed upon. In the appointing whereof, we would no Ceremony to be ſo much ſticked upon, as the ſame ſhould be any occaſion of hindrance to the good ſucceſs looked for at this meeting.

Secondly, If the French Commiſſioners ſhall require *Bulloign*, with the Members; and all ſuch Grounds and Lands as was of late conquered by our late Father, of moſt noble memory, to be reſtored to the French King, we be pleaſed our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall on our Name agree and aſſent thereunto; ſo as the ſaid French Commiſſioners do, and will likewiſe covenant and agree, in the Name of the ſaid French King, to any of our Requeſts hereafter enſuing.

Firſt, Our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall demand, in recompence for *Bulloign*, and the Members and Grounds as aforeſaid, that the Treaties laſt made, between our ſaid Father of famous Memory, and the Realm of *Scotland*, may in all things be performed; and the Perſon of the young *Scotch* Queen delivered to us, to the intent the Marriage between us and her may be performed. They ſhall alſo demand, that the Fortifications at *Newhaven* and *Blackneſs* may be utterly ruinated, and no Fortifications made from hence-forth at any of thoſe Places. They ſhall alſo require the continuance of paiment of our perpetual Penſion, and all the Debts due unto us, by force of any former Treaties, before

before the commencement of these last Wars. And this for the first degree, which if it may not be obtained, then for

The second Degree, we be pleased to accept for a Recompence, if they will covenant for performance of the said Treaties with *Scotland*, to deliver the Scotch Queen, and continue from henceforth the paiment of the perpetual Pension.

But if that shall also be refused, then for the third Degree, our said Commissioners shall require the continuance of paiment of our Pension, the Arrearages due by any former Treaties, between our said Father and the late French King; and that the Forts of *Newhaven*, *Hammetve*, and *Blackness*, may be utterly ruinated, and no new Fortifications commenced at any of the said Places hereafter.

And if this may not be obtained, then for the fourth and last Degree our Pleasure is, That our said Commissioners shall require the continuance of paiment of our said Pension, and all such Debts as were due unto our said late Father before the commencement of his last War.

In the debating and discoursing whereof, we will that our said Commissioners shall employ themselves to their uttermost, to make as good and honourable a Bargain for us, and to attain all or as much of the Premises as they may; remembring unto the French Commissioners, the great Charges sustained in these last Wars commenced by them, contrary to the former Treaties.

Touching the Place, Day, Time, and other Circumstances to be used, as well in the delivery of *Bulloign*, the *Base Town*, the *Old Man*, the *Young Man*, with the Ground, Territories, and Members, to the said Pieces, or any of them belonging; as also of paiment of such Sums of Mony as shall be agreed upon for the same; Our said Commissioners shall, by their good discretions, devise with the said French Commissioners, all such ways as they can or may think most for Our Honour and Surety: And such Overtures or Discourses as shall be made by the said French Commissioners, touching the Premises, our said Commissioners shall advertise unto Us or to our Council.

And if any Motion shall be made to have *Scotland* comprehended in this Peace, our said Commissioners shall say, That forasmuch as the Scots be common Enemies to Us and the Emperor, we may not assent to the comprehension of them, without the Emperor's Consent; or at the least, without such respect to our Treaties with the Emperor, and his Subjects, as the Amity between us requireth. And therefore if the Scots will covenant to stand to our Arbitrement and Judgment for all such Matters as be in difference between the said Emperor and them, we will be pleased that the Scots shall be comprehended; and one such Article, or of like effect, made for comprehension of them, as was made at the conclusion of the last Peace. And if the delivery, or razing of any Pieces, now by us possessed in *Scotland*, shall be required, we be pleased that our said Commissioners travelling first by all ways and means they may, to induce the other Commissioners to assent, that all the said Pieces, and the Lands by us now possessed, may remain to Us and our Heirs and Successors for ever, shall nevertheless, if that may not be received, assent in the end, that *Borthwickcraig*, *Lauder*, and *Dunglass*, shall be restored upon a convenient Recompence in Mony,

Money, ſo as the Forts of *Roxburgh* and *Haymouth*, with their Grounds adjoining, may be covenanted to remain to us and our Succeſſors for ever.

If the French Commiſſioners ſhall make any motion of Treaty for Marriage, between us and the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to the French King; our ſaid Commiſſioners excuſing the preſent talk thereof, in reſpect of our young Years, and for ſuch other Cauſes as they may think good, ſhall do all that they may to cut off that Talk: But if they ſhall be much preſſed therein, in reſpect of ſuch Overtures as have been made already, our Pleaſure is, that our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall, by general words, entertain the Talk of that Matter; and thereof, and of ſuch other Matters as ſhall be proponed touching the ſame, advertiſe Us, or our Council.

In all the Treaty it muſt be remembred, to reſerve and have ſpecial regard to the preſervation of our Treaties with the Emperor, and other our Friends.

And if it ſhall ſeem expedient to our ſaid Commiſſioners, for the better expedition of our Affairs committed to their Charge, that a Surceance or Abſtinence of Wars be granted, as well on our behalf, as on the behalf of the French King, we be pleaſed that our right truſty, and right well-beloved Couſin, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, our Lieutenant General of that ſide, ſhall, by the advice of our ſaid Commiſſioners, grant a Surceance or Abſtinence for ſuch time, and in ſuch manner and ſort, as by our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall be thought beſt, ſo as the like be alſo granted on the behalf of the ſaid French King.

Finally, Our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall advertiſe us, or our Council attendant about our Perſon, from time to time, of their Proceedings; and further do as we or our Council ſhall appoint them, either by our Letters, or the Letters of our ſaid Council accordingly.

T. Cant.
R. Rich, Cancel.
W. St. John.
H. Dorſet.
W. Northampton.
J. Warwick.
Thomas Southampton.
Thom. Eley.
Cuth. Dureſm.
T. Cheyne.

T. Wentworth.
Anthony Wingfield.
W. Herbert.
T. Darcy.
N. Wotton.
J. Baker.
Edward North.
Edward Montague.
Richard Southwell.

Number

Number 50.

Articles deviſed by the King's Majeſty, with the Advice of his Highneſs Council, anſwering to certain Doubts moved in the Letters, bearing date the 27th of February *laſt paſt, ſent from his Majeſty's Commiſſioners, being on the other ſide the Seas, for the Treaty of Peace.*

An Original.

EDWARD. *R.*

FIrſt, If the French Deputies require to have *Roxburgh* and *Aymouth* to be rendred unto the Scots, we will that our Commiſſioners ſhall, by all the beſt means they can deviſe, induce them to agree, that the ſaid two places may and ſhall remain to us: And in caſe the French will not ſo be perſuaded, but require ſtill to have them rendred, Our Pleaſure is, That our Commiſſioners ſhall ſtand moſt ſtifly in the denial of it, ſo far forth, that they ſhall come to the breaking of that days Talk, rather than to condeſcend unto it. And in caſe, that move not the French to relent of their Requeſt, our Commiſſioners ſhall afterwards ſend to the French Deputies to meet, or to talk again, and then they ſhall ſay, That rather than ſuch a good Work of Peace ſhould fail, they will grant to the razing and abandoning of both the ſaid Places; with ſpecial Capitulation, that neither the Scots nor the French ſhall re-fortify, nor cauſe to be re-fortified, in neither of thoſe two Places; with the like Covenant for our part, if the French Deputies do require it. *Cotton* Libr. *Caligula* E. 1

Item. We are pleaſed, that the Reſervance of our Rights and Titles, mentioned in our former Articles ſent to our ſaid Commiſſioners, be in general words, ſo as ſeverally general reſervance be made, as well for our Rights and Titles as to *Scotland*, as for our Matters with *France*.

Item. We are pleaſed, that for ſuch Sums of Mony as ſhall be agreed upon to be paid unto Us for the delivery of *Bulloign*, Our ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall take Hoſtages of the French, according to Our former Articles ſent unto them in that behalf; the ſaid Hoſtages to remain there, till the whole and laſt Sum ſo agreed upon be fully anſwered unto Us. And likewiſe in caſe the French Deputies will ask Hoſtages for the ſure delivery of the Town of *Bulloign*, with the Members, Our ſaid Commiſſioners may agree to the aſſigning of ſuch Hoſtages as ſhall be thought ſufficient for the ſame; which Hoſtages nevertheleſs ſhall not be bound to remain or continue there any longer, than till the ſaid Town is delivered; but ſhall thereupon be ſuffered to return home at their Pleaſure.

Item. Upon the Concluſion between our Commiſſioners, and the French Deputies, for the delivery of *Bulloign*, our pleaſure is, That the term of the delivery of the ſame be appointed, as ſhort as may be

conveniently, having conſiderance to a reaſonable reſpite for the removing and ſafe conveyance away of the Artillery, Munition, Armour, and Goods belonging to Us or our Subjects, either by Sea or by Land, as ſhall be thought moſt commodious: and that our Men, departing out of the Town in the Forenoon, the French ſhall abſtain from entry into it till at three or four hours after, for avoiding the inconveniences which may chance upon the coupling of our Men with the French.

Item. Foraſmuch as Our ſaid Commiſſioners being upon the Place, can better conſider any other thing not touched in the Premiſes, concerning the manner and faſhion of the delivery of *Bulloign*, or retire of our Men, Artillery, and other things, other than we can do here, we are pleaſed to remit that to their Wiſdoms and Diſcretions.

Item. As for *Alderney* and *Sark*, foraſmuch as both thoſe Places are Ours, reaſon would that the French ſhould raze their Fortifications at *Sark*, and the Fortifications at *Alderney*, being lawfully done by Us upon our own Ground, to remain at our Arbitrement. That in caſe the French Deputies ſhall make no mention, neither of the one, nor of the other, We are pleaſed that our Commiſſioners ſhall alſo paſs it over in ſilence; but if the French Deputies ſhall mention the ſame, and without the razing the Fortifications at *Alderney*, will not condeſcend to a Peace, We are pleaſed, our Commiſſioners ſhall conclude with them upon the razing and abandoning of the one and the other of the aforeſaid Fortifications; ſtanding firſt as much in denial of the French Deputies Demands herein, as they may.

T. Cant.
R. Rich, Cancel.
W. Wilts.
T. Wentworth.
A. Wingfield.
T. Darcy.
N. Wotton.
R. Sadler.

J. Warwick.
W. Northampton.
T. Eley.
T. Cheyne.
W. Herbert.
John Gage.
Edward North.

Number 51.

The King's Letters Patents to John a Laſco, *and the German Congregation.*

Rot. pat. 4to Reg. part. 5. EDwardus Sextus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, & in Terra Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ ſupremum ſub Chriſto Caput, omnibus ad quos preſentes literæ pervenerint ſalutem. Cum magnæ quædam & graves conſiderationes nos ad preſens ſpecialiter impulerunt, tum etiam cogitantes illud, quanto ſtudio & charitate Chriſtianos Principes in Sacroſanctum Dei Evangelium & Religionem Apoſtolicam ab ipſo Chriſto inchoatam, inſtitutam & traditam, animatos & propenſos eſſe conveniat, ſine qua haud dubie politia & civile Regnum nec conſiſtere diu, neq; nomen ſuum tueri poteſt, niſi

niſi principes, cæteriq; præpotentes viri, quos Deus ad Regnorum gubernacula ſedere voluit, id in primis operam dent, ut per totum Reipub. Corpus, caſta ſinceraq; Religio diffundatur, & Eccleſia in vere Chriſtianis & Apoſtolicis opinionibus & ritibus inſtituta, atq; adulta per ſanctos ac carni & mundo mortuos miniſtros conſervetur: pro eo quod Chriſtiani Principis officium ſtatuimus, inter alias ſuas graviſſimas de Regno ſuo bene ſplendideq; adminiſtrando cogitationes, etiam Religioni & Religionis cauſa calamitate fractis & afflictis exulibus conſulere. Sciatis, quod non ſolum præmiſſa contemplantes & Eccleſiam a Papatus Tyrannide per nos vindicatam in priſtina libertate conſervare cupientes: verum etiam exulum ac peregrinorum conditionem miſerantes, qui jam bonis temporibus in Regno noſtro Angliæ commorati ſunt voluntario exilio, Religionis & Eccleſiæ cauſa mulctati: quia hoſpites & exteros homines propter Chriſti Evangelium ex Patria ſua profligatos & ejectos, & in Regnum noſtrum profugos, præſidiis ad vitam degendam neceſſariis in Regno noſtro egere, non dignum eſſe neq; Chriſtiano homine, neq; Principis magnificentia duximus, cujus liberalitas nullo modo in tali rerum ſtatu reſtricta, clauſave eſſe debet. Ac quoniam multi Germanæ nationis homines, ac alii peregrini qui confluxerunt, & in dies ſingulos confluunt in Regnum noſtrum Angliæ, ex Germania & aliis remotioribus partibus, in quibus Papatus dominatur, Evangelii libertas lætificari & premi cæpta eſt, non habent certam ſedem & locum in Regno noſtro ubi conventus ſuos celebrare valeant, ubi inter ſuæ gentis & moderni idiomatis homines Religionis negotia & res Eccleſiaſticas pro Patriæ ritu & more intelligenter obire & tractare poſſint: idcirco de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris, necnon de adviſamento Concilii noſtri volumus, concedimus & ordinamus quod de cætero ſit & erit unum templum, ſive ſacra ædes in Civitate noſtra Londinenſi, quod vel quæ vocabitur templum Domini Jeſu, ubi Congregatio & conventus Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum fieri & celebrari poſſit, ea intentione & propoſito, ut a Miniſtris Eccleſiæ Germanorum aliorumq; peregrinorum Sacroſancti Evangelii incorrupta interpretatio, Sacramentorum juxta Verbum Dei & Apoſtolicam obſervationem adminiſtratio fiat. Ac Templum illud, ſive Sacram ædem illam de uno Superintendente & quatuor verbi miniſtris erigimus, creamus, ordinamus & fundamus per præſentes. Et quod idem Superintendens & miniſtri in re & nomine ſint & erunt unum Corpus corporatum & politicum, de ſe per nomen Superintendentis & Miniſtrorum Eccleſiæ Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum ex fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti in Civitate Londinenſi per præſentes incorporamus: ac corpus corporatum & politicum per idem nomen realiter & ad plenum creamus, erigimus, ordinamus, facimus & conſtituimus per præſentes: & quod ſucceſſionem habeant.

Et ulterius de gratia noſtra ſpeciali, ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris, necnon de aviſamento Concilii noſtri dedimus & conceſſimus, ac per præſentes damus & concedimus præfato Superintendenti & Miniſtris Eccleſiæ Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum in Civitate Londinenſi, totum illud templum ſive Eccleſiam nuperfratrum Auguſtinenſium in Civitate noſtra Londinenſi, ac totam terram, fundum & ſolum Eccleſiæ prædictæ, exceptis toto choro dictæ Eccleſiæ, terris fundo & ſolo ejuſdem habendum & gaudendum, dictum Templum ſive Eccleſiam

ac cætera præmiſſa, exceptis præexceptis, præfatis Superintendenti & Miniſtris & Succeſſoribus ſuis, tenendum de nobis, hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus noſtris in puram & liberam elyemoſinam.

Damus ulterius de aviſamento prædicto, ac ex certa ſcientia & mero motu noſtris prædictis per præſentes concedimus præfatis Superintendenti & Miniſtris & ſucceſſoribus ſuis plenam facultatem, poteſtatem & autoritatem ampliandi & majorem faciendi numerum miniſtrorum & nominandi & appunctuandi de tempore in tempus, tales & hujuſmodi ſubminiſtros, ad ſerviendum in Templo prædicto, quales præfatis Superintendenti & Miniſtris neceſſarium viſum fuerit. Et quidem hæc omnia juxta beneplacitum regium.

Volumus præterea quod Joannes a Laſco natione Polonus, homo propter integritatem & innocentiam vitæ, ac morum & ſingularem eruditionem valde çælebris, ſit primus & modernus Superintendens dictæ Eccleſiæ, & quod Gualterus Deloenus, Martinus Flandrus, Franciſcus Riverius, Richardus Gallus, ſint quatuor primi & moderni Miniſtri. Damus præterea & concedimus præfatis Superintendenti & Miniſtris & ſucceſſoribus ſuis facultatem, autoritatem & licentiam, poſt mortem vel vacationem alicujus Miniſtri prædictorum, de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi & ſurrogandi alium, perſonam habilem & idoneam in locum ſuum; ita tamen quod perſona ſic nominatus & electus præſentetur & ſiſtatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel ſucceſſoribus noſtris, & per nos, hæredes vel ſucceſſores noſtros inſtituatur in Miniſterium prædictum.

Damus etiam & concedimus præfatis Superintendenti, Miniſtris & ſucceſſoribus ſuis facultatem, autoritatem & licentiam, poſt mortem ſeu vacationem Superintendentis de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi & ſurrogandi alium, perſonam doctam & gravem in locum ſuum; ita tamen quod perſona ſic nominatus & electus præſentetur & ſiſtatur coram nobis, hæredibus vel ſucceſſoribus noſtris, & per nos, hæredes vel ſucceſſores noſtros inſtituatur in officium Superintendentis prædictum.

Mandamus & firmiter injungendum præcipimus, tam Majori, Vicecomitibus & Aldermanis Civitatis noſtræ Londinenſis & ſucceſſoribus ſuis, cum omnibus aliis Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Juſticiariis, Officiariis & Miniſtris noſtris quibuſcunque, quod permittant præfatis, Superintendenti & Miniſtris, & ſua, ſuos libere & quiete frui, gaudere, uti, & exercere ritus & ceremonias ſuas proprias, & diſciplinam Eccleſiaſticam propriam & peculiarem, non obſtante quod non conveniant cum ritibus & cæremoniis in Regno noſtro uſitatis, abſq; impeditione, perturbatione, aut inquietatione eorum, vel eorum alicujus, aliquo ſtatuto, actu, proclamatione, injunctione, reſtrictione, ſeu uſu in contrarium inde antehac habitis, factis, editis, ſeu promulgatis in contrarium non obſtantibus. Eo quod expreſſa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmiſſorum, ſive eorum alicujus, aut de aliis donis ſive conceſſionibus per nos præfatis Superintendenti, Miniſtris & ſucceſſoribus ſuis ante hæc tempora factis, in præſentibus minime facta exiſtit, aut aliquo ſtatuto, actu, ordinatione, proviſione, ſive reſtrictione inde in contrarium factis, editis, ordinatis ſeu proviſis, aut aliqua alia re, cauſa vel materia quacunq; in aliquo non obſtante. In cujus rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes. Teſte Meipſo,

Meipſo, apud Leighes, viceſimo quarto die Julii, Anno Regni noſtri quarto, per Breve de privato Sigillo, & de datis prædicta Autoritate Parliamenti.

R. Southwell.

Un. Harrys.

Number 52.

Injunctions given in the Viſitation of the Reverend Father in God, Nicholas *Biſhop of* London, *for an Uniformity in his Dioceſs of* London, *in the 4th Year of our Sovereign Lord King* Edward *the Sixth, by the Grace of God, King of* England, *&c.*

London, *Anno Dom.* 1550.

Firſt, That there be no reading of ſuch Injunctions as extolleth and ſetteth forth the Popiſh Maſs, Candles, Images, Chauntries: Regiſt. *Ridl.* Fol. 305. ther that there be uſed any Superaltaries, or Trentals of Com-nions.

Item. That no Miniſter do counterfeit the Popiſh Maſs, in kiſſing e Lord's Board; waſhing his Hands or Fingers after the Goſpel, or receipt of the Holy Communion; ſhifting the Book from one place another; laying down and licking the Chalice after the Commu-on; bleſſing his Eyes with the Sudarie thereof, or Patten, or croſ-ing his Head with the ſame, holding his Fore-fingers and Thumbs oined together toward the Temples of his Head, after the receiving the Sacrament, breathing on the Bread, or Chalice; ſaying the *Agnus* before the Communion; ſhewing the Sacrament openly before e diſtribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing of the Sa-ring Bell, or ſetting any Light upon the Lord's Board. And finally, That the Miniſter, in the time of the Holy Communion, do uſe only e Ceremonies and Geſtures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, ſo that there do not appear in them any coun-rfeiting of the Popiſh Maſs.

Item. That none be admitted to receive the Holy Communion, but ſuch as will, upon requeſt of the Curat, be ready, with meekneſs and reverence to confeſs the Articles of the Creed.

Item. That none make a Mart of the Holy Communion, by buying and ſelling the Receipt thereof for Mony, as the Popiſh Maſs in times paſt was wont to be.

Item. Whereas in divers places, ſome uſe the Lord's Board after the form of a Table. and ſome of an Altar, whereby Diſſention is per-ceived to ariſe among the unlearned; therefore wiſhing a godly Unity to be obſerved in all our Dioceſs; and for that the form of a Table may more move and turn the ſimple from the old ſuperſtitious Opi-nions of the Popiſh Maſs, and to the right uſe of the Lord's Supper,

We

We exhort the Curats, Church-wardens, and Queſtmen here preſent, to erect and ſet up the Lord's Board, after the form of an honeſt Table, decently covered, in ſuch place of the Quire or Chancel, as ſhall be thought moſt meet by their diſcretion and agreement, ſo that the Miniſters, with the Communicants, may have their place ſeparated from the reſt of the People: and to take down and aboliſh all other by-Altars or Tables.

Item. That the Miniſter, in the time of the Communion, immediately after the Offertory, ſhall moniſh the Communicants, ſaying theſe words, or ſuch-like, *Now is the time, if it pleaſe you to remember the poor Mens Cheſt with your charitable Almes.*

Item. That the Homilies be read orderly, without omiſſion of any part thereof.

Item. The Common Prayer be had in every Church upon *Wedneſdays* and *Fridays*, according to the King's Grace's Ordinance; and that all ſuch as conveniently may, ſhall diligently reſort to the ſame.

Item. That every Curat be diligent to teach the Catechiſm, whenſoever juſt occaſion is offered, upon the *Sunday* or Holy-day, and at leaſt every ſix weeks, once ſhall call upon his Pariſhioners, and preſent himſelf ready to inſtruct and examine the Youth of the ſame Pariſh, according to the Book of Service touching the ſame.

Item. That none maintain Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, the Six Articles, Bedrowls, Images, Reliques, Rubrick Primars, with Invocation of Saints, Juſtification of Man by his own Works, Holy Bread, Palms, Aſhes, Candles, Sepulchre Paſchal, creeping to the Croſs, hallowing of the Fire or Altar, or any other ſuch-like abuſes, and ſuperſtitions, now taken away by the King's Grace's moſt Godly Proceedings.

Item. That all Miniſters do move the People to often and worthy receiving of the Holy Communion.

Item. That every Miniſter do move his Pariſhioners to come diligently to the Church; and when they come, not to talk, or walk, in the Sermon, Communion, or Divine Service-time, but rather at the ſame to behave themſelves reverently, godly, and devoutly in the Church; and that they alſo moniſh the Church-wardens to be diligent Overſeers in that behalf.

Item. That the Church-wardens do not permit any buying, ſelling, gaming, outragious noiſe or tumult, or any other idle occupying of Youth in the Church, Church-porch, or Church-yard, during the time of Common Prayer, Sermon, or reading of the Homily.

Item. That no Perſons uſe to miniſter the Sacraments, or in open audience of the Congregation, preſume to expound the Holy Scriptures, or to preach, before they be firſt lawfully called and authoriſed in that behalf.

God ſave the King.

Number

Number 53.

Dr. Oglethorp's *Submiſſion and Profeſſion of his Faith.*

I Did never Preach or Teach openly any thing contrary to the Doctrine and Religion ſet forth by the King's Majeſty, and authoriſed by his Grace's Laws, ſince the making and publiſhing of the ſame.

I ſuppoſe, and think his Grace's Proceedings (concerning Religion) to be good and godly, if they be uſed accordingly, as his Grace hath will'd they ſhould, by his Laws and Inſtructions.

And further, I ſuppoſe the Order and Form of Doctrine, and Religion now ſet forth by his Grace, and uſed, in many things to be better and much nearer the uſage of the Apoſtolick and Primitive Church, than it was before-times: if it be uſed godly and reverently, accordingly as I think it to be meant by his Grace's Highneſs, and his moſt Honourable Council.

Namely, in theſe things, in prohibiting that none ſhould commune alone, in making the People whole Communers, or in ſuffering them to Commune under both kinds, in the Catechiſation of young Chappies in the Rudiments of our Faith, in having the Common Prayer in Engliſh, in ſetting forth the Homilies, and many other things; which I think very good and Godly, if they be uſed as is aforeſaid.

The lately received Doctrine, concerning the Sacrament, and namely the Attribute of *Tranſubſtantiation*, I do not like, and I think it not conſonant to the Scriptures, and Ancient Writers; although I ſuppoſe that there is a certain and an ineffable preſence of Chriſt's Body there, which I can neither comprehend nor expreſs, becauſe it ſo far paſſes the compaſs and reach of my Wit and Reaſon; wherefore I think it ought to be both miniſtred and received with a godly and reverent fear, and not without great premeditation and examination aforeſaid, as well of the Miniſter, as of the Receiver. 1550.

Your Grace's poor well-willer, with his

Prayer and Service, as he is bound,

Owing Oglethorp.

Number

Number 54.

A Letter from Dr. Smith *to Arch-biſhop* Cranmer.

An Original.

Right honourable, and my ſpecial good Lord;

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.* I Commend me to your Grace moſt humbly, giving to the ſame thanks as I am bound, for your Grace's kindneſs toward my Sureties; for the which you have (and ſhall whiles I live) my good Word and Prayer. *Ignatii Epiſtolæ adhuc extant in Gymnaſio Magdalenæ.* If it might pleaſe your Lordſhip, I would very gladly ſee ſome part of your Collection againſt my Book, *De Cælibatu Sacerdotum*; which I wrote then to try the Truth out, not to the intent it ſhould be printed, as it was, againſt my Will. Would God I had never made it, becauſe I took then for my chief Ground, That the Prieſts of *England* made a Vow when they were made, which now I perceive is not true.

My Lord, I received my *Cap-Caſe*, &c. *Sed tribus nummorum meorum partibus ſublatis; Quod damnum æquo animo eſt ferendum, quod furti revinci non poſſit, qui abſtulit.* My Lord, I am glad that your Grace is reported both gentle and merciful, of all ſuch which have had to do with you for Religion of this Univerſity. For my part, if ever I may do your Grace's baſeſt Servant any pleaſure, I will do it indeed. *Sed aliter, atqui ſentio, loquor, diſpeream. Ignoſcat hæc Honorandæ Dominationi tam diutinum ſilentium mihi, quippe quod crebrioribus literis poſthac penſabo. Deus optimus maximus tuam amplitudinem diu ſervet incolumem Chriſtianæ Pietati propagandæ ac provehendæ. Oxonii 28.*

Tibi addictiſſimus,

Richardus Smithæus.

Number

Number 55.

Articles agreed upon by the Biſhops and other Learned Men, in the Convocation held at *London*, in the Year 1552. for the avoiding diverſities of Opinions, and ſtabliſhing Conſent touching True Religion.

Publiſhed by the King's Authority.

With Marginal Notes of the Differences between theſe and thoſe ſet out by Queen *Elizabeth*, *Anno* 1562.

I. *Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.*

THere is but one living and true God everlaſting, without Body, Parts, or Paſſions; of infinite Power, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs; the Maker and Preſerver of all Things both viſible and inviſible. And in the unity of this Godhead, there are three Perſons, of one Subſtance, Power, and Eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

II. *The Word of God made very Man.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, took Man's Nature in the Womb of the bleſſed Virgin, of her Subſtance: So that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to ſay, the God-head and Manhood were join'd together in one Perſon, never to be divided, whereof is one Chriſt, very God and very Man; who truly ſuffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a Sacrifice, not only for Original Guilt, but alſo for Actual Sins of Men.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, *begotten from everlaſting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one Subſtance with the Father*: took Man's Nature in the Womb of the bleſſed Virgin, *&c.*

III. *Of the going down of Chriſt into Hell.*

As Chriſt died for us, and was buried; ſo alſo is it to be believed that he went down into Hell: * *For his Body lay in the Grave till his Reſurrection, but his Soul being ſeparate from his Body, remained with the Spirits which were detained in Priſon, that is to ſay, in Hell, and there preached unto them*; as witneſſeth that place of *Peter*.

* Theſe words were left out.

IV. *The Reſurrection of Chriſt.*

Chriſt did truly riſe again from Death, and took again his Body, with Fleſh, Bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's Nature, wherewith he aſcended into Heaven, and there ſitteth till he return to judg all Men at the laſt day.

Of the Holy Ghoſt.

The Holy Ghoſt, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one Subſtance, Majeſty, and Glory, with the Father, and the Son, very and eternal God.

V. *The Doctrine of the Holy Scripture is ſufficient to Salvation.*

Holy Scripture containeth all things neceſſary to Salvation, ſo that whatſoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man that it ſhould be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought neceſſary or requiſite to Salvation.

Holy Scripture containeth all things neceſſary to Salvation; So that whatſoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, *although ſometimes it may be admitted by God's faithful People as pious, and conducing unto Order and Decency*; yet is not to be required of any Man that it ſhould be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requiſite or neceſſary to Salvation.

In the Name of the Holy Scripture we do underſtand thoſe Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament, of whoſe Authority was never any doubt in the Church; that is to ſay, Geneſis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joſhua, Judges, Ruth, 1*ſt of* Samuel, 2*d of* Samuel, &c. *And the other Books (as* Hierom *ſaith) the Church doth read for example of Life, and inſtruction of Manners, but yet doth it not apply them to eſtabliſh any Doctrine; ſuch are theſe following,* The 3*d of Eſdras,* the 4*th of Eſdras,* the Book of *Tobias,* the Book of *Judeth,* the reſt of the Book of *Heſter,* the Book of *Wiſdom,* &c. *All the Books of the New Teſtament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them Canonical.*

VI. *The Old Teſtament is not to be rejected.*

The Old Teſtament is not to be rejected, as if it were contrary to the New, but to be retained. Foraſmuch as in the Old Teſtament, as in the New, everlaſting Life is offered to Mankind by Chriſt, who is the only Mediator betwixt God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, who feign, that the old Fathers did look only for tranſitory Promiſes.

Although the Law given from God by Moſes, *as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Chriſtian Men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of neceſſity to be received in any Commonwealth; yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian Man whatſoever is free from the Obedience of the Commandments, which are called* Moral.

VII. *The three Creeds.*

The three Creeds, *Nice* Creed, *Athanaſius* Creed, and that which is commonly called the *Apoſtles* Creed, ought throughly to be received *; for they may be proved by moſt certain Warrants of the Holy Scripture.

* And believed.

VIII. *Original Sin.*

* Left out.

Original Sin ſtandeth not in the following of *Adam,* (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk, * *and at this day is affirmed by ſome Anabaptiſts*) but it is the Fault and Corruption of every Man, that naturally is ingendred of the Off-ſpring of *Adam,* whereby Man is very far gone from

from Original Righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil; so that the Flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit; and therefore in every Person born into this World it deserveth God's Wrath and Damnation. And this Infection of Nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the Lust of the Flesh, called in Greek φρόνημα σαρκός, which some do expound the Wisdom, some Sensuality, some the Affection, some the desire of the Flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that Concupiscense and Lust hath of it self the nature of Sin.

IX. *Of Free-Will.*

We have no power to do good Works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the Grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will and working with us, when we have that good Will.

The condition of Man after the Fall of Adam *is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good Works, to Faith and calling upon God.* Wherefore we have no power to do good Works, pleasant and acceptable unto God, &c.

X. *Of Grace.*

The Grace of Christ, or the Holy Ghost which is given by him, doth take from Man the Heart of Stone, and giveth him a Heart of Flesh. And though it rendereth us willing to do those good Works, which before we were unwilling to do, and unwilling to do those evil Works, which before we did, yet is no violence offered by it to the Will of Man; so that no Man when he hath sinned can excuse himself, as if he had sinned against his Will, or upon constraint; and therefore that he ought not to be accused or condemned upon that account.

XI. *Of the Justification of Man.*

Justification by Faith only in Jesus Christ, in that sense wherein it is set forth in the Homily of *Justification*, is the most certain and most wholsome Doctrine for a Christian Man.

We are accounted Righteous before God only, for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own Works or Deservings. Wherefore that we are justified by Faith, is a most wholesome Doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of *Justification.*

Of good Works.

Albeit the Good Works, which are the Fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our Sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable unto God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith, insomuch that by them, a lively Faith may be as evidently known, as a Tree discerned by the Fruit.

XII. *Works before Juſtification.*

Works done before the Grace of Chriſt, and the inſpiration of his Spirit, are not pleaſant to God, foraſmuch as they ſpring not of Faith in Jeſus Chriſt; neither do they make Men meet to receive Grace, or (as the School-Authors ſay) deſerve Grace of Congruity; yea rather for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of Sin.

XIII. *Works of Supererrogation.*

Voluntary Works beſides, over and above God's Commandments, which they call Works of *Supererrogation*, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety; for by them Men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his ſake, than of bounden Duty is required; Whereas Chriſt ſaith plainly, *When you have done all that are commanded to you, ſay, We are unprofitable Servants.*

XIV. *None but Chriſt without Sin.*

Chriſt in the truth of our Nature, was made like unto us in all things, (Sin only excepted) from which he was clearly void, both in his Fleſh and in his Spirit: He came to be a Lamb without Spot, who by Sacrifice of himſelf once made, ſhould take away the Sins of the World; and Sin (as St. *John* ſaith) was not in him: But all we the reſt (although baptized and born in Chriſt) yet offend in many things; and if we ſay we have no Sin, we deceive our ſelves, and the Truth is not in us.

XV. *Of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.*

Not every deadly Sin, willingly committed after Baptiſm, is Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of Repentance is not to be denied to ſuch as fall into Sin after Baptiſm. After we have received the Holy Ghoſt, we may depart from Grace given, and fall into ſin, and by the Grace of God (we may) arife again and amend our Lives. And therefore they are to be condemned which ſay, They can no more ſin as long as they live here, or deny *the* place of Penance* to ſuch as truly repent.

* Place of Forgiveneſs.

XVI. *The Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt.*

The Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt is then committed, when a Man out of malice and hardneſs of Heart, doth wilfully reproach and perſecute in an hoſtile manner, the Truth of God's Word, manifeſtly made known unto him. Which ſort of Men, being made obnoxious to the Curſe, ſubject themſelves to the moſt grievous of all wickedneſſes; from whence this kind of Sin is called unpardonable and ſo affirmed to be by our Lord and Saviour.

XVII.

XVII. *Of Predeſtination and Election.*

Predeſtination unto Life, is the everlaſting Purpoſe of God, whereby (before the Foundations of the World were laid) he hath conſtantly decreed by his Counſel, ſecret unto us, to deliver from Curſe and Damnation, thoſe whom he hath choſen * out of Mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſting Salvation, as Veſſels made to Honour. Wherefore they which be endued with ſo excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's Purpoſe, by his Spirit working in due ſeaſon, they through Grace obey the Calling, they be juſtified freely, they are made Sons of || Adoption, they are made like the Image of * the only begotten Jeſus Chriſt; they walk religiouſly in good Works, and at length, by God's Mercy, they attain to everlaſting Felicity.

* In Chriſt.
|| God by.
* His.

As the godly conſideration of Predeſtination and Election in Chriſt, is full of ſweet, pleaſant, and unſpeakable comfort to godly Perſons, and ſuch as feel in themſelves the working of the Spirit of Chriſt, mortifying the Works of the Fleſh, and their Earthly Members, and lifting up their Mind to high and heavenly Things, as well becauſe it doth greatly eſtabliſh and confirm their Faith of eternal Salvation, to be enjoyed through Chriſt, as becauſe it doth fervently kindle their Love towards God: So for curious and carnal Perſons, lacking the Spirit of Chriſt, to have continually before their Eyes the Sentence of God's Predeſtination, is a moſt dangerous downfal, whereby the Devil doth thruſt them either into deſperation, or into wretchleſneſs of moſt unclean living, no leſs perilous than deſparation.

Furthermore, * *though the Decrees of Predeſtination be unknown to us, yet* muſt we receive God's Promiſes in ſuch wiſe as they be generally ſet forth to us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expreſly declared unto us in the Word of God.

* Left out.

XVIII. *Everlaſting Salvation to be obtained only in the Name of Chriſt.*

They alſo are to be had accurſed, that preſume to ſay, That every Man ſhall be ſaved by the Law or Sect which he profeſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law, and the Light of Nature: For Holy Scripture doth ſet out unto us only the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, whereby Men muſt be ſaved.

XIX. *All Men are bound to keep the Precepts of the Moral Law.*

Although the Law given from God by *Moſes*, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Chriſtian Men, nor the Civil Precepts thereof ought of neceſſity to be received in any Common-Wealth; yet notwithſtanding no Chriſtian Man whatſoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral. Wherefore they

they are not to be heard which teach, that the Holy Scriptures were given to none but to the *Weak*, and brag continually of the Spirit, by which they do pretend, that all whatſoever they preach is ſuggeſted to them, though manifeſtly contrary to the Holy Scripture.

XX. *Of the Church.*

The Viſible Church of Chriſt, is a Congregation of faithful Men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly miniſtred, according to Chriſt's Ordinance, in all thoſe things that of neceſſity are requiſite to the ſame.

As the Church of *Jeruſalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch* have erred, ſo alſo the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their Livings, and manner of Ceremonies, but alſo in Matters of Faith.

XXI. *Of the Authority of the Church.*

The Church hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in Controverſies of Faith. It is not lawful for the Church, *&c.*

It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it ſo expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another: Wherefore although the Church be a Witneſs and Keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing againſt the ſame, ſo beſides the ſame ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for neceſſity of Salvation.

XXII. *Of the Authority of General Councils.*

General Councils may not be gathered together without the Commandment and Will of Princes. And when they are gathered together, foraſmuch as they be an Aſſembly of Men, (whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God) they may err, and ſometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them, as neceſſary to Salvation, have neither ſtrength nor authority, unleſs it may be declared, that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.

XXIII. *Of Purgatory.*

The Doctrine of the School-men concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worſhipping, and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and alſo Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather *perniciouſly* repugnant to the Word of God.

XXIV. *No Man to miniſter in the Church except he be called.*

It is not lawful for any Man to take upon him the Office of publick Preaching, or miniſtring the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called and ſent to execute the ſame. And thoſe we ought to judg lawfully called and ſent, which be choſen and called to this

this Work by Men, who have publick Authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and ſend Miniſters into the Lord's Vineyard.

XXV. *All things to be done in the Congregation in ſuch a Tongue as is underſtood by the People.*

It is moſt fit, *and moſt agreeable to the Word of God*, that nothing be read or rehearſed in the Congregation, in a Tongue not known unto the People; which *Paul* hath forbidden to be done, unleſs there be preſent to interpret.

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the cuſtom of the *Primitive Church*, to have publick Prayers in the Church, or to miniſter the Sacraments in a Tongue not underſtood by the People.

XXVI. *Of the Sacraments.*

Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt gathered his People into a Society, by Sacraments very few in number, moſt eaſy to be kept, and of moſt excellent ſignification; that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Chriſt to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we ſhould duly uſe them: And in ſuch only as worthily receive the ſame, they have a wholeſome effect or operation; not as ſome ſay, *Ex opera operato*, which terms, as they are ſtrange and utterly unknown to the Holy Scripture, ſo do they yield a ſenſe which ſavoureth of little Piety, but of much Superſtition: but they that receive them unworthily, receive to themſelves damnation.

The Sacraments ordained by the Word of God, be not only Badges or Tokens of Chriſtian Mens Profeſſion; but rather they be certain ſure Witneſſes, effectual ſigns of Grace, and God's good Will towards us, by the which he doth work inviſibly in us; and doth not only quicken, but alſo ſtrengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

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There are two Sacraments ordained of Chriſt our Lord in the Goſpel, that is to ſay, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord.

Thoſe five commonly called Sacraments, That is to ſay, *Confirmation*, *Penance*, *Orders*, *Matrimony*, and *Extream Unction*, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Goſpel, being ſuch as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apoſtles, partly are ſtates of Life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of Sacraments, with Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any viſible Sign or Ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Chriſt to be gazed on, or to be carried about, but that we ſhould duly uſe them. And in ſuch only as worthily receive the ſame, they have a wholeſome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily, purchaſe to themſelves damnation, as St. *Paul* ſaith.

XXVII. *The Wickedneſs of the Miniſters takes not away the Efficacy of Divine Inſtitutions.*

Although in the Viſible Church, the Evil be ever mingled with the Good, and ſometimes the Evil have chief Authority in the miniſtration of the Word and Sacraments; yet foraſmuch as they do not the ſame in

in their own Name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his Commission and Authority, we may use their Ministry both in hearing the Word of God, and in reciving of the Sacraments: Neither is the effect of Christ's Ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the Grace of God's Gifts diminished from such as by Faith rightly do receive the Sacrament, ministred unto them, which be effectual because of Christ's Institution and Promise, although they be ministred by evil Men.

Nevertheless it appertaineth to the Discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made after * *them*, and that they be accused by those that have knowledg of their Offences; and finally, being found guilty, by just Judgment be deposed.

* *Evil Ministers.*

XXVIII. *Of Baptism.*

Baptism is not only a sign of Profession, and mark of Difference, whereby Christian Men are discerned from others that be not Christned; but it is also a sign of Regeneration, or New Birth, whereby, as by an Instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly, are grafted into the Church; the Promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our Adoption to be the Sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; Faith is confirmed, and Grace increased, by virtue of Prayer unto God. * The Custom of the Church for baptising young Children, is both to be commended, and by all means to be retained in the Church.

*--*The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable to the Institution of Christ.*

XXIX. *Of the Lord's Supper.*

The Supper of the Lord, is not only a sign of the Love that Christians ought to have amongst themselves one to another; but rather it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's Death: Insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with Faith receive the same, the Bread which we break, is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the Cup of Blessing, is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the Substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; * but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, and hath given occasion to many Superstitions.

*--but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, *overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament*, and hath given occasion to many Superstitions.

Since the very Being of Humane Nature doth require, that the Body of one and the same Man, cannot be at one and the same time in many places, but of necessity must be in some certain and determinate place; therefore the Body of Christ cannot be present in many different places at the same time. And since (as the Holy Scriptures testify) Christ hath been taken up into Heaven, and there is to abide till the end of the World; it becometh not any of the Faithful to believe or profess, that there is a Real or Corporeal presence (as they phrase it) of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an Heavenly and Spiritual Manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith.

The

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was not by Christ's Ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

XXIX. *Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the Lord's Supper.*

The Wicked, and such as be void of a lively Faith, altho they do carnally and visibly press with their Teeth (as St. *Austin* saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

XXX. *Of both kinds.*] The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people: For both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament (by Christ's Ordinance and Commandment) ought to be ministred to all Christian People alike.

XXX. *Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.*

The Offering of Christ once made, is a perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World, both Original and Actual, and there is none other Satisfaction for Sin but that alone: Wherefore the Sacrifices of Masses, in which it was commonly said, That the Priests did offer Christ for the Quick and the Dead, to have remission of Pain or Guilt, were * Fables, and dangerous Deceits.

* *Blasphemous.*

XXXI. *A single Life is imposed on none by the Word of God.*

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of a single Life, or to abstain from Marriage.

Therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian Men, to Marry at their own discretion, as they shall judg the same to serve better to Godliness.

XXXII. *Excommunicated Persons are to be avoided.*

That Person which by open Denunciation of the Church, is rightly cut off from the Unity of the Church, and Excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole Multitude of the Faithful, as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by Pennance, and received into the Church, by a Judg that hath Authority thereunto.

XXXIII. *Of the Tradition of the Church.*

It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all places one and utterly alike; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of Countries, Times, and Mens Manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved

by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like) as he that offendeth againſt the common Order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magiſtrate, and woundeth the Conſciences of the weak Brethren.

Every Particular or National Church, hath Authority to ordain, change or aboliſh Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, ordained only by Man's Authority, ſo that all things be done to edifying.

XXXIV. *Of the Homilies.*

The ſecond Book of Homilies, the ſeveral Titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for the Times; as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were ſet forth in the time of *Edward* the 6*th*: and therefore we judg them to be read in Churches by the Miniſters, diligently and diſtinctly, that they may be underſtood of the People.

The *Homilies lately delivered* and commended to the Church of *England* by the King's Injunctions, do contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and fit to be embraced by all Men; and for that cauſe they are diligently, plainly, and diſtinctly to be read to the People.

The Names of the Homilies.

Of the Right Uſe of the Church. Of Repairing Churches. Againſt the Peril of Idolatry. Of Good Works, *&c.*

XXXV. *Of the Book of Common Prayer, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of* England.

The Book of Conſecration of Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, and ordering of Prieſts and Deacons, lately ſet forth in the time of K. *Edward* the Sixth, and confirmed at the ſame time by Authority of Parliament, doth contain all things neceſſary to ſuch Conſecration and Ordering. Neither hath it any thing that of it ſelf is ſuperſtitious and ungodly; And therefore whoſoever are Conſecrated and Ordered according to the Rites of that Book, ſince the ſecond Year of the afore-named King *Edward*, unto this time, or hereafter ſhall be Conſecrated or Ordered, according to the ſame Rites, we decree all ſuch to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully Conſecrated and Ordered.

The Book lately delivered to the Church of *England* by *the Authority of the King and Parliament*, containing the manner and form of publick Prayer, and the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, in the ſaid Church of *England*; as alſo the Book publiſhed by the ſame Authority for ordering Miniſters in the Church, are both of them very pious, as to truth of Doctrine, in nothing contrary, but agreeable to the wholeſome Doctrine of the Goſpel, which they do very much promote and illuſtrate. And for that cauſe they are by all faithful Members of the Church of *England*, but chiefly of the Miniſters of the Word, with all thankfulneſs and readineſs of mind, to be received, approved, and commended to the People of God.

XXXVI. *Of the Civil Magiſtrates.*

The King of England *is after Chriſt*, the Supream Head on Earth of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*.

The Biſhop of *Rome* hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of *England*.

The Civil Magiſtrate is ordained and approved by God, and therefore is to be obeyed, not only for fear of Wrath, but for Conſcience-ſake.

Civil or Temporal Laws may puniſh Chriſtian Men with Death for heinous and grievous Offences.

It is lawful for Chriſtian Men, at the Commandment of the Magiſtrate, to wear Weapons, and to ſerve in the Wars.

The Queens Majeſty hath the chief Power in this Realm of *England*, and other her Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Eſtates of this Realm, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in all Caſes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be ſubject to any Forreign Juriſdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queens Majeſty the chief Government by which Titles we underſtand the minds of ſome ſlanderous Folks to be offended: We give not to our Princes the Miniſtry, either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments; the which thing the Injunctions lately ſet forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen, do moſt plainly teſtify; but that only Prerogative, which we ſee to have been given always to all Godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himſelf; that is, that they ſhould rule all Eſtates committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain with the Civil Sword the ſtubborn and evil Doers.

The Biſhop of *Rome* hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of *England*.

The Laws *of this Realm* may puniſh Chriſtian Men with Death, *&c.*

XXXVII. *The Goods of Chriſtians are not common.*

The Riches and Goods of Chriſtians are not common, as touching the Right, Title, and Poſſeſſion of the ſame, as certain *Anabaptiſts* do falſly boaſt. Notwithſtanding every Man ought, of ſuch things as he poſſeſſeth, liberally to give Alms to the Poor, according to his Ability.

XXXVIII. *It is lawful for a Chriſtian to take an Oath.*

As we confeſs that vain and raſh Swearing is forbidden Chriſtian Men, by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and *James* his Apoſtle; ſo we judg that Chriſtian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a Man may ſwear when the Magiſtrate requireth, in a Cauſe of Faith and Charity, ſo it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in Juſtice, Judgment, and Truth.

These Articles were left out in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time.

XXXIX. *The Resurrection of the Dead is not past already.*

The Resurrection of the Dead is not past already, as if it belonged only to the Soul, which by the Grace of Christ is raised from the Death of Sin, but is to be expected by all Men in the last Day: for at that time (as the Scripture doth most apparently testify) the Dead shall be restored to their own Bodies, Flesh and Bones; to the end that Man, according as either righteously or wickedly he hath passed this Life, may, according to his Works, receive Rewards or Punishments.

XL. *The Souls of Men deceased, do neither perish with their Bodies, nor sleep idely.*

They who maintain that the Souls of Men deceased, do either sleep, without any manner of sense, to the Day of Judgment, or affirm that they die together with the Body, and shall be raised therewith at the last Day, do wholly differ from the Right Faith, and Orthodox Belief, which is delivered to us in the Holy Scriptures.

XLI. *Of the Millenarians.*

They who endeavour to revive the Fable of the *Millenarians*, are therein contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and cast themselves down headlong into Jewish Dotages.

XLII. *All Men not to be saved at last.*

They also deserve to be condemned, who endeavour to restore that pernicious Opinion, That all Men (though never so ungodly) shall at last be saved; when for a certain time, appointed by the Divine Justice, they have endured punishment for their Sins committed.

Number

Number 56.

Instructions given by the King's Highneſs, to his right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, Francis *Earl of* Salop, *and Lord Preſident of his Grace's Council, reſident in the North Parts; and to all others hereafter named and appointed by his Highneſs to be of his ſaid Council, to be obſerved by the ſaid Counſellors, and every of them, according as the ſame hereafter is declared.*

FIrſt, His Majeſty much deſiring the Quietneſs and good Governance of the People and Inhabitants in the North Parts of this Realm of *England*, and for the good, ſpeedy, and indifferent adminiſtration of Juſtice to be there had, betwixt Party and Party, intending to continue in the ſaid North Parts, his Right Honourable Counſel, called, *The King's Majeſty's Council in the North Parts.* And his Highneſs knowing the approved Wiſdom and Experience of his ſaid Couſin, with his aſſured diſcretion and dexterity in the Execution of Juſtice, hath appointed him to be Lord Preſident of the ſaid Council; and by theſe Preſents doth give unto him the Name of Lord Preſident of the ſaid Council, with Power and Authority to call together all ſuch as be, or hereafter ſhall be, named and appointed to be of the ſaid Council at all times, when he ſhall think expedient: And otherwiſe by his Letters, to appoint them, and every of them, to do ſuch things for the Advancement of Juſtice, and for the repreſſion and puniſhment of Malefactors, as by the Advice of ſuch of the ſaid Council as then ſhall be preſent with him, he ſhall think meet, for the furtherance of his Grace's Affairs, and for the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice between his Highneſs Subjects. Ex MS. Dr. *Johnſon.*

And further, his Majeſty giveth unto the ſaid Lord Preſident, by theſe Preſents, a Voice Negative in all Councils, where things ſhall be debated at length for the bringing forth of a moſt perfect Truth or Sentence, which his Highneſs would have obſerved in all Caſes that may abide Adviſement and Conſultation, to the intent that doubtful Matters ſhould as well be maturely conſulted upon, as alſo that the ſame ſhould not paſs without the conſent and order of the ſaid Lord Preſident.

And his Highneſs willeth and commandeth, that all and every of the ſaid Councellors, named and to be named hereafter, ſhall exhibit and uſe to the ſaid Lord Preſident, all ſuch Honour, Reverend Behaviour, and Obedience, as to their Duty appertaineth; and ſhall receive and execute in like ſort, all the Precepts and Commandments to them, or any of them, for any Matter touching his Majeſty, to be addreſſed, or any Proceſs to be done or ſerved in his Grace's Name.

And his Highneſs Pleaſure is, That the ſaid Lord Preſident ſhall have the keeping of his Grace's Signet, therewith to Seal Letters, Proceſſes, and all ſuch other things as ſhall be thought convenient by the ſaid Lord

Lord Preſident, or by two of the Council, being bound by thoſe Articles, to daily attendance upon the ſaid Lord Preſident, with his aſſent thereunto.

And to the intent the ſaid Lord Preſident thus eſtabliſhed, for the above-ſaid Purpoſes, may be furniſhed with ſuch Numbers and Aſſiſtants, as be of Wiſdom, Experience, Gravity, and Truth, meet to have the Name of his Grace's Councellors; his Majeſty, upon good adviſement and deliberation, hath elected thoſe Perſons, whoſe Names enſue hereafter, to be his Counſellors, joined in the ſaid Council in the North Parts, with the ſaid Lord Preſident; that is to ſay, The right Truſty and well-beloved Couſins, *Henry* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, *Henry* Earl of *Cumberland*; his right Truſty and well-beloved *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Dureſm*; *William* Lord *Dacres* of the North; *John* Lord *Conyers*; *Thomas* Lord *Wharton*; *John Hind* Kt. one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Common-Pleas; *Edmond Moleneux* Kt. Serjeant at Law; *Henry Savel* Kt. *Robert Bowes* Kt. *Nicholas Fairfax* Kt. *George Conyers* Kt. *Leonard Becquith* Kt. *William Babthorp* Kt. *Anthony Nevill* Kt. *Thomas Gargrave* Kt. *Robert Mennel* Serjeant at Law; *Anthony Bellaſis* Eſquire; *John Rockely* Doctor of Law; *Robert Chaloner*, *Richard Morton*, and *Thomas Eymis*, Eſquires.

And his Highneſs, by theſe Preſents, doth appoint the ſaid *Thomas Eymis* to be Secretary to the ſaid Council, diligently and obediently to exerciſe the ſame Room as he ſhall be appointed by the ſaid Lord Preſident, or by two of the Council, whereof the one to be of the *Quorum*, with the aſſent of the Lord Preſident. And his Highneſs Pleaſure is, That the ſaid Lord Preſident, and two others of the ſaid Council, being of the *Quorum*, ſhall be ſworn Maſters of the *Chancery*, to the intent that every of them may take recogniſance in ſuch Caſes, as by the ſaid Lord Preſident, or by two of the ſaid Council, being of the *Quorum*, ſhall be thought convenient, and the Caſe ſo requiring. All which number of Councellors before ſpecified, as his Majeſty doubteth not but that they, and every of them, according to his Grace's expectation and truſt repoſed in them, will be, at all times, diligent and willing towards, and ready to do unto his Grace ſuch Service as they can deviſe or imagine may be beſt to his contentation, and to the diſcharge of their Duties towards his Highneſs, leaving apart all Reſpects and Affections in all Matters that may touch their higheſt Kinſman, Friend, Servant, Tenant, or others, when the ſame ſhall come in queſtion before the ſame Lord Preſident or Council. So his Grace truſteth that every of the ſame will have ſuch regard to Malefactors as appertaineth, and to bring all ſuch unto the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, when they ſhall be thereunto appointed, or may otherwiſe do it of themſelves; informing the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council of their Offences, as the ſame ſhall happen, in place where they have Rule and Authority, within the limits of their Commiſſion.

And forſomuch as it ſhould be very chargeable to many of the ſaid Councellors, if they ſhould continually attend upon the ſaid Lord Preſident & Council, therfore his Highneſs, of his Grace's Goodneſs, minding to eaſe that Charge, and to inſtruct every of the ſaid Councellors how to demean themſelves for their Attendance; that is, to wit, who ſhall be

be bound to continual Attendance upon the ſame Council, and who ſhall attend but at times moſt requiſite, at their pleaſures, unleſs the ſame Lord Preſident ſhall require them to remain for a time, for ſome weighty Affairs or Purpoſes; the which Requeſts in ſuch Caſes, every of them ſhall accompliſh. His Majeſty therefore ordaineth that his Couſins, the Earls of *Weſtmoreland* and *Cumberland*, the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Conyers*, the Lord *Wharton*, Sir *John Bland*, Sir *Edmond Molineux*, Sir *Henry Savell*, Sir *Nicholas Fairfax*, *George Conyers*, *Anthony Nevil*, Knights; *Robert Mennel* Serjeant at Law; *Anthony Bellaſis*, *John Rockbey* Doctor of Law, and *Richard Norton*, ſhall not be bound to continual Attendance, but to go and come at their pleaſures, unleſs they be required by the ſaid Lord Preſident to remain with him for a time, for ſome weighty and great Cauſes which then they ſhall accompliſh.

And further, his Grace's Pleaſure is, that they ſhall be preſent at ſuch of the general Sittings as ſhall be kept near unto their dwelling Places, and at other Sittings and Places, where they ſhall be commanded by the ſaid L. Preſident, all Excuſes ſet apart as appetaineth. And becauſe it ſhall be convenient that a Number ſhall be continully abiding with the ſaid L. Preſident, with whom he may conſult and commit the Charge and Hearing of ſuch Matters as ſhall be exhibited unto him for the more expedition of the ſame, his Highneſs, by theſe Preſents, doth ordain, that Sir *Robert Bowes*, Sir *William Babthorp*, Sir *Leonard Beckwith*, Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, Knights; *Robert Chaloner*, and *Thomas Eyre* Secretary, Eſquires, ſhall give their continual attendance on the ſaid Lord Preſident, or at the leaſt two of them; and that none of them, appointed to continual Attendance on the ſaid Lord Preſident, ſhall depart at any time from him, without his ſpecial Licence, and the ſame not to exceed above ſix weeks at one ſeaſon.

And his Highneſs, by theſe Preſents, for the better entertainment of the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council of both ſorts, when they are, or any of them ſhall be preſent, doth give a yearly Stipend of 1000 *l.* by the Year to the ſaid Lord Preſident, towards the Furniture of the Diet of himſelf and the reſt of the ſaid Councellors, with ſuch number of Servants as hereafter ſhall be appointed and allowed to every of them; that is, to wit, every Knight, being bound to continual Attendance, four Servants; and every Eſquire, being bound to like Attendance, three Servants. And his Highneſs ordaineth every of the ſaid Counſellors, to ſit with the ſaid Lord Preſident at his Table, or in ſome other place in his Houſe, to be by him conveniently prepared for their Degrees and Behaviours; and their Servants allowed, as is before ſaid, to have Sitting and Diet in the ſaid Lord Preſident's Hall, or in ſome other convenient place in his Houſe.

And further, his Highneſs, of his meer Goodneſs, and great Benignity, for the better entreatment, as well of ſuch of the ſaid Council as be not well able to forbear their own Affairs, and attend upon the ſaid Council, without further help for the charge of the Horſemeat and Lodgings, when they ſhall attend in Council to ſerve his Highneſs. As for ſuch others that might better themſelves with their Learning and Policies, if they were not detained there about his Grace's Affairs, doth by theſe Preſents limit and appoint, to divers of the

the aforesaid Councellors hereafter named, certain particular Fees, as ensueth; that is to say, To Sir *Robert Bowes* Kt. in respect of his Attendance, and towards his Horse-meat and other Charges, an hundred Merks yearly; to Sir *William Babthorp* Kt. for the like, 50 *l.* yearly; to Sir *Leonard Becquith*, for the like causes, an 100 Merks yearly; to Sir *Thomas Gargrave* Kt. for the like, 50 *l.* yearly; to *Robert Chaloner* Esquire, for the like, 50 *l.* yearly; to *Richard Norton* Esq; for his Fee, 40 *l.* to *Thomas Eymis* Secretary, for the like yearly Fee, 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* And further, his Grace doth appoint one Messenger to serve the said Council, who shall give continual attendance upon the said Lord President, and have his Meat, Drink, and Lodging, in the said Lord Presidents House, and to have yearly for his Fee, 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* And further, his Grace's pleasure is, That the said 1000 *l.* for the Lord President, and all the said other Fees, shall be paid yearly at the Feasts of the Annunciation of our *Lady*, and St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel, by even Portions, of the Revenues of his Grace's Lands in those parts; and that for that purpose an Assignment and Warrant to be made to the Receiver General of his Grace's Revenues there.

And to furnish the said Lord President and Council in all things with Authority sufficient to execute Justice, as well in Causes Criminal, as in Matters of Controversy between Party and Party, his Majesty hath commanded and appointed two Commissions to be made out, under his Grace's Great Seal of *England*, by virtue whereof they shall have full Power and Authority in either Case, to proceed as the Matter occurrent shall require.

And for the more speedy expedition to be used in all Causes of Justice, his Majesty's Pleasure is, That the said Lord President and Council, shall cause every Complainant and Defendant that shall have to do before them, to put and declare their whole Matter in their Bill of Complaint and Answer, without Replication, Rejoinder, or other Plea or Delay to be had or used therein; which Order the said L. President and Council shall manifest unto all such as shall be Counsellors in any Matter to be intreated and defined before them; charging and commanding the said Councellors and Pleaders to observe this Order, upon such Penalties as they shall think convenient, as they will eschew the danger of the same; and not in any ways to break it, without the special License of the said Lord President, and that only in some special Causes.

And further, his Highness, by these Presents, doth give full Power and Authority to the said Lord President and Council, as well to punish such Persons as in any thing shall neglect, contemn, or disobey their Commandments, or the Process of the Council, as all other that shall speak seditious Words, invent Rumors, or commit such-like Offences, (not being Treason) whereof any Inconvenience might grow, by Pillory, cutting their Ears, wearing of Papers, Imprisonment, or otherwise at their Discretions. And the said L. President and Council, at their discretions, shall appoint Counsellors, and other Requisites, to poor Suitors having no Mony, without paying Fees or other things for the same. And his Highness giveth full Power and Authority to the said L. President & Council being with him, or four of them at the least; whereof the said L. President, Sir *John Hind*, Sir *Edmond Molineux*, Sir *Robert Bowes*,

Sir

Sir *Leonard Becquith*, Sir *Anthony Nevill*, Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, Knights; *Robert Mennell*, and *Robert Chaloner*, to be two with the Lord Preſident, to aſſeſs Fines of all Perſons that ſhall be convict or indicted of any Riot, how many ſoever they be in number, unleſs the Matter of ſuch Riot ſhall be thought unto them of ſuch importance, as the ſame ſhall be meet to be ſignified unto his Majeſty, to be puniſhed in ſuch ſort, by the Order of his Council attending upon his Grace's Perſon, as the ſame may be noted for an example to others. And his Grace giveth full Power and Authority to the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, or four of them at the leaſt, whereof the Lord Preſident and two others bound to continual Attendance, to be three, to Award and Aſſeſs Coſts and Dammages, as well to the Plaintiffs as to the Defendants, by their diſcretions, and to award execution of their Decrees and Orders; and to puniſh the breakers of the ſame, being Parties thereunto, by their diſcretions: All which Decrees and Orders, the Secretary ſhall be bound incontinently, upon the promulgation of the ſame, to write, or cauſe to be written, in one fair Book, which ſhall remain in the Hands and Cuſtody of the ſaid Lord Preſident.

And to the intent it may appear to all Perſons there, what Fees ſhall be paid and taken for all Proceſſes and Writings to be uſed by the ſaid Council, his Majeſty therefore appointeth, that there ſhall be a Table affixed in every place where the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall ſit, at any Seſſions; and a like Table to hang openly, that all Men may ſee it, in the Office where the ſaid Secretary and the Clerks ſhall commonly ſit and expedite the ſaid Writings; wherein ſhall be declared what ſhall be paid for the ſame. That is to ſay, For every Recogniſance, wherein one alone or more ſtandeth bounden, 12 *d.* For the cancelling of every like Recogniſance, 12 *d.* For the entring of every Decree, 6 *d.* for the Copy of the ſame, if it be asked, 6 *d.* For every Letter, Commiſſion, Attachment, or other Precept or Proceſs ſent to any Perſon, 4 *d.* For every Diſmiſſion before the ſaid Council (if it be asked) 4 *d.* For the Copies of Bills, and Anſwers, and other Pleas, for every ten lines, reaſonably writ, 1 *d.* For the Examination of every Witneſs, 4 *d.* And his Grace's Pleaſure is, That the Examination of Witneſſes, produced in Matters before the ſaid Council, ſhall be examined by ſuch diſcreet Perſon and Perſons, as ſhall be thought convenient and meet by the ſaid Lord Preſident, and two of the ſaid Council, bound to continual Attendance; and that the ſaid Lord Preſident, with ſuch-like two of the ſaid Council, ſhall reform, appoint, and allow ſuch Perſons to write Bills, Anſwers, Copies, or other Proceſs in that Court, as they ſhall think convenient, over and beſide the ſaid Secretary and his two Clerks; which Clerks alſo, the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall reform and correct, as they ſhall have cauſe and occaſion. In which Reformation and Appointments, the ſaid Lord Preſident ſhall have a Voice Negative.

And for the more certain and brief determination of Matters in thoſe parts, his Majeſty, by theſe Preſents, ordaineth, that the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall keep four general Sittings or Seſſions in the Year, every of them to continue by the ſpace of one whole Month; whereof one to be at *York*; another at *Kingſton* upon *Hull*; one at *New-Caſtle*; and another at *Dureſme*; within the limits whereof,

the Matters rising there shall be ordeted and decreed, if they conveniently so may be. And they shall, in every of the same Places, keep one Goal Delivery; before their departure from thence, his Grace nevertheless referring it to their Discretions, to take and appoint such other Place and Places for their said four general Sittings, as they, or the said Lord President, with three of the Council, bounden to continual Attendance, shall think most convenient for the time and purpose; so that they keep the full term of one Month in every such place, if they may in any wise conveniently so do.

And forsomuch as a great number of his Majesty's Tenants and Farmers have been heretofore retained with sundry Persons by Wages, Livery, Badg, or Connysance; by reason whereof, when his Grace should have had service of them, they were rather at Commandment of other Men, than (according to their Duties of Allegiance) of his Highness of whom they have their Livings; his Majesty's Pleasure, and express Commandment is, That none of his said Council, nor others, shall by any means retain or entertain any of his Grace's Tenants, or Farmers in such sort, as they, or any of them, should account themselves bounden to do him or them any other Service, than as to his Highness Officers, having Office, or being appointed in Service there: unless the same Farmers and Tenants be continually attendant in the House of him that shall retain them. And the said Lord President and Council, shall, in every their General Sittings, give special notice and charge, That no Nobleman, nor other, shall retain any of the said Tenants and Farmers, otherwise than is aforesaid. Charging also the said Farmers and Tenants, upon pain of the forfeiture of their Farms and Holds, and incurring of his Majesty's further Displeasure and Indignation, in no wise to agree to any such Retainers, other than is beforesaid, but wholly to depend upon his Highness, and upon such as his Highness hath, or shall appoint to be Officers, Rulers, or Directors over them.

And his Grace's Pleasure further is, That in every such Sitting, and in all other Places where the said Lord President and Council shall have any notable Assemblies before them, they shall give strait Charge and Commandment to the People, to conform themselves in all things to the observation of such Laws, Ordinances, and Determinations, as be made, passed, and agreed upon by his Grace's Parliament touching Religion, and the most Godly Service, set forth in their own Mother Tongue, for their Comforts: And likewise to the Laws touching the abolishing of the usurped and pretended Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, whose Abuses they shall so beat into their Heads, by continual inculcation, as they may smell and understand the same; and may perceive the same to be declared with their Hearts, and not with their Tongues only for a Form.

And likewise they shall declare the Order and Determination taken and agreed upon, for the abrogation of certain vain Holy Days, being appointed by the Bishop of *Rome* to blind the World; and to persuade the same, that they might make Saints at their pleasures; and thereby, through idleness, do give occasion of the increase of many and great Vices and Inconveniences: which Points his Majesty doth earnestly require, and straitly command, the said Lord President and Council, to set forth with

with all dexterity, and to puniſh extreamly, for example, all Offenders in the ſame.

And his Majeſty willeth the ſaid Council, as he doubteth not but they will moſt earneſtly ſet forth all ſuch other Things and Matters, as for the confirmation of the People in thoſe Matters, and other the King's Majeſty's Proceedings, and things convenient to be remembred, be, or ſhall be ſet forth or deviſed, and ſent unto them for that purpoſe.

Further, his Highneſs Pleaſure is, That the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall, from time to time, make diligent inquiſition of the wrongful taking in and incloſing of Commons, and other Grounds, and who be extream therein; and in taking and exacting of unreaſonable Fines and Greſſomes, and overing or raiſing of Rents; and to call the Parties that have ſo evil uſed themſelves therein before them; and leaving all Reſpects and Affections apart, they ſhall take ſuch order for the Redreſſes of Enormities uſed in the ſame, as the poor People be not oppreſſed; but that they may live after their Sorts and Qualities.

And if it ſhall chance that the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall vary in Opinion, either in the Law, or for any Order to be taken in any Matter or Fact before them, if the caſe be of very great Weight and Importance, then the Opinion of the greater, or more part of the number of Counſellors appointed to give continual attendance, ſhall take place, and determine the Doubt; and if they be of like number of Counſellors, bounden to continual attendance, then that Party whereunto the Lord Preſident ſhall give his Aſſent, ſhall be followed and take place. And if the Caſe and Matter be of great Importance, and the Queſtion of the Law, then the Lord Preſident and Council ſhall ſignify the Caſe and Matter to the Judges at *Weſtminſter*, who ſhall, with diligence, advertiſe them again of their Opinions therein. And if the Matter be of great Importance, and an Order to be taken upon the Fact, then the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, attendant upon his Perſon upon the ſame, whereupon they ſhall have knowledg again how to uſe themſelves in that behalf.

And the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall take ſpecial regard, upon complaint of Spoil, Extortions, or Oppreſſions, to examine the ſame ſpeedily, that the Party grieved may have due and undelayed Remedy and Reſtitution. And for want of Ability in the Offenders thereunto, they to be puniſhed to the Example of others. And if any Man, of what degree ſoever he be, ſhall, upon a good, lawful, and reaſonable Cauſe or Matter, and ſo appearing to the Lord Preſident and Council, by Information, or otherwiſe, demand Surety of Peace or Juſtice againſt any great Lord or Nobleman of that Country, the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council ſhall, in that caſe, grant the Petition of the pooreſt Man, againſt the richeſt or greateſt Lord, being of the Council or no, as they ſhould grant the ſame (being lawfully asked) againſt Men of the meaneſt ſort, degree, and behaviour.

And foraſmuch as it may chance, the ſaid Lord Preſident to be ſometime diſeaſed, that he ſhall not be able to travel, for the direction of ſuch Matters as then ſhall occur; or to be called to the Parliament, or otherwiſe

wiſe to be imployed in the King's Majeſty's Affairs, or about other Buſineſs, for good Reformation or Order within his Rule, or for other reaſonable cauſe by his diſcretion; To the intent therefore that the ſaid Council may be and remain ever full and perfect, and that they may be at all times in the ſame, one Perſon to direct and uſe all things in ſuch and the ſame order, ſort, and form, as the ſaid Lord Preſident ſhould and might do, by virtue of the afore-ſaid's Commiſſions, and theſe Injunctions, his Majeſty's Pleaſure is, That when the ſaid Lord Preſident ſhall be ſo diſeaſed, abſent, or letted, as is before-ſaid, that he cannot conveniently ſupply his room himſelf, that then he ſhall name and appoint one of the ſaid Commiſſioners, being appointed, to give continual attendance, to ſupply his Room for that ſeaſon, during his ſaid Diſeaſe, Abſence, or Lett; and ſhall deliver the Signet to the Perſon ſo appointed to keep, during the ſame time. And the King's Highneſs, during the ſame time, giveth unto the ſaid Perſon ſo appointed, the Name of Vice-Preſident; which Name nevertheleſs he ſhall no longer continue, than during the time that the ſaid Lord Preſident ſhall ſo be ſick, abſent, or letted, as is before-ſaid. And his Majeſty's Pleaſure is, That for the time only, that any of the ſaid Council, as is before-ſaid, ſhall occupy the ſaid Room and Place as a Vice-Preſident, that all the reſt of the Council ſhall in all things uſe him in like ſort, and with like reverence, as they be bound by thoſe Injunctions to uſe the Lord Preſident himſelf; whereunto his Grace doubteth not but every of them will conform themſelves accordingly.

And further, his Majeſty by theſe Preſents giveth full Power and Authority to the ſaid Lord Preſident and Council, That when the Condition of any Recogniſance taken before them ſhall be fulfilled, they ſhall, in open Court, cauſe the ſame to be cancelled for the diſcharge of the Parties: Provided that no Recogniſance be in any wiſe cancelled but before the Lord Preſident, or Vice-Preſident, and three others at the leaſt, ſitting in open Court with him.

And further, his Highneſs ordaineth, That no Attorney ſhall take, in one Sitting or Seſſions, for one Matter, above 12 *d.* nor no Counſellor above 20 *d.*

The reſt are wanting.

Number

Number 57.

The Memorial of the Charge committed by the King's Majeſty to Sir Richard Moriſon *Kt. his Majeſty's Ambaſſador with the Emperor, the 24th of* September.

An Original.

FIrſt, You Sir *Richard Moriſon* ſhall, with all diligence, procure Audience of our good Brother the Emperor; and at your acceſs to him, deliver our Letters of Credence herewith ſent to you, with our moſt hearty Commendations, and earneſt Declaration, That we be moſt glad to have underſtanding of his good Eſtate and Health. After the ſame Delivery and Salutation, you ſhall further ſay, That we underſtanding his good and honourable Advancement towards his *Low Countries*, to the great comfort of the ſame. And having alſo the ſame love and good-will towards the proſperous ſucceſs of his ſaid Countries, that our late Father, and our other Progenitors have had theſe many Years paſſed, have willed you expreſly in our Names, to congratulate this his coming thitherward, and to ſhew him, that the good Succeſs which We wiſh to him, and his Affairs and Enterpriſes, as much as We would to our Selves, and our own Countries and Patrimonies. *Galba.* B. 12.

Item. When you ſhall have opened thus much, with as good words as you may deviſe, ye ſhall begin to deſcend to this that followeth, uſing therein your earneſtneſs and frankneſs, as ye ſhall ſee by the former ſayings, occaſion given to you by our ſaid Brother's Acceptation thereof, either by his good Words, or other behaviour in his Geſture. Ye ſhall ſay, that where we have lately underſtood of the great Murders, Spoils, and Cruelties done and committed, both in *Hungary*, and upon the Coaſts of *Naples*, and in other parts of *Italy*, by the Turks, the old common Enemy to the Name and Religion of all Chriſtianity. Likeas We cannot but from our very Heart lament the ſame, ſo We will, for our part, as may be thought expedient for the Weal-publick of Chriſtendom, ſhew our ſelf willing to accord with our ſaid good Brother, and other Chriſtian Princes and States, for the repulſe of the ſaid Turk. And if any ſuch good means may, by the great Wiſdom and Policy of our ſaid good Brother the Emperor, be thought good and deviſed, to bring the ſame to ſome good purpoſe and effect; We for our part will ſhew our Self ſo ready and well-willing thereto, as our ſaid good Brother ſhall well percieve, that We have not only that Zeal to the Conſervation and Surety of Chriſtendom, which in a Chriſtian Prince is duly required; but alſo ſuch conſideration and regard to our ſaid good Brother, and our ancient Amity with the Houſe of *Burgundy*, as to Honour and Reaſon appertaineth.

Thus much being declared in ſuch good ſort, as you ſhall ſee occaſion doth require; We would that you ſhould ſtay and pauſe awhile, as it were, looking for ſome anſwer to be made hereto by our ſaid good Brother;

Brother; and if you ſhall perceive he taketh it in thankful part, then may you entertain the Talk modeſtly, with ſuch good words as may ſeem to your Wiſdom beſt to confirm our good Affection to the continuance of the Amity, and our great Offence and Grief, with the entry of the Turks in Chriſtendom.

And if you ſhall perceive that the Emperor doth in ſo good part receive this our Overture, that he ſhall ſhew himſelf willing to enter any further Talk, or deviſe for the further proceeding in the ſame, you may, as of your ſelf, ſhew your readineſs and good-will to do all that you any ways well may, as a good Miniſter, for the bringing this purpoſe to ſome profitable effect; which you may ſay, in your own Opinion, ſhall the better take good entry and ſucceſs, if by ſome ſpecial Man to be ſent hither, We might underſtand more fully Our ſaid good Brother's Mind in this Matter.

Item. If ye ſhall perceive that the Emperor doth not regard this Overture, either in not liking the Matter it ſelf, or not ſo regarding our Amity as Reaſon would, and as it is on our part offered, then may you uſe your ſelf more coldly, and diminiſh the declaration of Our earneſtneſs, in like ſort as Our ſaid Brother ſheweth himſelf; and conclude, that thus having done the Meſſage committed to your Charge, you will leave the conſideration hereof to him as he ſhall think good.

And if in the opening of the Premiſes, Our ſaid Brother ſhall make any mention or interpretation againſt the French King, referring the Turks Invaſions to the ſaid French King as ſome occaſion thereof; and ſo ſhall demand, directly or indirectly, whether this our Overture be meant to extend againſt the French King, or any others of Chriſtian Name that ſhall join in League or Amity with the ſaid Turks. You may thereto ſay, That you had no more in charge preſently than ye have ſaid; and therefore for further opening of our Mind therein, you think the ſame might be beſt had here.

And if at any time of this your Talk, our ſaid Brother ſhall gather occaſion to ask you, What We will do for giving Aid againſt theſe Invaſions made by the French King upon the *Low Countries?* You may anſwer, you have nothing to ſay therein, but that you think the Anſwer that was declared to his Ambaſſador here reſident upon the Letters ſent to Us from our good Siſter the Queen of *Hungary*, hath both been ſignified to him long before his time; and alſo as ye truſt in reaſon contented Her. And in this Point, although ye know what was anſwered, yet would we not ye ſhould enter into the diſpute thereof, meaning in this and the reſt of things to be treated with Our ſaid Brother, that ye would rather procure the ſending of ſome ſpecial Man hither, than to treat any thing by his Ambaſſador here, who hitherto hath not appeared the fitteſt Man to encreaſe or enlarge the Amity betwixt Us and Our ſaid Brother.

Finally, Our Pleaſure is, That you ſhall, in the execution of this preſent Charge, wholly extend your good Policy and Wiſdom, to mark and well-adviſe all ſuch words of moment, as the Emperor ſhall utter to you in this Talk, by what Order, Behaviour, Geſture, or other paſſion of Joy or Grief the ſame ſhall be ſpoken, ſo as We may ſimply

ſimply, plainly, and very orderly have the true Declaration thereof from you; wherein We deſire ſo expreſs and ſpecial a Report of this Matter, as upon the ſame We may better conceive what ſhall be expedient to be further done in this, and other our weighty Affairs.

Wincheſter.
Northumberland.
J. Bedford.
F. Huntingdon.
E. Clinton.
W. Northampton.
J. Cobham.
T. Darcy.
Richard Cotton.
John Gate.

Number 58.

A Letter written by *B. Ridley*, ſetting out the Sins of that Time.

To his Well-beloved, the Preachers within the Dioceſs of London.

After hearty Commendations, having regard, eſpecially at this time, to the Wrath of God, who hath plagued us diverſly, and now with extream puniſhment of ſudden Death poured upon us, for Cauſes certain, known unto his high and ſecret Judgment, and as may ſeem unto Man for our wicked living; daily encreaſing unto ſuch ſort, that not only in our Converſations the Fear of God is, alas, far gone from before our Eyes, but alſo the World is grown into that uncharitableneſs, that one, as it appeareth plainly, goeth about to devour another; moved with inſatiable Covetouſneſs, both contrary to God's Word and Will, and to the extream peril and damnation of Chriſt's Flock, bought ſo dearly with his precious Blood, and to the utter deſtruction of this whole Common-Wealth, except God's Anger be ſhortly appeaſed: wherein, as according to my bounden Duty I ſhall, God willing, in my own Perſon be diligent and labour; ſo I exhort and require you, firſt in God's Name, and by authority of him committed unto me in that behalf, and alſo in the King's Majeſty's Name, from whom I have Authority and ſpecial Commandment thus to do, That as you are called to be ſetters forth of God's Word, and to expreſs in your livings the ſame, ſo now in your Exhortations and Sermons, you do moſt wholeſomely and earneſtly tell unto Men their Sins, *Juxta illud annuncia populo meo ſcelera eorum*, with God's Puniſhments lately poured upon us for the ſame, now before our Eyes; and ſpecially to beat down and deſtroy, with all your Power and Wit, that greedy and devouring Serpent of Covetouſneſs, that doth ſo now univerſally reign: calling upon God for Repentance, and provoking to Common Prayer, and Amendment of life, with moſt earneſt Petitions, that hereby God's Hands may be ſtaied, the World amended, and Obedience of Subjects, and Faithfulneſs of Miniſters declared accordingly. Thus I bid you heartily well to fare. From *London*, *July* 25. 1551. Regiſt. *Ridl.* Fol. 239.

Yours in Chriſt, *Nic. London.*

Number

Number 59.

Bishop Ridley's *Letter to the Protector, concerning the Visitation of the University of* Cambridg.

Right Honourable,

I Wish your Grace the holy and wholesome Fear of God, because I am persuaded your Grace's Goodness to be such unfeignedly, that even wherein your Grace's Letters doth sore blame me, yet in the same the advertisement of the Truth shall not displease you Grace; and also perceiving that the cause of your Grace's discontentation was wrong Information, therefore I shall beseech your Grace to give me leave to shew your Grace, wherein it appeareth to me that your Grace is wrong informed.

Your Grace's Letters blameth me, because I did not (at the first, before the Visitation began, having knowledg of the Matter) shew my Mind; the Truth is, Before God, I never had, nor could get any fore-knowledg of the Matter, of the uniting of the two Colleges, before we had begun, and had entred two days in the Visitation, and that your Grace may plainly thus well perceive.

A little before *Easter*, I being at *Rochester*, received Letters from Mr. Secretary *Smith*, and the Dean of *Pauls*, to come to the Visitation of the University, and to make a Sermon at the beginning thereof; whereupon I sent immediately a Servant up to *London*, to the Dean of *Pauls*, desiring of him to have had some knowledg of things there to be done, because I thought it meet that my Sermon should somewhat have savoured of the same.

From Mr. *Dean* I received a Letter, instructing me only, That the cause of the Visitation was, to abolish Statutes and Ordinances, which maintained Papistry, Superstition, Blindness and Ignorance; and to establish and set forth, such as might further God's Word and good Learning; and else, the Truth is, he would shew me nothing, but bad me be careless, and said, There was Informations how all things was for to be done; the which, I take God to Witness, I did never see, nor could get knowledg what they were, before we were entred in the Visitation two days, although I desired to have seen them in the beginning.

Now, when I had seen the Instructions, the Truth is, I thought peradventure, the Master and Company would have surrendred up their College; but when their consent, after labour and travel taken therein two days, could not be obtained, and then we began secretly to consult (all the Commissioners thinking it best that every Man should say his Mind plainly, that in execution there might appear but one way to be taken of all) there when it was seen to some, that without the consent of the present Incumbents, by the King's absolute Power, we might proceed to the uniting of the two Colleges, I did, in my course simply and plainly declare my Conscience, and that there only secretly, among our selves alone, with all kind of softness, so that no Man could be

justly

juſtly offended. Alſo, I perceive, by your Grace's Letters, I have been noted of ſome for my barking there; and yet to bark, leſt God ſhould be offended, I cannot deny, but indeed it is a part of my Profeſſion, for God's Word condemneth the dumb Dogs that will not bark and give warning of God's Diſpleaſure.

As for that that was ſuggeſted to your Grace, that by my aforeſaid barking, I ſhould diſhonour the King's Majeſty, and diſſuade others from the Execution of the King's Commiſſion, God is my Judg, I intended, according to my Duty to God and the King, the maintenance and defence of his Highneſs Royal Honour and Dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true, which the Prophet ſaith, *Honor Regis Judicium diligit*; and as the Commiſſioners muſt needs, and I am ſure will all teſtify, that I diſſuaded no Man, but contrariwiſe, exhorted every Man (with the quiet of other) to ſatisfy their own Conſcience; deſiring only, that if it ſhould otherwiſe be ſeen unto them, that I might, either by my abſenſe or ſilence, ſatisfy mine. The which my plainneſs, when ſome, otherwiſe than according to my expectation did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the good Opinion I had, and yet have, in your Grace's Goodneſs; and alſo ſpecially, becauſe your Grace had commanded me ſo to do) to open my mind, by my private Letters, freely unto your Grace.

And thus I truſt your Grace perceiveth now, both that anon, after knowledg had, I did utter my Conſcience; and alſo that the Matter was not opened unto me before the Viſitation was two days begun.

If in this I did amiſs, that before the knowledg of the Inſtructions, I was ready to grant to the Execution of the Commiſſion; Truly, I had rather herein acknowledg my Fault, and ſubmit my ſelf to your Grace's Correction, then after knowledg had, then wittingly and willingly commit that thing whereunto my Conſcience doth not agree, for fear of God's diſpleaſure.

It is a Godly Wiſh that is wiſhed in your Grace's Letters, that Fleſh, and Blood, and Country, might not more weigh with ſome Men than Godlineſs and Reaſon; but the truth is, Country in this Matter (whatſoever ſome Men do ſuggeſt unto your Grace) ſhall not move me; and that your Grace ſhall well perceive, for I ſhall be as ready, as any other, firſt thence to expel ſome of my own Country, if the Report which is made of them can be tried true.

And as for that your Grace ſaith of Fleſh and Blood, that is, the favour or fear of Mortal Man. Yea, marry Sir, that is a Matter of weight indeed, and the truth is, (alas my own feebleneſs) of that I am afraid; but I beſeech your Grace, yet once again, give me good leave, wherein here I fear my own frailty, to confeſs the Truth.

Before God, there is no Man this day, (leaving the King's Majeſty for the Honour only excepted) whoſe favour or diſpleaſure I do either ſeek or fear, as your Grace's favour or diſpleaſure; for of God, both your Grace's Authority, and my bound Duty for your Grace's Benefits bind me ſo to do. So that if the deſire of any Man's favour, or fear of diſpleaſure, ſhould weigh more with me than Godlineſs and Reaſon.

Truly, if I may be bold to ſay the Truth, I muſt needs ſay, that I am moſt in danger to offend herein, either for deſire of your Grace's favour, or for fear of your Grace's diſpleaſure. And yet I ſhall not ceaſe (God willing) daily to pray God ſo to ſtay and ſtrengthen my frailty with holy Fear, that I do not commit the thing for favour or fear of any mortal Man, whereby my Conſcience may threaten me with the loſs of the favour of the Living God, but that it may pleaſe him, of his gracious Goodneſs, (howſoever the World goes) to blow this in the Ears of my Heart, *Deus diſſipavit oſſa eorum qui Hominibus placuerint.* And this, *Horrendum eſt incidere in manus Dei viventis.* And again, *Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus.*

Wherefore I moſt humbly beſeech your Grace, for God's Love, not to be offended with me, for renewing of this my Suit unto your Grace, which is that whereunto my Conſcience cannot well agree; if any ſuch thing chance in this Viſitation, I may, with your Grace's Favour, have licenſe, either by mine abſence or ſilence, or other-like means, to keep my Conſcience quiet. I wiſh your Grace, in God, honour, and endleſs felicity. From *Pembrook-hall* in *Cambridg*, *June* 1. 1549.

Your Grace's humble and daily Orator,

Nich. Roffen.

Number 60.

The Protector's Anſwer to the former Letter.

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

AFter our right hearty Commendations to your Lordſhip, we have received your Letters of the firſt of *June*, again replying to thoſe which we laſt ſent unto you. And as it appeareth, ye yet remaining in your former Requeſt, deſires, if things do occur ſo, that, according to your Conſcience, ye cannot do them, that you might abſent your ſelf, or otherwiſe keep ſilence. We would be loth any thing ſhould be done by the King's Majeſty's Viſitors, otherwiſe than Right and Conſcience might allow and approve: And Viſitation is to direct things to the better, not to the worſe; to eaſe Conſciences, not to clog them. Marry, we would wiſh that Executors thereof ſhould not be ſcrupulous in Conſcience, otherwiſe than Reaſon would. Againſt your Conſcience, it is not our Will to move you, as we would not gladly do, or move any Man to that which is againſt Right and Conſcience; and we truſt the King's Majeſty hath not in this Matter. And we think in this ye do much wrong, and much diſcredit the other Viſitors, that ye ſhould ſeem to think and ſuppoſe, that they would do things againſt Conſcience. We take them to be Men of that Honour and Honeſty, that they will not. My Lord of *Canterbury* hath declared unto us, that this maketh partly a Conſcience unto you, that Divines ſhould be diminiſhed. That can be no cauſe; for, firſt, the ſame was met before in the late King's Time, to unite the two Colleges together; as we are ſure ye have heard, and Sir *Edward North* can tell: And

And for that cauſe, all ſuch as were Students of the Law, out of the new-erected Cathedral Church, were diſappointed of their Livings, only reſerved to have been in that Civil College. The King's Hall being in manner all Lawyers, Canoniſts were turned and joined to *Michael*-Houſe, and made a College of Divines, wherewith the number of Divines was much augmented, Civillians diminiſhed. Now at this preſent alſo, if in all other Colleges, where Lawyers be by the Statutes, or the King's Injunctions, ye do convert them, or the more part of them, to Divines, ye ſhall rather have more Divines upon this change than ye had before. The *King*'s College ſhould have ſix Lawyers; *Jeſus* College ſome; the *Queen*'s College, and other, one or two apiece. And as we are informed, by the late King's Injunctions, every College in *Cambridg* one at the leaſt; all theſe together do make a greater in number, than the Fellows of *Clare-Hall* be, and they now made Divines, and the Statutes in that Reformed Divinity ſhall not be diminiſhed in number of Students, but encreaſed, as appeareth, although theſe two Colleges be ſo united. And we are ſure ye are not ignorant, how neceſſary a Study that Study of Civil Law is to all Treaties with Forreign Princes and Strangers, and how few there be at this preſent to do the King's Majeſty's Service therein. For we would the encreaſe of Divines, as well as you. Marry, Neceſſity compelleth us alſo to maintain the Science; and we require you, my Lord, to have conſideration how much you do hinder the King's Majeſty's Proceedings in that Viſitation, if now you, who are one of the Viſitors, ſhould thus draw back and diſcourage the other, ye ſhould much hinder the whole Doings; and peradventure that thing known, maketh the Maſter and Fellows of *Clare-Hall* to ſtand the more obſtinate; wherefore we require you to have regard of the King's Majeſty's Honour, and the quiet performings of that Viſitation, moſt to the Glory of God, and Benefit of that Univerſity; the which thing is only meant in your Inſtructions. To the performing of that, and in that manner, we can be content you uſe your Doings as ye think beſt, for the quieting of your Conſcience. Thus we bid you right-heartily farewel. From *Richmond*, the 10*th* of *June*, 1549.

Your loving Friend,

E. Somerſet.

Number 61.

A Letter of Cranmer's *to King* Henry *the* 8th, *concerning a further Reformation, and againſt Sacrilege.*

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

IT may pleaſe your Highneſs to be advertiſed; that foraſmuch as I might not tarry my ſelf at *London*, becauſe I had appointed, the next day after that I departed from your Majeſty, to be at *Rocheſter*, to meet the next Morning all the Commiſſioners of *Kent* at *Sittingbourn*; therefore the ſame Night that I returned from *Hampton-Court* to *Lambeth*, I ſent for the Biſhop of *Worceſter* incontinently, and declared unto him all your Majeſty's Pleaſure, in ſuch things as your Majeſty willed me to be done. And firſt, where your Majeſty's Pleaſure was, to have the Names of ſuch Perſons as your Highneſs, in times paſt, appointed to make Laws Eccleſiaſtical for your Grace's Realm. The Biſhop of *Worceſter* promiſed me, with all ſpeed, to enquire out their Names, and the Book which they made, and to bring the Names, and alſo the Book, unto your Majeſty; which I truſt he hath done before this time.

And as concerning the ringing of Bells upon *Allhallow*-day at Night, and covering of Images in *Lent*, and creeping to the Croſs, he thought it neceſſary that a Letter of your Majeſty's Pleaſure therein, ſhould be ſent by your Grace unto the two Arch-Biſhops; and we to ſend the ſame to all other Prelats within your Grace's Realm. And if it be your Majeſty's Pleaſure ſo to do, I have for more ſpeed herein drawn a Minute of a Letter, which your Majeſty may alter at your Pleaſure. Nevertheleſs, in my Opinion, when ſuch things be altered or taken away, there would be ſet forth ſome Doctrine therewith, which ſhould declare the Cauſe of the Aboliſhing or Alteration, for to ſatisfy the Conſcience of the People: For if the Honouring of the Croſs, as creeping and kneeling thereunto, be taken away, it ſhall ſeem to many that be ignorant, that the Honour of Chriſt is taken away, unleſs ſome good teaching be ſet forth withal to inſtruct them ſufficiently therein; which if your Majeſty command the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, with other your Grace's Chaplains to make, the People ſhall obey your Majeſty's Commandment willingly; giving thanks to your Majeſty that they know the Truth, which elſe they would obey with murmuration and grutching. And it ſhall be a ſatisfaction unto all other Nations, when they ſhall ſee your Majeſty do nothing but by the Authority of God's Word, and to the ſetting forth of God's Honour, and not diminiſhing thereof. And thus Almighty God keep your Majeſty in his Preſervation and Governance. From my Manor at *Beckisbourn*, the 24*th* of *January*, 45.

Your Graces moſt bounden Chaplain

and Beadſman.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

I Beſeech your Majeſty, that I may be a Suitor unto the ſame, for your Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*; who to their great unquietneſs, and alſo great Charges, do alienate their Lands daily, and as it is ſaid, by your Majeſty's Commandment. But this I am ſure, that other Men have gotten their beſt Lands, and not your Majeſty. Wherefore this is mine only Suit, That when your Majeſty's Pleaſure ſhall be to have any of their Lands, that they may have ſome Letter from your Majeſty, to declare your Majeſty's Pleaſure, without the which they be ſworn, that they ſhall make no Alienation. And that the ſame Alienation be not made at other Mens pleaſures, but only to your Majeſty's Uſe. For now every Man that liſt to have any of their Lands, makes ſuit to get it into your Majeſty's Hands; not that your Majeſty ſhould keep the ſame, but by Sale, or Gift from your Majeſty, to tranſlate it from your Grace's Cathedral Church unto themſelves.

T. Cantuarien.

The Draught of a Letter which the King was to ſend to Cranmer, *againſt ſome ſuperſtitious Practices.*

To the Arch-biſhop of Canterbury.

FOraſmuch as you, as well in your own Name, as in the Name of the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, and other our Chaplains and Learned Men, whom We appointed with you to peruſe certain Books of Service, which We delivered unto you, moved Us, that the Vigil, and ringing of Bells all the Night long upon *Alhallow*-day at Night, and the covering of Images in the Church in the time of *Lent*, with the lifting up the Veil that covereth the Croſs upon *Palm-Sunday*, with the kneeling to the Croſs at the ſame time, might be aboliſhed and put away, for the Superſtition, and other Enormities and Abuſes of the ſame. Firſt, Foraſmuch as all the Vigils of our Lady, and the Apoſtles, and all other Vigils, which in the beginning of the Church were Godly uſed; yet for the manifold Superſtition and Abuſes which after did grow, by means of the ſame, they be many Years paſt taken away throughout all Chriſtendom, and there remaineth nothing but the name of the Vigil in the *Calendar*, the thing clearly aboliſhed and put away, ſaving only upon *Alhallows*-day at Night; upon which Night is kept Vigil, Watching, and ringing of Bells all the Night long. Foraſmuch as that Vigil is abuſed as other Vigils were, Our pleaſure is, as you require, That the ſaid Vigil ſhall be aboliſhed as the other be, and that there ſhall be no watching, nor ringing, but as be commonly uſed upon other Holy-days at Night. We be contented and pleaſed alſo, That the Images in Churches ſhall not be covered, as hath been accuſtomed in times paſt; nor no Veil upon the Croſs; nor no kneeling thereto upon *Palm-Sunday*, nor any other time.

time. And foraſmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the Croſs, which is a greater abuſe than any of the other; for there you ſay, *Crucem tuam adoramus Domine*; and the Ordinal ſaith, *Procedant Clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus:* And after followeth in the ſame Ordinal, *Ponatur Crux ante aliquod Altare, ubi a populo adoretur*; which by your own Book, called, *A Neceſſary Doctrine*, is againſt the Second Commandment. Therefore Our Pleaſure is, That the ſaid creeping to the Croſs ſhall likewiſe ceaſe from hence-forth, and be aboliſhed, with the other Abuſes before rehearſed. And this We will, and ſtraitly command you, to ſignify unto all the Prelats and Biſhops of your Province of *Canterbury*, charging them, in Our Name, to ſee the ſame executed, every one in his Dioceſs, accordingly.

FINIS.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

BOOK II.

Number 1.

The Proclamation of Lady Jane Gray's *Title to the Crown.*

JANE by the Grace of God, Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of *England*, and alſo of *Ireland*, under Chriſt in Earth the Supream Head. To all our moſt Loving, Faithful, and Obedient Subjects, and to every of them, Greeting. Whereas our moſt dear Couſin *Edward* the 6*th*, late King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; and in Earth, Supream Head, under Chriſt, of the Church of *England*, and *Ireland*; by his Letters Patents, ſigned with his own Hand, and ſealed with his Great Seal of *England*, bearing date the 21*ſt* day of *June*, in the ſeventh Year of his Reign; in the preſence of the moſt part of his Nobles, his Councellors, Judges, and divers other grave and ſage Perſonages, for the profit and ſurety of the whole Realm, thereto aſſenting and ſubſcribing their Names to the ſame, hath, by the ſame his Letters Patents, recited, That foraſmuch as the Imperial Crown of this Realm, by an Act made in the 35*th* Year of the Reign of the late King, of worthy memory, King *Henry* the 8*th*, our Progenitor, and great Uncle, was, for lack of Iſſue of his Body lawfully begotten; and for lack of Iſſue of the Body of our ſaid late Couſin King *Edward* the 6*th*, by the ſame Act, limited and appointed to remain to the Lady *Mary* his eldeſt Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten: And for default of ſuch Iſſue, the Remainer thereof to the Lady *Elizabeth*, by the Name of the Lady *Elizabeth* his ſecond Daughter, and to the Heirs of her Body lawfully begotten; with ſuch Conditions as ſhould be limited and appointed by the ſaid late King of worthy memory, King *Henry*

Henry the 8*th*, our Progenitor, our Great Uncle, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or by his laſt Will in writing, ſigned with his Hand. And foraſmuch as the ſaid Limitation of the Imperial Crown of this Realm being limited, as is afore-ſaid, to the ſaid Lady *Mary*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the Marriage had, between the ſaid late King, King *Henry* the 8*th*, our Progenitor, and Great Uncle, and the Lady *Katherine*, Mother to the ſaid Lady *Mary*; and alſo the Marriage had between the ſaid late King, King *Henry* the 8*th*, our Progenitor, and Great Uncle, and the Lady *Ann*, Mother to the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth*, were clearly and lawfully undone, by Sentences of Divorce, according to the Word of God, and the Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and which ſaid ſeveral Divorcements, have been ſeverally ratified and confirmed by Authority of Parliament, and eſpecially in the 28*th* Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*, our ſaid Progenitor, and Great Uncle, remaining in force, ſtrength, and effect, whereby, as well the ſaid Lady *Mary*, as alſo the ſaid Lady *Elizabeth*, to all Intents and Purpoſes, are, and been clearly diſabled, to ask, claim, or challenge the ſaid Imperial Crown, or any other of the Honours, Caſtles, Manours, Lordſhips, Lands, Tenements, or other Hereditaments, as Heir or Heirs to our ſaid late Couſin King *Edward* the 6*th*, or as Heir or Heirs to any other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever, as well for the Cauſe before rehearſed, as alſo for that the ſaid Lady *Mary*, and Lady *Elizabeth*, were unto our ſaid late Couſin but of the half Blood, and therefore by the Ancient Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms of this Realm, be not inheritable unto our ſaid late Couſin, although they had been born in lawful Matrimony; as indeed they were not, as by the ſaid Sentences of Divorce, and the ſaid Statute of the 28*th* Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*, our ſaid Progenitor, and Great Uncle, plainly appeareth. And foraſmuch alſo, as it is to be thought, or at the leaſt much to be doubted, that if the ſaid Lady *Mary*, or Lady *Elizabeth*, ſhould hereafter have, or enjoy the ſaid Imperial Crown of this Real, and ſhould then happen to marry with any Stranger born out of this Realm, that then the ſaid Stranger, having the Government and Imperial Crown in his Hands, would adhere and practiſe, not only to bring this Noble, Free Realm into the Tyranny and Servitude of the Biſhops of *Rome*, but alſo to have the Laws and Cuſtoms of his or their own Native Country or Countries, to be practiſed and put in ure within this Realm, rather than the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms here of long time uſed; whereupon the Title of Inheritance, of all and ſingular the Subjects of this Realm do depend, to the peril of Conſcience, and the utter ſubverſion of the Common-Weal of this Realm: Whereupon our ſaid late dear Couſin, weighing and conſidering within himſelf, which ways and means were moſt convenient to be had for the ſtay of the ſaid Succeſſion, in the ſaid Imperial Crown, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call our ſaid late Couſin out of this tranſitory Life, having no Iſſue of his Body. And calling to his remembrance, that We, and the Lady *Katherine*, and the Lady *Mary*, our Siſters (being the Daughters of the Lady *Frances*, our natural Mother, and then, and yet, Wife to our natural and moſt loving Father, *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*; and the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter of the Lady *Elianor*, then deceaſed, Siſter

to

to the ſaid Lady *Frances*, and the late Wife of our Couſin *Henry* Earl of *Cumberland*) were very nigh of his Grace's Blood, of the part of his Fathers ſide, our ſaid Progenitor, and Great Uncle; and being naturally born here, within the Realm. And for the very good Opinion our ſaid late Couſin had of our ſaid Siſters and Couſin *Margarets* good Education, did therefore, upon good deliberation and advice herein had, and taken, by his ſaid Letters Patents, declare, order, aſſign, limit, and appoint, that if it ſhould fortune himſelf, our ſaid late Couſin King *Edward* the Sixth, to deceaſe, having no Iſſue of his Body lawfully begotten, that then the ſaid Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Confines of the ſame, and his Title to the Crown of the Realm of *France*; and all and ſingular Honours, Caſtles, Prerogatives, Privileges, Preheminencies, and Authorities, Juriſdictions, Dominions, Poſſeſſions, and Hereditaments, to our ſaid late Couſin K. *Edward* the Sixth, or to the ſaid Imperial Crown belonging, or in any wiſe appertaining, ſhould, for lack of ſuch Iſſue of his Body, remain, come, and be to the eldeſt Son of the Body of the ſaid Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in his Life-time, and to the Heirs Males of the Body of ſuch eldeſt Son lawfully begotten; and ſo from Son to Son, as he ſhould be of vicinity of Birth of the Body of the ſaid Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten, being born into the World in our ſaid late Couſin's Life-time, and to the Heirs Male of the Body of every ſuch Son lawfully begotten. And for default of ſuch Son born into the World in his life-time, of the Body of the ſaid Lady *Frances*, lawfully begotten; and for lack of Heirs Males of every ſuch Son lawfully begotten, that then the ſaid Imperial Crown, and all and ſingular other the Premiſes, ſhould remain, come, and be to us, by the Name of the Lady *Jane*, eldeſt Daughter of the ſaid Lady *Frances*, and to the Heirs Males of our Body lawfully begotten, and for lack of ſuch Iſſue, then to the Lady *Katherine* aforeſaid, our ſaid ſecond Siſter, and the Heirs Male of her Body lawfully begotten, with divers other Remainders, as by the ſame Letters Patents more plainly and at large it may and doth appear. Sithence the making of our Letters Patents, that is to ſay, on *Thurſday*, which was the *6th* day of this inſtant Month of *July*, it hath pleaſed God to call unto his infinite Mercy, our ſaid moſt dear and entirely beloved Couſin, *Edward* the Sixth, whoſe Soul God pardon; and foraſmuch as he is now deceaſed, having no Heirs of his Body begotten; and that alſo there remaineth at this preſent time no Heirs lawfully begotten, of the Body of our ſaid Progenitor, and great Uncle, King *Henry* the Eighth; And foraſmuch alſo as the ſaid Lady *Frances*, our ſaid Mother, had no Iſſue Male begotten of her Body, and born into the World, in the life-time of our ſaid Couſin King *Edward* the Sixth, ſo as the ſaid Imperial Crown, and other the Premiſes to the ſame belonging, or in any wiſe appertaining, now be, and remain to us, in our Actual and Royal Poſſeſſion, by Authority of the ſaid Letters Patents: We do therefore by theſe Preſents ſignify, unto all our moſt loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects, That like-as we for our part ſhall, by God's Grace, ſhew our Self a moſt gracious and benign Sovereign Queen and Lady to all our good Subjects, in all their juſt and lawful Suits and Cauſes; and to the uttermoſt of our Power, ſhall preſerve and maintain God's

moſt Holy Word, Chriſtian Policy, and the good Laws, Cuſtoms, and Liberties of theſe our Realms and Dominions: ſo we miſtruſt not, but they, and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all Times, and in all Caſes, ſhew themſelves unto Us, their natural Liege Queen and Lady, moſt faithful, loving, and obedient Subjects, according to their bounden Duties and Allegiance, whereby they ſhall pleaſe God, and do the things that ſhall tend to their own preſervation and ſureties; willing and commanding all Men, of all Eſtates, Degrees, and Conditions, to ſee our Peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our Laws, as they tender our Favour, and will anſwer for the contrary at their extream Perils. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our Letters to be made Patents. Witneſs our Self, at our *Tower* of *London*, the tenth day of *July*, in the firſt Year of our Reign.

God ſave the Queen.

Number 2.

A Letter ſent by Queen Katherine, *to the Lady* Mary *her Daughter.*

Ex MS. *Norfolcianis* in Col. *Creſham.*

DAughter, I heard ſuch tidings this day, that I do perceive (if it be true) the time is near that Almighty God will provide for you, and I am very glad of it, for I truſt that he doth handle you with a good Love; I beſeech you agree to his Pleaſure with a merry Heart, and be you ſure, that without fail he will not ſuffer you to periſh, if you beware to offend him. I pray God, you good Daughter, to offer your ſelf to him; if any pangs come to you, ſhrive your ſelf, firſt make your ſelf clean; take heed of his Commandments, and keep them as near as he will give you Grace to do, for then are you ſure armed. And if this Lady do come to you, as it is ſpoken, if ſhe do bring you a Ketter from the King, I am ſure, in the ſelf-ſame Letter, you ſhall be commanded what you ſhall do. Anſwer you with few words, obeying the King your Father in every thing, ſave only that you will not offend God, and loſe your Soul, and go no further with Learning and Diſputation in the Matter; and whereſoever, and in whatſoever Company you ſhall come, obey the King's Commandments, ſpeak few words, and meddle nothing. I will ſend you two Books in Latin, one ſhall be, *de Vita Chriſti*, with the Declaration of the Goſpels; and the other, the Epiſtles of St. *Hierome*, that he did write always to *Paula* and *Euſtochium*, and in them truſt you ſhall ſee good things. And ſometimes, for your Recreation, uſe your Virginals, or Lute, if you have any. But one thing ſpecially I deſire you, for the Love that you owe unto God and unto me, to keep your Heart with a chaſte Mind, and your Body from all ill and wanton Company, not thinking or deſiring any Huſband, for Chriſt's Paſſion; neither determine your ſelf to any manner of living, until this troubleſome time be paſt, for I dare make you ſure, that you ſhall ſee a very good end, and better than you can deſire. I would God, good Daughter, that you

you did know with how good a Heart I do write this Letter unto you: I never did one with a better, for I perceive very well, that God loveth you, I beſeech him of his goodneſs to continue it: And if it ſhall fortune that you ſhall have no Body to be with you of your Acquaintance, I think it beſt you keep your Keys your ſelf, for whoſoever it is, ſo ſhall be done as ſhall pleaſe them. And now you ſhall begin, and by likelihood I ſhall follow, I ſet not a ruſh by it, for when they have done the uttermoſt they can, then I am ſure of the amendment, I pray you recommend me unto my good Lady of *Salisbury*, and pray her to have a good Heart, for we never come to the Kingdom of Heaven, but by Troubles. Daughter, whereſoever you become, take no pain to ſend to me, for if I may I will ſend to you.

By your loving Mother,

Katherine the Queen.

Number 3.

A humble Submiſſion made by Queen Mary *to her Father.* Anno 1536.

An Original.

MOſt humbly proſtrate before the Feet of your moſt excellent Majeſty, your moſt humble, faithful, and obedient Subject, which hath ſo extreamly offended your moſt gracious Highneſs, that mine heavy and fearful Heart dare not preſume to call you Father, nor your Majeſty hath any cauſe by my deſerts, ſaving the benignity of your moſt bleſſed Nature, doth ſurmount all Evils, Offences, and Treſpaſſes, and is ever merciful and ready to accept the Penitent, calling for Grace in any convenient time. Having received, this *Thurſday* at Night, certain Letters from Mr. Secretary, as well adviſing me to make my humble ſubmiſſion immediately to your Self; which becauſe I durſt not, without your gracious Licenſe, preſume to do before, I lately ſent unto him; as ſignifying that your moſt merciful Heart, and fatherly Pity, had granted me your Bleſſing, with condition, that I ſhould perſevere in that I had commenced and begun, and that I ſhould not eſt-ſoons offend your Majeſty by the denial or refuſal of any ſuch Articles and Commandments, as it may pleaſe your Highneſs to addreſs unto me, for the perfect trial of my Heart and inward Affection. For the perfect declaration of the bottom of my Heart and Stomach. *Cotton* Libr. *Otho.* C. 20.

Firſt, I acknowledg my ſelf to have moſt unkindly and unnaturally offended your moſt excellent Highneſs, in that I have not ſubmitted my ſelf to your moſt juſt and vertuous Law. And for mine Offences therein, which I muſt confeſs were in me a thouſand fold more grievous than they could be in any other living Creature, I put my ſelf wholly and entirely to your gracious Mercy, at whoſe hand I cannot receive that puniſhment for the ſame that I have deſerved.

Secondly, To open mine Heart to your Grace, in theſe things which I have heretofore refuſed to condeſcend unto, and have now written with mine own hand, ſending the ſame to your Highneſs herewith, I ſhall never beſeech your Grace to have pity and compaſſion of me, if ever you ſhall perceive that I ſhall privily or apertly vary or alter from one piece of that I have written and ſubſcribed, or refuſe to confirm, ratify, or declare the ſame, where your Majeſty ſhall appoint me.

Thirdly, As I have, and ſhall, knowing your excellent Learning, Vertue, Wiſdom, and Knowledg, put my Soul into your direction; and by the ſame hath, and will in all things from henceforth direct my Conſcience, ſo my Body I do wholly commit to your Mercy, and Fatherly Pity, deſiring no State, no Condition, nor no meaner degree of living, but ſuch as your Grace ſhall appoint me: knowledging and confeſſing, That my State cannot be ſo vile, as either the extremity of Juſtice would appoint unto me, or as mine Offences have required or deſerved.

And whatſoever your Grace ſhall command me to do, touching any of theſe Points, either for things paſt, preſent, or to come, I ſhall as gladly do the ſame, as your Majeſty ſhall command me. Moſt humbly therefore beſeeching your Mercy, moſt gracious Soveraign Lord and Benign Father, to have pity and compaſſion of your miſerable and ſorrowful Child, and with the abundance of your ineſtimable Goodneſs, ſo to overcome mine Iniquity towards God, Your Grace, and Your whole Realm, as I may feel ſome ſenſible Token of Reconciliation, which, God is my Judg, I only deſire, without other reſpect. To whom I ſhall daily pray for the preſervation of Your Highneſs, with the Queen's Grace, and that it may pleaſe him to ſend You Iſſue.

From *Hunſdon*, this *Thurſday*, at eleven of the Clock at Night.

Your Graces moſt humble

and obedient Daughter

and Handmaid,

MARY.

Number

Number 4

Another of the ſame ſtrain confirming the former.

An Original.

MOſt humbly, obediently, and gladly, lying at the Feet of Your moſt Excellent Majeſty, my moſt dear and benign Father, and Soveraign Lord, I have this day perceived Your gracious Clemency, and merciful Pity, to have overcome my moſt unkind and unnatural Proceedings towards You, and Your moſt Juſt and Vertuous Laws. The great and ineſtimable Joy whereof, I cannot expreſs, nor have any thing worthy to be again preſented to Your Majeſty for the ſame Your fatherly Pity extended towards me, moſt ingrately on my part abandoned, as much as in me lies, but my poor Heart, which I ſend unto Your Highneſs to remain in Your Hand, to be for ever uſed, directed, and framed, whiles God ſhall ſuffer Life to remain in it at Your only pleaſure, moſt humbly beſeeching Your Grace to accept and receive the ſame; being all that I have to offer, which ſhall never alter, vary, or change, from that Confeſſion and Submiſſion which I have made unto Your Highneſs, in the preſence of Your Council, and other attending upon the ſame; for whoſe preſervation, with my moſt gracious Mother the Queen, I ſhall daily pray to God; whom eſt-ſoons I beſeech to ſend You Iſſue, to his Honour, and the Comfort of Your whole Realm. *Cotton.* Libr: *Otho.* C. 20:

From *Hunſdon*, the 26*th* day of *June*.

Your Grace's moſt humble

and obedient Daughter

and Handmaid,

MARY.

Number

Number 5.

Another Letter written to her Father to the ſame purpoſe.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Otho.* C. 20.

MY bounden Duty moſt humbly remembred to Your moſt Excellent Majeſty: Whereas I am unable and inſufficient to render and expreſs to Your Highneſs thoſe moſt hearty and humble thanks for Your gracious Mercy and fatherly Pity, ſurmounting mine Offences at this time extended towards me, I ſhall proſtrate at Your moſt noble Feet, humbly and with the very bottom of my Stomach, beſeech Your Grace to repute that in me, which in my poor Heart remaining in Your moſt noble Hand, I have conceived and profeſſed towards Your Grace, whiles the Breath ſhall remain in my Body; that is, that as I am now in ſuch merciful ſort recovered, being more than almoſt loſt with mine own Folly, that Your Majeſty may as well accept me juſtly Your bounden Slave by Redemption, as Your moſt humble, faithful, and obedient Child and Subject, by the courſe of Nature planted in this Your moſt Noble Realm; ſo ſhall I for ever perſevere and continue towards Your Highneſs, in ſuch uniformity and due obedience, as I doubt not, but with the help of God, Your Grace ſhall ſee and perceive a will and intent in me, to redouble again that hath been amiſs on my behalf, conformably to ſuch Words and Writings as I have ſpoken and ſent unto Your Highneſs, from the which I will nevery vary during my Life, truſting that Your Grace hath conceived that Opinion of me, which to remember is mine only comfort. And thus I beſeech our Lord to preſerve Your Grace in Health, with my very natural Mother the Queen, and to ſend You ſhortly Iſſue, which I ſhall as gladly and willingly ſerve with my Hands under their Feet, as ever did poor Subject their moſt Gracious Soveraign.

From *Hunſdon*, the 8*th* day of *July*.

Your Grace's moſt humble

and obedient Daughter

and Handmaid,

MARY.

Number

Number 6.

A Letter written by Her to Cromwell, *containing a full Submiſſion to the King's Pleaſure, in all the Points of Religion.*

An Original.

GOod Mr. Secretary, how much am I bound unto you, which have not only travelled, when I was almoſt drowned in folly, to recover me, before I ſunk, and was utterly paſt recovery, and ſo to preſent me to the Face of Grace and Mercy; but alſo deſiſteth not ſithence, with your good and wholeſome Counſels, ſo to arm me from any Relapſe, that I cannot, unleſs I were too wilful and obſtinate, (whereof now there is no ſpark in me) fall again into any danger. But leaving the recital of your Goodneſs apart, which I cannot recount; For anſwer to the Particularities of your Credence, ſent by my Friend Mr. *Wriothſley*. Firſt, Concerning the Princeſs, (ſo I think I muſt call her yet, for I would be loth to offend) I offered, at her entry to that Name and Honour, to call her Siſter; but it was refuſed, unleſs I would alſo add the other Title unto it; which I denied not then more obſtinately, than I am now ſorry for it, for that I did therein offend my moſt gracious Father, and his juſt Laws. And now that you think it meet, I ſhall never call her by other Name than Siſter. Touching the nomination of ſuch Women as I would have about me; ſurely, Mr. Secretary, what Men or Women ſoever the King's Highneſs ſhall appoint to wait on me, without exception, ſhall be to me right-heartily, and without reſpect, welcome; albeit, to expreſs my mind to you, whom I think worthy to be accepted for their faithful Service done to the King's Majeſty, and to me, ſithence they came into my Company, I promiſe you, on my Faith, *Margaret Baynton*, and *Suſanna Clarencieux*, have, in every condition, uſed themſelves as faithfully, painfully, and diligently, as ever did Women in ſuch a caſe; as ſorry when I was not ſo conformable as became me, as glad when I enclined any thing to my Duty as could be deviſed. One other there is that was ſometime my Maid, whom, for her Vertue, I love, and could be glad to have in my Company, that is, *Mary Brown*, and here be all that I will recommend; and yet my eſtimation of this ſhall be meaſured at the King's Highneſs, my moſt merciful Father's pleaſure and appointment, as Reaſon is.

Cotton. Libr. *Otho.* C. 10.

For mine Opinion touching Pilgrimages, Purgatory, Reliques, and ſuch-like, I aſſure you I have none at all, but ſuch as I ſhall receive from him that hath mine whole Heart in keeping, that is, the King's moſt gracious Highneſs, my moſt benign Father, who ſhall imprint in the ſame touching theſe Matters, and all other, what his ineſtimable Vertue, high Wiſdom, and excellent Learning, ſhall think convenient, and limit unto me; to whoſe preſence I pray God I may once come e're I die, for every Day is a Year till I may have the fruition of it. Beſeeching you, good Mr. Secretary, to continue mine humble ſuit for the ſame, and for all other things whatſoever they be, to repute

my

my Heart ſo firmly knit to his pleaſure, that I can by no means vary from the direction and appointment of the ſame. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From *Hunſdon*, this *Friday*, at ten of the Clock at Night.

Your aſſured loving Friend,

during my Life,

MARY.

Number 7.

A Letter of *Bonner's*, upon his being reſtored to his Biſhoprick.

An Original.

To my moſt loving and dearly beloved Friends, my Couſin Thomas Shirley, *the Worſhipful* Richard Leechmore, *and* Roger Leechmore *his Brother.*

IN moſt hearty wiſe I commend me unto you, aſcertaining, that Yeſterday I was, by Sentence, reſtored again to my Biſhoprick, and repoſed in the ſame, even as fully as I was at any time before I was deprived; and by the ſaid Sentence, my Uſurper, Dr. *Ridley*, is utterly repulſed; ſo that I would ye did order all things at *Kidmerly* and *Buſſley* at your pleaſures, not ſuffering Sheeps-head, or Ships-ſide, to be any medler there, or to ſell or carry away any thing from thence; and I truſt, at your coming up now at the Parliament, I ſhall ſo handle both the ſaid Sheeps-heads, and the other Calves-heads, that they ſhall perceive their ſweet ſhall not be without ſour Sauce. This day is looked that Mr. *Canterbury* muſt be placed where is meet for him; He is become very humble and ready to ſubmit himſelf in all things, but that will not ſerve; in the ſame predicament is Dr. *Smith*, my Friend, and the Dean of *Pauls*, with others. Commend me to your Bed-fellows moſt heartily, and remember the Liquor that I wrote to you for; this Bearer ſhall declare the reſt, and alſo put you in remembrance for Beeves and Muttons for my Houſe-fare. And thus our bleſſed Lord long and well keep you all. Written in haſte, this *6th* of *September*.

Aſſuredly all your own,

Edmond London.

Numbe

Number 8.

A Manifeſto ſet out by *Cranmer*, declaring his readineſs to maintain the Reformation in a publick Diſpute.

Purgatio Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris ac Domini D. Thomæ Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis, adverſus infames ſed vanos rumores a quibuſdam ſparſos, de Miſſa reſtituta Cantuariæ.

QUanquam Satan vetus Chriſti hoſtis, mendax ipſe atq; mendacii parens, nullis unquam temporibus abſtinuit ſuis armandis mancipiis & membris adverſus Chriſtum & veram ipſius Religionem, variis ſubinde excogitatis mendaciis: idem tamen his noſtris temporibus agit ſane perquam ſedulo. Nam cum Rex Hen. 8. Princeps illuſtriſſimæ memoriæ deprehenſis erroribus atq; infandis abuſibus Latinæ Miſſæ, ipſam aliquouſq; cæpiſſet corrigere, deindeq; filius qui proxime ſecutus eſt ſupremus Dominus noſter Rex Edwardus 6. non ferens hos tantos, tamq; manifeſtos errores atq; abuſus omnes pœnitus ſuſtuliſſet, reſtituta Sacroſ. Chriſti cæna & plane ad ipſius inſtitutum atq; Apoſtolorum & Eccleſiæ Primitivæ exemplum; Diabolus contra tentavit nuper ſi poſſet, rurſum ejecta dominica cæna, Latinam ac Satisfactoriam Miſſam (ſuum ipſius inventum & inſtitutum ſcilicet) rurſum hominibus noſtris obtrudere. Atq; id quod facilius poſſet effici, auſi ſunt quidam abuti nomine noſtro Thomæ Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopi, ſpargentes in vulgum Miſſam meo juſſu Cantuariæ reſtitutam, meq; adeo cantatuſum fuiſſe Miſſam in funere nuper Principis noſtri ſummi Edwardi 6. Regis, imo idem quoq; facturum recepiſſe coram Majeſtate Reginea, & ad Paulum, & neſcio ubi præterea. From the Copy printed that Year.

Porro tametſi jam 20. ab hinc annis multos ejuſmodi rumores de me vanos & falſos pertulerim, utcunq; fortiter & modeſte, nunquam data hactenus ſignificatione ulla commoti animi ob res ejuſmodi; Attamen ſi quando in fraudem atq; injuriam veritatis Dei talia jactarentur, haud quaquam diutius perferri poſſe judico. Quæ res me impulit, ut ſcripto hoc teſtatum univerſo orbi facerem nunquam me autore Miſſam Cantuariæ cantatam, ſed vanum quendam adulatorem, mendacem atq; hypocritam Monachum, me nec conſultore, neq; conſcio ibidem hoc auſum fuiſſe: Dominus illi reddat in die illo. Quod porro meipſum obtulerim ad legendam Miſſam coram Majeſtate Reginea aut uſquam alibi, quam id vanum ſit ſatis novit ipſius Majeſtas; A qua ſi poteſtatem impetro, palam omnibus faciam, contraq; omnes diverſum putantes probabo, omnia, quæ in Communione (quam reſtituit innocentiſſimus idemque optimus Princeps Rex Edwardus 6. in Comitiis Regni) leguntur reſpondere inſtitutioni Chriſti atq; Apoſtolorum & Primitivæ Eccleſiæ exemplo, multis annis obſervato. Miſſam contra in plurimis non tantum hoc fundamento carere Chriſti & Apoſtolorum & Primitivæ Excleſiæ, ſed imo adverſari prorſus atq; ex diametro pugnare, undiquaq; erroribus atq; abuſibus refertiſſimam. Quamvis autem a nonnullis *Thortonenſis Suffraganeus Dovorenſis.*

imperitis & malevolis Dicatur D. Petrus Martyr indoctus, ſi tamen nobis hanc libertatem det Majeſtas Reginea, ego cum Petro Martyre atq; aliis quatuor, aut quinq;, quos mihi delegero, favente Deo confido, nos idem omnibus approbaturos, non ſolum preces communes Eccleſiaſticas, Adminiſtrationem Sacram, cum cæteris Ritibus & Ceremoniis; Verum Doctrinam quoq; univerſam, ac religionis ordinem conſtitutum a ſupremo noſtro Domino Rege Edwardo ſexto, puriora hæc eſſe & Verbo Dei magis conſentanea, quam quidquid mille retro annis in Anglia uſurpatum novimus. Tantummodo judicentur omnia per Verbum Dei, ac deſcribantur partis utriuſq; argumenta, quo primum poſſit orbis Univerſus ea examinare & Judicare, deinde nequeat pars ulla dicta factave ſic deſcripta inficiari.

Quoniam vero gloriantur illi & jactant Eccleſiæ fidem quæ fuit 1500. abhinc annis, nos hac quoq; in parte cum illis periclitari audebimus quod eadem doctrina atq; idem ordo ab omnibus ſervari debeat, qui fuit illo ſeculo ante Annos 1500. ac præterea docebimus argumentis firmis, totam rationem cultus divini Eccleſiaſtici, quæ nunc in hoc Regno ſervatur, Autoritate Comitiorum eandem eſſe, atq; illam ipſam quæ fuit ante Annos 1500. id quod alii de ſuis nunquam probaverint.

FINIS.

Lecta publice in vico Mercatorum ab amico qui clam Autographum ſurripuerat 5. Septemb. Anno Dom. 1553.

Number 9.

The Concluſion of Cardinal Pool's *Inſtructions to Mr.* Goldwell, *ſent by him to the Queen.*

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

FOr the concluſion of all that is compriſed in your Inſtruction, as that the which containeth the whole ſum of my poor Advice and Counſel, it pleaſeth her Grace to ask of me, you ſhall ſay, That my moſt humble deſire is, that in all deliberation her Grace ſhall make touching the maintenance of her State, the ſame will ever well ponder and conſider, what the Providence of God hath ſhewed therein, above that which hath been ſhewed in her Predeceſſors, Kings of this Realm, in this one Point; which is to have the Crown, not only as a King's Daughter and Heir, but hath ordered, that this Point of right Inheritance ſhall depend as it doth, of the Authority he hath given to his Church, and of the See of *Rome*, which is the See Apoſtolick, approving her Mother to be Legitimate Wife of King *Henry* the Eighth; whereby ſhe is bound, afore God and Man, as ſhe will ſhow her ſelf the very Daughter of the ſaid King *Henry* the Eighth, right Heir of the Crown; ſo alſo to ſhew her ſelf right Daughter of the Church, and of them that be reſident in the See Apoſtolick, who be the right Heirs to *Peter*; to whom, and his Succeſſors, Chriſt chief Head of the Church in Heaven,

Heaven, and in Earth, hath given in Earth to bear his Place, touching the Rule of the ſame Church, and to have the Crown thereof; which well conſidered and pondered, her Grace ſhall ſoon ſee how in her Perſon, the Providence of God hath joined the Right ſhe hath by her Father in the Realm, with the Right of the Church, that ſhe cannot prevail by the one, except ſhe join the other withal; and they that will ſeparate theſe two, take away not only half her Right, but her whole Right, being not ſo much Heir, becauſe ſhe is King *Henry*'s only Daughter, without Iſſue Male, as ſhe is his lawful Daughter, which ſhe hath by the Authority of the Church.

Which thing, prudently and godly conſidered, ſhe cannot but ſee what faithful Counſel this is, That above all Acts that in this Parliament ſhall be made, doth advertiſe her Grace to eſtabliſh that, the which pertaineth to the eſtabliſhing of the Authority of the Church, and the See of the ſame; what rendring to him that is right Succeſſor to *Peter* therein, his right Title of Head in the Church in Earth, without the which ſhe cannot be right Head in the Realm; and this eſtabliſhed, all Controverſy is taken away; and who will repine unto this, he doth repine unto her right of the Crown.

Wherefore this is my firſt Advice, That this Point, above all other, ſhould be entreated and enacted in the Parliament; and ſo, I know her Graces full mind was, and is, that it ſhould be: But ſhe feareth Difficulties, and hereupon dependeth, that her Grace asketh my poor Advice, how theſe Difficulties may be taken away.

Unto this you may ſay, That they muſt be taken away by the help of him, that by his High Providence, above Man's expectance, hath given her already the Crown. Which will have as well this ſecond Act known, of the maintenance thereof to depend of him, as the firſt in attaining thereto. And to have his help, the mean is by humble Prayer, wherein I would advertiſe her Highneſs, not only to give her ſelf to Prayer, but alſo, by Alms to the needy, excitate the Minds of others to Prayer; theſe be the means of moſt efficacy; and with this to take that ardent Mind, to eſtabliſh the Authority of the Church, caſting away all fear of Man, that ſhe took to have her Crown; and not ſo much for her own ſake, as for the Honour of God which gave her the Crown. And if any Difficulty ſhould be feared in the Parliament herein, leave the honour, to take away the difficulty thereof to none other, but aſſume that Perſon to her ſelf, as moſt bound thereto; and to propone that her ſelf, which I would truſt to be of that efficacy, that if inwardly any Man will repugn; outwardly the Reaſons be ſo evident for this part, that joined with the Authority of her Perſon, being proponent, none will be ſo hardy, temerarious, nor impious, that will reſiſt. And if in this deliberation it ſhould ſeem ſtrange to put forth theſe Matters in the Parliament, as I have ſaid in the Inſtructions, without communicating the ſame with any of her Council, I would think it well her Grace might confer it with two of the chiefeſt that be counted of the People moſt near her favour, one Spiritual, and another Temporal; with declaring to them, firſt, how touching her Conſcience afore God, and her Right afore the World, ſhe can never be quiet until this Matter be ſtabliſhed touching the Authority of the Church, requiring their uttermoſt help in that, as if ſhe ſhould fight for the Crown, her Ma-

jeſty may be ſure, ſhe putting the ſame forth with that earneſt manner, they will not lack to ſerve her; and they may ſerve quietly in the Parliament, after her Grace hath ſpoken to proſecute and juſtify the ſame, with efficacy of words, to give all others example to follow her Grace; leaving this part unto them, That if the Name of Obedience to the Pope ſhould ſeem to bring, as it were, a Yoke to the Realm, or any other kind of Servitude beſide, that it ſhould be profitable to the Realm, both afore God and Man, that her Grace that bringeth it in again, will never ſuffer it, nor the Pope himſelf requireth no ſuch thing, And herein alſo, that they ſay, That my Perſon being the Mean to bring it in, would never agree to be an Inſtrument thereof, if I thought any Thraldom ſhould come thereby, they ſhall never be deceived of me. And if they would ſay beſide, I would never have taken this Enterprize upon me, except I thought by the ſame to bring great Comfort to the Country; wherein the Pope's Authority being accepted, I would truſt, ſhould be ſo uſed, that it might be an Example of Comfort, not only to that Country, but to all other that have rejected it afore, and for that cauſe hath been ever ſince in great miſery.

This is the ſum of all my poor Advice at this time in this Caſe; whereof I beſeech Almighty God ſo much may take effect, as ſhall be to his Honour, and Wealth to her Grace, and the whole Realm beſides. *Amen.*

Number 10.

A Copy of a Letter, with Articles ſent from the Queen's Majeſty unto the Biſhop of London; *and by him and his Officers, at Her gracious Commandment, to be put in ſpeedy execution with effect in the whole Dioceſs, as well in places exempt, as not exempt whatſoever, according to the Tenour and Form of the ſame.*

Sent by the Queen's Majeſty's Commandment, in the Month of March, *Anno Dom.* 1553.

By the QUEEN.

RIght Reverend Father in God, right truſty and well-beloved, We greet you well. And whereas heretofore, in the time of the late Reign of Our moſt deareſt Brother, King *Edward* the Sixth, (whoſe Soul God pardon) divers notable Crimes, Exceſſes, and Faults, with divers kinds of Hereſies, Simony, Advoutry, and other Enormities, have been committed within this our Realm, and other our Dominions; the ſame continuing yet hitherto in like diſorder, ſince the beginning of our Reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the People, both of the Laity and Clergy, and chiefly of the Clergy, have been given to much inſolence and ungodlineſs, greatly

greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to Our regret and evil contentation, and to the slander of other Christian Realms, and in a manner, to the subversion and clear defaceing of this our Realm. And remembring our Duty to Almighty God, to be to foresee, as much as in Us may be, that all Vertue and Godly Living should be embraced, flourish, and encrease. And therewith also, that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be utterly banished and put away; or at the least wise, so nigh as might be, so bridled and kept under, that Godliness and Honesty might have the over-hand: understanding, by very credible Report, and publick Fame, to Our no small heaviness and discomfort, that within your Dioces, as well in not exempted as in exempted Places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used; like also to continue and encrease, unless due provision be had and made to reform the same, (which earnestly in very deed We do mind and intend) to the uttermost all the ways We can possible, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf. For these Causes, and other most just Considerations us moving, We send unto you certain Articles of such special Matter, as among other things be most special and necessary to be now put in execution by you and your Officers, extending to them by Us desired, and the Reformation aforesaid; wherein ye shall be charg'd with Our special Commandments, by these Our Letters, to the intent you and your Officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our Laws, as by your doings, of that is in the said Articles contain'd, might any wise grieve you, whatsoever be threatned in any such Case; and therefore We straitly charge and command you, and your said Officers, to proceed to the execution of the said Articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary. Given under our Hand, at our Palace of *Westminster*, the 4*th* day of *March*, the first Year of our Reign.

ARTICLES.

1. THat every Bishop, and his Officers, with all other having Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, shall, with all speed and diligence, and all manner and ways to them possible, put in execution all such Canons and Ecclesiastical Laws, heretofore in the time of King *Henry* the 8*th* used, within this Realm of *England*, and the Dominions of the same, not being direct and expresly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

2. *Item.* That no Bishop, or any his Officer, or other Person aforesaid hereafter, in any of their Ecclesiastical Writings, in Process, or other extra-judicial Acts, do use to put in this Clause or Sentence, *Regia Auctoritate fulcitus.*

3. *Item.* That no Bishop, or any his Officers, or other Person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand in the admission of any Person to any Ecclesiastical Promotion, Orders, or Office, any Oath touching the Primacy, or Succession, as of late in few Years passed hath been accustomed and used.

4. *Item.*

4. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and his Officers, with all other Perſons aforeſaid, have a vigilant eye, and uſe ſpecial diligence and foreſight, that no Perſon be admitted or received to any Eccleſiaſtical Function, Benefit, or Office, being a Sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of Hereſy, or other great Crime; and that the ſaid Biſhop do ſtay, and cauſe to be ſtaied, as much as lieth in him, that Benefices, and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, do not notably decay, or take hinderance, by paſſing or confirming of unreaſonable Leaſes.

5. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do diligently travel for the repreſſing of Hereſies, and notable Crimes, eſpecially in the Clergy, duly correcting and puniſhing the ſame.

6. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do likewiſe travel for the condemning and repreſſing of corrupt and naughty Opinions, unlawful Books, Ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendring hatred among the People, and diſcord amongſt the ſame: And that School-maſters, Preachers, and Teachers, do exerciſe and uſe their Offices and Duties, without Teaching, Preaching, or ſetting forth any evil corrupt Doctrine; and that doing the contrary, they may be, by the Biſhop and his ſaid Officers, puniſh'd and remov'd.

7. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all the other Perſons aforeſaid, proceeding ſummarily, and with all celerity and ſpeed, may and ſhall deprive, or declare depriv'd, and amove, according to their learning and diſcretion, all ſuch Perſons from their Benefices and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, who contrary to the ſtate of their Order, and the laudable Cuſtom of the Church, have married, and uſed Women as their Wives, or otherwiſe, notably and ſlanderouſly diſordered or abuſed themſelves; ſequeſtring alſo, during the ſaid Proceſs, the Fruits and Profits of the ſaid Benefits, and Eccleſiaſtical Promotions.

8. *Item.* That the ſaid Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do uſe more lenity and clemency with ſuch as have married, whoſe Wives be dead, than with other, whoſe Women do yet remain in Life. And likewiſe ſuch Prieſts, as with the conſents of their Wives, or Women, openly, in the preſence of the Biſhop, do profeſs to abſtain, to be uſed the more favourably; in which Caſe, after Penance effectually done, the Biſhop, according to his diſcretion and wiſdom, may, upon juſt conſideration, receive, and admit them again to their former Adminiſtration, ſo it be not in the ſame Place, appointing them ſuch a Portion to live upon, to be paid out of their Benefice, whereof they be depriv'd, by diſcretion of the ſaid Biſhop, or his Officers, ſhall think may be ſpared of the ſaid Benefice.

9. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all Perſons aforeſaid, do foreſee, That they ſuffer not any Religious Man, having ſolemnly profeſt Chaſtity, to continue with his Woman, or Wife: but that all ſuch Perſons, after deprivation of their Benefice, or Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, be alſo divorced, every one from his ſaid Woman, and due puniſhment otherwiſe taken for the Offence therein.

10. *Item.* That every Biſhop, and all other Perſons aforeſaid, do take Order and Direction, with the Pariſhioners of every Benefice, where Prieſts do want, to repair to the next Pariſh for Divine Service; or to appoint, for a convenient time, till other better proviſion may be made, one Curat to ſerve *Alternis Vicibus*, in divers Pariſhes; and to

to allot to the ſaid Curat, for his Labour, ſome portion of the Benefice that he ſo ſerveth.

11. *Item.* That all and all manner of Proceſſions of the Church, be uſed, frequented, and continued, after the old Order of the Church, in the Latin Tongue.

12. *Item.* That all ſuch Holy-days and Faſting-days, be obſerved and kept, as was obſerved and kept in the late time of King *Henry* the Eighth.

13. *Item.* That the laudable and honeſt Ceremonies which were wont to be uſed, frequented, and obſerved in the Church, be alſo hereafter frequented, uſed, and obſerved.

14. *Item.* That Children be Chriſtened by the Prieſt, and confirmed by the Biſhops, as heretofore hath been accuſtomed and uſed.

15. *Item.* Touching ſuch Perſons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders, after the new ſort and faſhion of Orders, conſidering they were not ordered in very deed, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs finding otherwiſe ſufficiency and ability in thoſe Men, may ſupply that thing which wanted in them before, and then, according to his diſcretion, admit them to miniſter.

16. *Item.* That by the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, an Uniform Doctrine be ſet forth by Homilies, or otherwiſe, for the good inſtruction and teaching of all People; and that the ſaid Biſhop, and other Perſons aforeſaid, do compel the Pariſhioners to come to their ſeveral Churches, and there devoutly to hear Divine Service, as of reaſon they ought.

17. *Item.* That they examine all School-maſters and Teachers of Children, and finding them ſuſpect in any ways to remove them, and place Catholick Men in their Rooms, with a ſpecial Commandment to inſtruct their Children, ſo as they may be able to anſwer the Prieſt at the Maſs, and ſo help the Prieſt to Maſs as hath been accuſtomed.

18. *Item.* That the ſaid Biſhop, and all Perſons aforeſaid, have ſuch regard, reſpect, and conſideration of and for the ſetting forth of the Premiſes, with all kind of Vertue, godly Living, and good Example, with repreſſing alſo, and keeping under of Vice and Unthriftineſs, as they, and every each of them may be ſeen to favour the Reſtitution of true Religion; and alſo to make an honeſt account and reckoning of their Office and Cure, to the Honour of God, our good contentation, and the profit of this Realm, and Dominions of the ſame.

Number

Number 11.

A Commiſſion to turn out ſome of the Reformed Biſhops.

Rot. pat. prim. Mariæ pars ſeptim.

REgina Dei Gratia, &c. perdilectis & fidelibus Conſiliariis ſuis, Stephano Winton Epiſcopo, ſummo ſuo Angliæ Cancellario & Cudberto Dunelmen. Epiſcopo, necnon Reverend. & dilectis ſibi in Chriſto Edmund. London. Epiſcopo, Roberto Aſſaven. Epiſcopo, Georgio Ceſtren. Epiſcopo, & Antonio Landaven. Epiſcopo ſalutem. Quia omne animi vitium tanto conſpectius in ſe crimen habet, quanto qui peccat major habetur, & quoniam certis & indubitatis teſtimoniis, um cum facti notoreitate & fama publica referente, luculenter intelleximus & manifeſto comperimus Robertum Archiepiſcopum Ebor. Robertum Meneven. Joan. Ceſtren. & Paulum Briſtolen. Epiſcopos, aut certe pro talibus ſe gerentes, Dei & animarum ſuarum ſalutis immemores, valde gravia & enormia dudum commiſiſſe & perpetraſſe ſcelera atq; peccata, & inter cætera quod dolenter certe, & magna cum amaritudine animæ noſtræ proferimus, poſt expreſſam profeſſionem caſtitatis, expreſſe, rite & legitime emiſſam, cum quibuſdam mulieribus nuptias de facto, cum de jure non deberent, in Dei contemptum & animarum ſuarum peccatum manifeſtum necnon in grave omnium ordinum, tam Clericorum quam Laicorum ſcandalum; Deniq; cæterorum Omnium Chriſti fidelium perniciosiſſimum exemplum contraxiſſe & cum illis tanquam cum Uxoribus cohabitaſſe. Ne igitur tantum ſcelus remaneat impunitum ac multos alios pertrahat in ruinam, vobis tenore præſentium committimus & mandamus, quatenus vos omnes, aut tres ſaltem veſtrum qui præſentes Literas Commiſſionales duxerint exequend. dictos Archiepiſcopum Ebor. Epiſc. Meneven. Epiſc. Ceſtren. & Epiſc. Briſtollen. diebus, horis & locis, veſtro, aut trium veſtrum arbitrio, eligend. & aſſignand. ad comparand. coram vobis, ceu tribus veſtrum, vocetis aut vocari faciatis, vocent, aut vocari faciant, tres veſtrum: (ceu ſaltem) ſi ita vobis aut tribus veſtrum videatur, eoſdem Archiep. & Epiſc. prædict. adeatis, aut tres veſtrum adeant & negotio illis ſummarie & de plano ſine ullo ſtrepitu & figura judicii expoſito & declarato, ſi per ſummariam examinationem & diſcuſſionem negotii per vos aut tres veſtrum fiendam eundem Archiep. & Epiſc. prædictos ſic contraxiſſe, aut feciſſe conſtiterit; eoſdem a dignitatibus ſuis prædictis, cum ſuis juribus pertinen. Univerſis, omnino amoveatis, deprivetis & perpetuo excludatis, ceu tres veſtrum ſic amoveant, deprivent, perpetuo excludant; pœnitentiam ſalutarem & congruam pro modo culpæ veſtro aut trium veſtrum arbitrio imponend. eiſdem injungentes, cæteraq; in prædictis cum eorum incidentibus emergentes annexis & connexis quibuſcunq;, facientes quæ neceſſaria fuerint, ceu quomodolibet opportuna. Quæ omnia & ſingula faciend. expedient. & finiend. Nos tam Autoritate noſtra Ordinaria, quam abſoluta, ex mero motu certaq; ſcientia noſtra, vobis & tribus veſtrum poteſtatem, Autoritatem & licentiam concedimus, & impertimur per præſentes cum cujuſlibet coercionis & caſtigationis ſeveritate & poteſtate in contrarium facientes non obſtant. quibuſcunque. In cujus rei, &c. Apud. Weſtm. 16. die Martii.

Number

Number 12.

Another Commiſſion to turn out the reſt of them.

MARY by the Grace of God, *&c.* To the Right Reverend Fathers in God, our right Truſty and right well-beloved Counſellors, *Stephen* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, our Chancellor of *England*; *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *Dureſm*; *Edmond* Biſhop of *London*; *Robert* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*; *George* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, our Almoner; and *Anthony* Biſhop of *Landaff*, Greeting. Whereas *John Tailour*, Doctor of Divinity, naming himſelf Biſhop of *Lincoln*; *John Hooper*, naming himſelf Biſhop of *Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*; *John Harley*, Biſhop of *Hereford*; having theſe ſaid ſeveral pretended Biſhopricks given to them, by the Letters Patents of Our late deceaſed Brother, King *Edward* the Sixth, to have and to hold the ſame during their good behaviours, with the expreſs Clauſe, (*quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*) have ſithence, as hath been credibly brought to Our knowledg, both by Preaching, Teaching, and ſetting forth of Erroneous Doctrine, and alſo by inordinate Life and Converſation, contrary both to the Laws of Almighty God, and Uſe of the Univerſal Chriſtian Church, declared themſelves very unworthy of that Vocation and Dignity in the Church.

We minding to have theſe ſeveral Caſes duly heard and conſidered, and thereupon ſuch Order taken with them, as may ſtand with Juſtice, and the Laws, have, for the ſpecial Truſt We have conceived of your Wiſdoms, Learning, and Integrity of Life, appointed you, four, three, or two of you, to be our Commiſſioners in this behalf: giving unto you four, three, or two of you, full Power and Authority to call before you, if ye ſhall think ſo good, the ſaid *John Tailour*, *John Hooper*, *John Harley*, and every of them. And thereupon, either by Order of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, or of the Laws of our Realm, or of both, proceed to the declaring the ſaid Biſhopricks to be void, as they be already indeed void. To the intent ſome ſuch other meet Perſonages may be elected thereunto, as for their godly Life, Learning, and Sobriety, may be thought worthy the Places. In Witneſs, *&c.* *Apud Weſtm.* 15 *die Martii.*

Number 13.

Bonner's *Certificate, that Biſhop* Scory *had put away his Wife.*

Regiſt. *Bon.* Fol. 347.

EDmundus permiſſione Divina London. Epiſcopus, Univerſis & ſingulis Chriſti fidelibus, ad quos præſentes literæ noſtræ teſtimoniales pervenerint; ac eis præſertim quos infra ſcripta tangunt, ſeu tangere poterint quomodolibet in futurum, ſalutem in Auctore ſaluis & fidem indubiam præſentibus adhibere. Quia boni Paſtoris officium tunc nos rite exequi arbitramur, cum ad exemplar Chriſti errantes oves ad caulam dominici gregis reducimus, & Eccleſiæ Chriſti, quæ redeunti gremium non claudit, reſtituimus: & quia dilectus Confrater noſter Joannes nuper Ciceſtrien. Epiſcopus in Dioc. & juriſdictione noſtris London. ad præſens reſidentiam & moram faciens; qui olim laxatis Pudicitiæ & caſtitatis habenis, contra Sacros Canones & Sanctorum Patrum decreta ad illicitas & prohibitas convolavit nuptias; ſe ea ratione non ſolum Eccleſiaſtic. Sacrament. pertractand. omnino indignum; verum etiam a publica officii ſui paſtoralis functione privatum & ſuſpenſum reddens, tranſactæ licentioſæ vitæ valde pœnitentem & deplorantem, plurimis Argumentis ſe declaravit, ac pro commiſſis pœnitentiam alias per nos ſibi injunctam ſalutarem, aliquo temporis tractu in cordis ſui amaritudine & animi dolore peregit, vitam hactenus degens laudabilem, ſpemq; faciens id ſe in poſterum facturum atq; ob id ad Eccleſiaſticæ ac Paſtoralis Functionis ſtatum, ſaltem cum quodam temperamento, juſtitia exigente, reponend. hinc eſt quod nos præmiſſa ac, humilem dicti confratris noſtri petitionem pro reconciliatione ſua habenda & obtinenda conſiderantes, ejus precibus, favorabiliter inclinati, eundem Confratrem noſtrum ad publicam Eccleſiaſtici Miniſterii & Officii ſui Paſtoralis Functionem & Executionem, infra Dioc. noſtram London. exercend. quatenus de jure poſſumus & abſq; cujuſq; præjudicio reſtituimus, rehabilitavimus & redintegravimus, prout tenore præſentium ſic reſtituimus, rehabilitamus, & redintegramus; Sacroſanctæ Eccleſiæ clementia & Chriſtiana Charitate id exigentibus. Vobis igitur univerſis & ſingulis ſupradictis præfatum confratrem noſtrum, ſic ut præmittitur reſtitutum, rehabilitatum & reintegratum fuiſſe, & eſſe ad omnes effectus ſupradictos ſignificamus & notificamus per præſentes ſigillo noſtro ſigillat. Dat. in Manerio noſtro de Fulham die menſis Julii Anno Dom. 1554. & noſtræ Tranſla. Anno 15.

Numbe;

Number 14.

A Letter of the Queen's, to the Juſtices of the Peace in Norfolk.

MARY the Queen.

TRuſty and well-beloved, We greet you well. And whereas We have heretofore ſignified our Pleaſure, both by our Proclamation general, and by our Letters to many of you, particularly for the good Order and Stay of that our County of *Norfolk*, from Rebellions, Tumults, and Uproars; and to have a ſpecial regard to Vagabonds, and to ſuch as did ſpread any vain Propheſies, ſeditious, falſe, or untrue Rumors, and to puniſh them accordingly; We have nevertheleſs, to Our no ſmall grief, ſundry Intelligences, of divers and ſundry lewd and ſeditious Tales, forged and ſpread by certain malicious Perſons, touching the Eſtate of our Perſon; with many other vain and ſlanderous Reports, tending to the moving of Sedition and Rebellion, whoſe fault, and paſſing unpuniſhed, ſeemeth either to be winked at, or at leaſt little conſidered, which is to Us very ſtrange. We have therefore thought good, eſtſoons, to require and command you, to be not only more circumſpect in the good ordering of that our County, according to our Truſt conceived of you, but alſo to uſe all the beſt means and ways ye can, in the diligent examining and ſearching out, from Man to Man, the Authors and Publiſhers of theſe vain Propheſies, and untrue Bruits, the very foundation of all Rebellions: and the ſame being found, to puniſh them as the quality of their Offence ſhall appear to you to deſerve; whereby the malicious ſort may be the more feared to attempt the like, and Our good loving Subjects live in more quiet. And for Our better ſervice in this behalf, We think good that ye divide your ſelves unto ſeveral parts of that our County, ſo that every of you have ſome part in charge, whereby ye may the better butt out the malacious; and yet nevertheleſs to meet often together for the better conferring herein. And that ye ſignify your Doings, and the State of that Shire, by your general Letters, once every month at leaſt, to our Privy Council. And like-as We ſhall conſider ſuch of you to your advancements, whoſe diligence ſhall ſet forwards our Service in this Part, ſo ſhall We have good cauſe to note great negligence and fault in them that ſhall omit their Duty in this behalf.

Given under our Signet, at our Mannor of St. *James*, the 23*d* of *May*, in the firſt Year of our Reign.

Number 15.

The Title of *Bonner's* whole Book.

Articles to be enquired of in the general Visitation of Edmund *Bishop of* London, *exercised by him in the Year of our Lord* 1554. *in the City and Diocess of* London; *and set forth by the same, for his own Discharge towards God, and the World, to the Honour of God, and his* Catholick Church; *and to the Commodity and Profit of all those, that either are Good, (which he would were all) or delighteth in Goodness, (which he wisheth to be many) without any particular grudg or displeasure to any one, good or bad, within this Realm; which Articles he desireth all Men, of their Charity, especially those that are of his Diocess, to take, with as good intent and mind as the said Bishop wisheth and desireth, which is to the best. And the said Bishop withal, desireth all People to understand, That whatsoever Opinion, good or bad, hath been received of him, or whatsoever usage or custom hath been heretofore, his only intent and purpose, is to do his Duty charitably, and with that love, favour, and respect, both towards God and every Christian Person, which any Bishop should shew to his Flock in any wise.*

Article 1.

WHether the Clergy, to give example to Laity, have in their Living, in their Teaching, and in their Doing, so behaved themselves, that they (in the judgment of indifferent Persons) have declared themselves to search principally the Honour of God and his Church, the Health of the Souls of such as are committed to their Cure and Charge, the Quietness of their Parishioners, and the Wealth and Honour of the King and Queen of this Realm?

Article 2.

Item. Whether your Parson, Vicar, or any other ministring as Priest within your Parish, have been, or is married, or taken for married, not yet separated from his Concubine, or Woman taken for Wife? Or whether the same Woman be dead, or yet living; and being living, whether the one resorteth to the other, openly, secretly, or slanderously, maintaing, supporting, or finding the same in any wise to the offence of the People?

Article 3.

Item. Whether there be any Person, of what Estate, Condition, or degree he be, that doth, in open talk, or privily, defend, maintain, or uphold the Marriage of Priests, encouraging or bolding any Person to the defence thereof?

Article

Article 4.

Item. Whether you have your Parſon or Vicar reſident continually with you upon his Benefice, doing his Duty in the ſerving of the Cure; and whether being able to do, keep Hoſpitality upon the ſame, feeding his Flock with his good living, with his teaching, and his relieving of them to his Power?

Article 5.

Item. Whether your Parſon, or Vicar, being abſent, have a ſufficient Diſpenſation and Licenſe therein; and whether, in his abſence, he do appoint an honeſt, able, and ſufficient learned Curat to ſupply his room and abſence to ſerve his Cure?

Article 6.

Item. Whether your Parſon, or Vicar, by himſelf, or his good and ſufficient Deputy for him, do relieve ſuch poor Pariſhioners; repair and maintain his Houſe, or Manſion, and things thereunto appertaining; and otherwiſe do his Duty, as by the Order of the Law, and Cuſtom of this Realm, he ought to do?

Article 7.

Item. Whether the ſaid Curat, appointed in the abſence of your Parſon, or Vicar, do in all Points, the beſt he can, to miniſter the Sacraments, and Sacramentals, and other his Duty, in ſerving the ſame Cure, ſpecially in celebrating Divine Service at convenient hours, chiefly upon *Sundays*, and Holy-days, and Proceſſion-days, and miniſtring the ſaid Sacraments, and Sacramentals, as of Duty and Reaſon he ought, moving and exhorting earneſtly his Pariſhioners to come unto it, and devoutly to hear the ſame: and whether he himſelf do reverently celebrate, miniſter, and uſe the ſame as appertaineth?

Article 8.

Item. Whether he the ſaid Curat, Parſon, or Vicar, have been, or is of ſuſpect Doctrine, erroneous Opinion, Miſbelief, or evil Judgment; or do ſet forth, preach, favour, aid, or maintain the ſame, contrary to the Catholick Faith, and Order of this Realm?

Article 9.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do haunt or reſort to Alehouſes, or Taverns, otherwiſe than for his or their honeſt Neceſſity and Relief; or repair to any Dicing-houſes, common Bowling-Alies, ſuſpect Houſes, or Places; or do haunt and uſe Common Games, or Playes, or behave themſelves otherwiſe unprieſtly and unſeemly?

Article 10.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, be familiar, or keep company, and be converſant with any ſuſpected Perſon of evil Converſation and Living, or Erroneous Opinion or Doctrine, or be noted to aid, favour, and aſſiſt the ſame in any wiſe, contrary to the good Order of this Realm, and the Uſage of the Catholick Church?

Article 11.

Item. Whether there be dwelling within any your Pariſhes, any Prieſt, Forreigner, Stranger, or other, who not preſented to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, or his Officers, examined and admitted by ſome one of them, doth take upon him to ſerve any Cure, or to

to miniſter any Sacraments, or Sacramentals, within the ſaid Pariſh?

Article 12.

Item. Whether there be dwelling within any your Pariſhes, or repairing thither any Prieſt, or other, naming himſelf Miniſter, which doth not come diligently to the Church to hear the Divine Service, or Sermons there; but abſenteth himſelf, or diſcourageth others by his example, or words, to come unto the ſame, expreſſing their Name and Sir-name, with ſufficient knowledg of them?

Article 13.

Item. Whether there be any Married Prieſts, or naming themſelves Miniſters, that do keep any Aſſemblies, or Conventicles, with ſuch-like as they are, in Office or Sect, to ſet forth any Doctrine or Uſage not allowed by the Laws, and laudable Cuſtoms of this Realm; or whether there be any reſort of any of them to any Place, for any privy Letters, Sermons, Plays, Games, or other Devices, not expreſly in this Realm by Laws allowed?

Article 14.

Item. Whether there be any of them, which is a common Brawler, Scolder, a ſower of Diſcord among his Pariſh-Churches, a Hawker, a Hunter, or ſpending his time idely or unthriftily; or being a Fornicator, an Adulterer, a Drunkard, a Common Swearer or Blaſphemer of God or his Saints, or an unruly or evil-diſpoſed Perſon; or that hath come to his Benefice or Promotion, by Simony, unlawful Suit, or ungodly Means, in any Ways?

Article 15.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, to the beſt of their Powers, at all times have exhorted and ſtirred the People to Quietneſs and Concord, and to the Obedience of the King and Queen's Majeſty's, and their Officers, rebuking all Sedition and Tumult, with all unlawful Aſſemblies, moving the People to Charity and good Order; and charging the Fathers and Mothers, Maſters and Governors of Youth, to keep good Rule, and to inſtruct them in Vertue and Goodneſs, to the Honour of God, and of this Realm; and to have them occupied in ſome honeſt Art and Occupation, to get their Living thereby?

Article 16.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do admit any Perſon to receive the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, who are openly known or ſuſpected to be Adverſaries and Speakers againſt the ſaid Sacrament, or any other Article of the Catholick Faith; or to be a notorious evil Perſon in his Converſation or Doctrine; an open Oppreſſor, or evil Doer to his Neighbour, not being confeſſed, reconciled, and having made ſatisfaction in that behalf?

Article 17.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, have of their own Authority admitted and licenſed any to preach in their Cure, not being authoriſed and admitted thereunto, or have denied and refuſed ſuch to preach as have been lawfully licenſed: and whether they, or any of them, having authority to preach within their Cures, doth uſe to preach, or at the leaſt doth procure other lawful or ſufficient Perſons to do the ſame, according to the Order of this Realm?

Article

Article 18.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, ſince the Queen's Majeſty's Proclamation, hath, or doth uſe to ſay, or ſing, the Divine Service, miniſter the Sacraments, or Sacramentals, or other things, in Engliſh, contrary to the Order of this Realm?

Article 19.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, in their Suffrages, Collects, and Prayers, doth uſe to pray for the King and Queen's Majeſty, by the Names of King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, according to a Letter and Commandment therein lawfully given now of late unto them by their Ordinary?

Article 20.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, have diligently moved and exhorted their Pariſhioners, how and in what manner Children ſhould be Baptized in time of neceſſity; and they the ſaid Pariſhioners, reverently and devoutly to prepare themſelves to receive and uſe the Sacraments, eſpecially the Sacrament of the Altar, or to be confeſſed and receive at the Prieſt's hand, the benefit of Abſolution, according to the laudable cuſtom of this Realm?

Article 21.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, hath diligently viſited his and their Pariſhioners, in the time of Sickneſs and Need, and miniſtred Sacraments and Sacramentals to them accordingly; and whether they have exhorted and moniſhed them to have due reſpect to their Souls Health; and alſo to ſet an Order in their Temporal Lands and Goods, declaring their Debts perfectly, and what is owing unto them; and they ſo to make their Teſtaments, and laſt Wills, that as much as may be, all trouble and buſineſs may be excluded; their Wives and Children, with their Friends, may be holpen and ſuccoured, and themſelves decently buried and prayed for; and to have an honeſt memory and commendations for their ſo doing?

Article 22.

Item. Whether they, and every of them, have ſolemnized Matrimony, between his Pariſhioners, or any other Perſons, the Banes not before asked, three ſeveral *Sundays*, or Holy-days; or without Certificate of the ſaid Banes, from the Curat of any other Pariſh, if any of them be of another Pariſh: And whether touching the Solemnization and uſe of this Sacrament of Matrimony, and alſo of all other the Sacraments of the Church, they have kept and obſerved the old the laudable Cuſtom of the Church, without any innovation or alteration in any of the ſame?

Article 23.

Item. Whether they, or every each of them, upon the *Sunday* at the Service-time, doth uſe to ſet forth, and to declare unto the People, all ſuch Holy-days, and Faſting-days, as of Godly uſage and cuſtom hath heretofore laudably been accuſtomed to be kept and obſerved in the week following and enſuing; and whether they, and every of them doth obſerve and keep themſelves the ſaid Holy-days, and Faſting-days?

Article

Article 24.

Item. Whether the Parſon, or Vicar, doth repair and maintain his Chancel, and Manſion-houſe, in ſufficient reparation; and the ſame being in decay, whether he doth beſtow yearly the fifth part of his Benefice, till ſuch time the ſame be ſufficiently repaired; doing alſo further his Duty therein, and otherwiſe, as by the Law he is charged and bound in that behalf, diſtributing and doing as he is bound by the Law?

Article 25.

Item. Whether there be any Perſon that doth ſerve any Cure, or miniſter any Sacraments, not being Prieſt; or if any do take upon them to uſe the Room and Office of the Parſon, or Vicar, or Curat, of any Benefice or Spiritual Promotion, receiving the Fruits thereof, not being admitted thereunto by the Ordinary?

Article 26.

Item. Whether they, and every each of them, doth go in Prieſtly Apparel and Habit, having their Beards and Crowns ſhaven, or whether any of them doth go in Lay-mens Habits and Apparel, or otherwiſe diſguiſe themſelves, that they cannot eaſily be diſcovered or known from Lay-men?

Article 27.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, have many Promotions and Benefices Eccleſiaſtical, Cures, Secular Services, Yearly Penſions, Annuities, Farms, or other Revenues, now in Title or Poſſeſſion; and what the Names of them be, and where they lie, giving all good inſtruction, and perfect information therein?

Article 28.

Item. Whether ſuch as have Churches or Chappels appropriated, or Manſions or Houſes thereto appertaining, do keep their Chancels and Houſes in good and ſufficient reparations; and whether they do all things in Diſtributions and Alms, or otherwiſe, as by Law and good Order they ought to do?

Article 29.

Item. Whether any ſuch as were ordered Schiſmatically, and contrary to the old Order and Cuſtom of the Catholick Church, or being unlawfully and ſchiſmatically married, after the late innovation and manner, being not yet reconciled nor admitted by the Ordinary, have celebrated or ſaid, either Maſs or Divine Service, within any Cure or Place of this City or Dioceſs?

Article 30.

Item. Whether any Parſon, or Vicar, or other, having Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, doth ſet out the ſame to Farm, without conſent, knowledg, and licenſe of his Ordinary, eſpecially for an unreaſonable number of Years, or with ſuch Conditions, Qualities, or Manners, that the ſame is to the great prejudice of the Church, and the Incumbent of the ſame, and eſpecially of him that ſhall ſucceed therein?

Article 31.

Item. Whether there be any Parſon or Vicar, Curat or Prieſt, that occupieth buying and ſelling as a Merchant, or occupieth Uſury, or layeth out his Mony for filthy Lucres-ſake and Gain, to the ſlander of the Prieſthood?

Article

Article 32.

Item. Whether they, or any of them, do wear Swords, Daggers, or other Weapons, in times or places not convenient or seemly?

Article 33.

Item. Whether any Priest, or Ecclesiastical Person, have reiterated or renewed Baptism, which was lawfully done before, or invented or followed any new Fashion or Forms, contrary to the Order of the Catholick Church?

Article 34.

Item. Whether the Parson, Vicar, or Curat, do (according to the Law) every quarter in the Year, upon one solemn Day, or more, that is to wit, upon the *Sunday*, or Solemn Feast (when the Parishioners, by the Order of the Church do come together) expound and declare by himself, or some other sufficient Person, unto the People, in the Vulgar, or Common Tongue, plainly, truly, and fruitfully, the Articles of the Catholick Faith, the Ten Commandments expressed in the Old Law, the Two Commandments of the Gospel, or New Law; that is, of earnest Love to God, and to our Neighbour; the seven Works of Mercy; the seven deadly Sins, with their Off-spring, Progeny, and Issue; the seven principal Vertues, and the seven Sacraments of the Church?

Article 35.

Item. Whether that every Priest, having Cure, do admonish the Women, that are with Child, within his Cure, to come to Confession, and to receive the Sacrament, especially when their time draweth nigh, and to have Water in readiness to christen the Child, if necessity so require it?

Article 36.

Item. Whether Stipiendary Priests do behave themselves discreetly and honestly, in all Points, towards their Parson, or Vicar, giving an Oath, and doing according to the Law, and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, Ordinances, and laudable Customs in that behalf?

Article 37.

Item. Whether any Parson, Vicar, or other, having any Ecclesiastical Promotion, have made any alienation of any thing pertaining to their Church, Benefice, or Promotion; what it is, and what Warrant they had so to do.

Number 16.

An Addreſs made by the Lower Houſe of Convocation, to the Upper Houſe.

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.*

RIght Reverend Fathers in God, We the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, of the Lower Houſe, do moſt humbly pray your good Lordſhips, That touching the Submiſſion and Order of the Lands and Poſſeſſions which ſometimes did appertain to divers Biſhops, Cathedral Churches, and to the late ſuppreſſed Monaſteries, Priories, Colleges, Chauntries, and free Chappels, and other Churches within this Realm, and be now in the poſſeſſion of the Temporality, that it may pleaſe your good Lordſhips, by your diſcreet Wiſdoms, to foreſee and provide, that by this our Grant, nothing paſs, which may be prejudicial or hurtful to any Biſhop, or other Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, or their Succeſſors, for or concerning any Action, Right, Title, or Intereſt, which by the Laws of this Realm are already grown, or may hereafter grow or riſe to them, or any of them, and their Succeſſors, for any Lands, Tenements, Penſions, Portions, Tithes, Rents, Reverſions, Service, or other Hereditaments, which ſometime appertained to the ſaid Biſhops, or other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, in the Right of their Churches, or otherwiſe, but that the ſame Right, Title, and *Intereſt*, be ſafe and reſerved to them, and every of them and their Succeſſors, according to the ſaid Laws.

And further, whereas in the Statute paſſed in the firſt Year of *Edward* the Sixth, for the ſuppreſſing of all Colleges, *&c.* *Proviſo* was made by the ſaid Statute, in reſpect of the ſame Surrender, that Schools and Hoſpitals ſhould have been erected and founded in divers parts of this Realm, for the good education of Youth in Vertue and Learning, and the better ſuſtentation of the Poor; and that other Works, beneficial for the Common-Weal, ſhould have been executed, which hitherto be not performed, according to the meaning of the ſaid Statute, it may pleaſe your good Lordſhips to move the King's and the Queen's moſt Royal Majeſty, and the Lord Cardinal, to have ſome ſpecial conſideration for the due performance of the Premiſes; and that as well the ſame may the rather come to paſs, as the Church of *England*, which heretofore hath been honourably endowed with Lands and Poſſeſſions, may have ſome recovery of ſo notable Damages and Loſſes which ſhe hath ſuſtained.

It may pleaſe their Highneſs, with the aſſent of the Lords and Commons in this Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, to repeal, make fruſtrate and void, the Statute of *Mortmayn*, made in the ſeventh Year of *Edward* the Firſt, otherwiſe intituled, *de Religioſis*, and the Statute concerning the ſame, made the 15*th* Year of King *Richard* the Second. And all and every other Statute and Statutes, at any time heretofore made concerning the ſame. And foraſmuch as Tythes and Oblations have been at all times aſſigned and appointed for the ſuſtentation of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters; and in conſideration of the

the ſame, their Miniſtry and Office, which as yet cannot be executed by any Lay Perſon, ſo it is not meet that any of them ſhould perceive, poſſeſs, or enjoy the ſame: That all Impropriations, now being in the hands of any Lay Perſon, or Perſons, and Impropriations made to any ſecular uſe, other than for the maintenance of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, Univerſities, and Schools, may be, by like Authority of Parliament, diſſolved, and the Churches reduced to ſuch State as they were in, before the ſame Impropriations were made. And in this behalf we ſhall moſt humbly pray your good Lordſhips to have in ſpecial Conſideration, how lately the Lands and Poſſeſſions of Prebends, in certain Cathedral Churches within this Realm, have been taken away from the ſame Prebends, to the uſe of certain private Perſons; and in the lieu thereof, Benefices of notable value, impropriated to the Cathedral Churches in which the ſaid Prebends were founded, to the no little decay of the ſaid Cathedral Churches and Benefices, and the Hoſpitality kept in the ſame.

Farther, Right Reverend Fathers, we perceiving the godly forwardneſs in your good Lorſhips, in the reſtitution of this noble Church of *England*, to the priſtine State and Unity of Chriſt's Church, which now of late Years have been grievouſly infected with Hereſies, perverſe and ſchiſmatical Doctrine, ſown abroad in this Realm by evil Preachers, to the great loſs and danger of many Souls, accounting our ſelves to be called hither by your Lordſhips, out of all parts of the Province of *Canterbury*, to treat with your Lordſhips concerning, as well the ſame, as of other things touching the State and Quietneſs of the ſame Church, in Doctrine and in Manners, have, for the furtherance of your godly doing therein, deviſed theſe Articles following to be further conſidered and enlarged, as to your Lordſhips Wiſdoms ſhall be thought expedient. Wherein, as you do earneſtly think many things meet and neceſſary to be reform'd; ſo we doubt not but your Lordſhips, having reſpect to God's Glory, and the good Reformation of things amiſs, will no leſs travel to bring the ſame to paſs. And we, for our part, ſhall be at all times ready to do every thing, as by your Lordſhips Wiſdoms ſhall be thought expedient.

1. We deſign to be reſolved, Whether that all ſuch as have preach'd in any part within this Realm, or other the King and Queen's Dominions, any Heretical, Erroneous, or Seditious Doctrine, ſhall be called before the Ordinaries of ſuch Places where they now dwell, or be Benefic'd, and upon examination, to be driven to recant openly ſuch their Doctrine in all Places where they have preach'd the ſame? And otherwiſe, Whether any Order ſhall be made, and Proceſs to be made herein againſt them, according to the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Church in ſuch Caſe uſed?

2. That the peſtilent Book of *Thomas Cranmer*, late Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, made againſt the moſt Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, and the Schiſmatical Book, called, *The Communion Book*, and the Book of Ordering of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters; all ſuſpect Tranſlations of the Old and New Teſtament, the Authors whereof are recited in a Statute made the Year of King *Henry* the Eighth, and all other Books, as well in Latin as in Engliſh, concerning any Heretical, Erroneous, or

Slanderous Doctrine, may be deſtroyed and burnt throughout this Realm. And that publick Commandment be given in all Places to every Man having any ſuch Books, to bring in the ſame to the Ordinary, by a certain day, or otherwiſe to be taken and reputed as a favourer of ſuch Doctrine. And that it may be lawful to every Biſhop, and other Ordinary, to make enquiry and due ſearch, from time to time, for the ſaid Books, and to take them from the Owners and Poſſeſſors of them, for the purpoſe aboveſaid.

3. And for the better repreſs of all ſuch peſtilent Books, That Order may be taken with all ſpeed, that no ſuch Books may be printed, uttered, or ſold, within this Realm, or brought from beyond the Seas, or other parts, into the ſame, upon grievous pains to all ſuch as ſhall preſume to attempt the contrary.

4. And that the Biſhops, and other Ordinaries, may, with better ſpeed, root up all ſuch pernicious Doctrine, and the Authors thereof; We deſire that the Statutes made, *Anno quinto* of *Richard* the Second, *Anno ſecundo* of *Henry* the Fourth, and *Anno ſecundo* of *Henry* the Fifth, againſt Hereticks, Lollards, and falſe Preachers, may be by your Induſtrious Suit reviv'd and put in force, as ſhall be thought convenient. And generally, that all Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſtical Ordinaries, may be reſtored to their Priſtine Juriſdiction againſt Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and their Fautors, in as large and ample manner as they were, in the firſt Year of King *Henry* the Eighth.

5. And that the Premiſes may be the better executed by the preſence of Beneficed Men in their Cures, the Statutes made *Anno* 21. of *Henry* the Eighth, concerning Pluralities of Benefices, and Non-reſidence of Beneficed Men; by reaſon whereof, a larger Liberty or Licenſe is given to a great multitude of Prieſts and Chaplains to be abſent from their Benefices with Cure, than was ever permitted by the Canon Laws, and all other Statutes touching the ſame, may be repealed, void, and aboliſhed; and that the Biſhops, and other Ordinaries, may call all Beneficed Men to be reſident upon their Cures, as before the making of that Act they might have done.

6. *Item.* That the Ordinaries do, from time to time, make Proceſs for puniſhment of all Simoniacal Perſons, of whom it is thought there were never ſo many within this Realm. And that not only the Clerks, but alſo the Patrons, and all the Mediators of ſuch Factions may be puniſh'd. Wherein we think good that Order were taken, that the Patrons ſhould loſe their Patronage during their natural Lives, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions of this Realm.

7. *Item.* That the ancient Liberty, Authority, and Juriſdiction, be reſtored to the Church of *England*, according to the Article of the Great Charter, called *Magna Charta*; at the leaſt wiſe, in ſuch ſort as it was in the firſt Year of *Henry* the Eighth; and touching this Article, we ſhall deſire your Lordſhips to be with us moſt humble Suitors to the King's and Queen's Majeſty, and to the Lord Legat, for the remiſſion of the importable Burdens of the Firſt-Fruits, Tenths, and Subſidies. In which Suit, whatſoever advancement your Lordſhips ſhall think good to be offered unto their Majeſties for the ſame, we ſhall therein be always glad to do as ſhall be thought good.

8. *Item,*

8. *Item.* That no Attachment of Premunire be awarded againſt any Biſhop, or other Ordinary Eccleſiaſtical from henceforth in any Matter, but that a Prohibition be firſt brought to the ſame; and that it may pleaſe the King's and Queen's Majeſty, to command the Temporal Judges of this Realm, to explicate and declare plainly, all and ſingular Articles of the Premunire, and to make a certain Doctrine thereof.

9. *Item.* That the Statutes of the Proviſors be not drawn by unjuſt Interpretation out of their proper Caſes, nor from the proper ſenſe of the words of the ſame Statutes.

10. *Item.* That the Statute of Submiſſion of the Clergy, made *Anno* 25. of *Henry* the Eighth, and all other Statutes made during the time of the late Schiſm, in derogation of the Liberties and Juriſdictions of the Church, from the firſt Year of King *Henry* the Eighth, may be repealed, and the Church reſtored *in integrum.*

11. *Item.* That the Statute made for finding of great Horſes by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, may likewiſe be repealed.

12. *Item.* That Uſurers may be puniſh'd by the Common Laws, as in times paſt hath been uſed.

13. *Item.* That thoſe which lay violent Hands upon any Prieſt, or other Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter, being in Orders, may be puniſh'd by the Canon Laws, as in times paſt hath been uſed.

14. *Item.* That all Prieſts, Deacons, and Sub-Deacons, and all other having Prebends, or other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions or Benefices, from henceforth uſe ſuch Prieſt-like Habit, as the quality of his State and Benefice requireth.

15. *Item.* That Married Prieſts may be compelled to forſake their Women, whom they took as their Wives.

16. *Item.* That an Order may be taken for the bringing up of Youth in good Learning and Vertue; and that the School-maſters of this Realm may be Catholick Men, and all other to be removed that are either Sacramentaries, or Hereticks, or otherwiſe notable Criminous Perſons.

17. *Item.* That all exempt and peculiar Places may, from henceforth be immediately under the Juriſdiction of that Arch-biſhop, or Biſhop, and Arch-deacon, within whoſe ſeveral Dioceſs and Arch-deaconry, the ſame are preſently conſtitute and ſcituate. And whereas divers Temporal Men, by reaſon of late Purchaſes of certain Abbies, and exempt Places, have, by their Letters Patents, or otherwiſe, granted unto them Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the ſaid Places; That from henceforth the ſaid Juriſdiction be devolv'd to the Arch-Biſhop, or Biſhop, and Arch-deacon, within whoſe Dioceſs, and Arch-deaconry the ſame now be.

18. *Item.* Where the Mayor of *London*, by force of a Decree made, *Anno* of *Henry* the Eighth, hath attributed unto him the Cognition of Cauſes of Tythes in *London*; that from henceforth the ſame Cognition, and Juriſdiction, may utterly ceaſe, and be reduced immediately to the Biſhop of *London* Ordinary there.

19. *Item.* That Tythes may be henceforth paid according to the Canon Laws.

20. *Item.*

20. *Item.* That Lands and Places impropriated to Monaſteries, which at the time of Diſſolution and Suppreſſion thereof, were exempt from payment of Tythes, may be now allotted to certain Pariſhes, and there chageable to pay like Tythes as other Pariſhioners do.

21. *Item.* That there be a ſtreight Law made, whereby the reparations of Chancels, which are notoriouſly decay'd through the Realm, may be duly repaired, from time to time, by ſuch as by the Law ought to do the ſame; and namely, ſuch as be in the King's and Queen's Hands; and that the Ordinaries maw lawfully proceed in Cauſes of Dilapidations, as well of them as of all other Parſonages, Vicarages, and other Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Promotions.

22. *Item.* That Order be taken for, the more ſpeedy paiment of Penſions to all Prieſts, Penſionaries; and that they may have the ſame, without long Suits or Charges.

23. *Item.* That an Order be taken for paiment of Perſonal Tythes, in Cities, and Towns, and elſewhere, as was uſed in *Anno* 21. of *Henry* the Eighth.

24. *Item.* That ſuch Prieſts as were lately married, and refuſe to reconcile themſelves to their Order, and to be reſtored to Miniſtration, may have ſome ſpecial Animadverſion, whereby, as Apoſtates, they may be diſcern'd from other.

25. *Item.* That Religious Women, which be married, may be divorced.

26. *Item.* That in Divorces, which are made from Bed and Board, Proviſion may be made, that the Innocent Woman may enjoy ſuch Lands and Goods as were hers before the Marriage, or that happened to come to her uſe at any time during the Marriage; and that it may not be lawful for the Huſband, being for his Offence divorced from the ſaid Woman, to intermeddle himſelf with the ſaid Lands or Goods, unleſs his Wife be to him reconciled.

27. *Item.* That the Wardens of Churches and Chappels, may render their Accounts before the Ordinaries, and may be by them compell'd to do the ſame.

28. *Item.* That all ſuch Eccleſiaſtal Perſons as lately have ſpoiled Cathedral, Collegiat, and other Churches, of their own heads and temerity, may be compelled to reſtore all and ſingular things ſo by them taken away, or the true value thereof; and farther, to re-edify ſuch things, as by them are deſtroy'd and defac'd.

Number

Number 17.

A Bull, conſtituting Cardinal Beaton *Arch-biſhop of St.* Andrews, *Legate a Latere in the Kingdom of* Scotland.

An Original.

PAulus Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto Filio Davidi, & Sancti Stephani in Celiomonte Preſbytero Cardinali Sancti Andreæ nuncupato, apud Chariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam noſtram Mariam Scotorum Reginam Illuſtrem, & in toto Scotiæ Regno, & Univerſis & ſingulis Provinciis, Civitatibus, Terris, Caſtris, & Locis præfatæ Mariæ Reginæ mediate vel immediate Subjectis, noſtro Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legato, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Licet poteſtatis plenitudo deſuper nobis ſit commiſſa, & Univerſi Gregis Domini, divina diſponente Clementia, curam habeamus; fines tamen humanæ poſſibilitatis excedere non valentes, conſideranteſq; quod circa ſingula per nos ipſos Apoſtolicæ ſervitutis Officiũ abſolvere non poſſumus, nonnunquam aliquos, & præcipue Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinales, in Sollicitudinis partem aſſumimus, ut ipſis vices noſtras ſupplentibus, eorum cooperatione laudabili noſtri oneris gravitatem alleviantes, miniſterium nobis Commiſſum, Divina favente gratia, facilius & efficacius exequamur; Animo itaq; volventes multa quotidie eventura ob quæ opportunum atq; neceſſarium erit, cum chariſſima in Chriſto Filia noſtra Maria Scotorum Regina Illuſtri, ſuper pluribus Decus, Dignitatem ac Statum Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ, Sanctæq; ſedis Apoſtolicæ concernentibus pertractare; ac nobis perſuadentes quod Circumſpectio tua, quæ rerum maximarum uſu & experientia, ac ſingulari in agendo ſtudio & dexteritate, nec minori prudentia & ingenii Acrimonia ita præſtat, quod quæcunq; contigerint cum illa Majeſtate, noſtro & prædictæ ſedis nomine communicanda, tractanda, & peragenda, quæ noſtrum & dictæ ſedis honorem ipſamq; dignitatem reſpiciunt, necnon illa quæ eidem Circumſpectioni tuæ duxerimus committenda, ea cura, induſtria, & ſolertia proſequeris, & adimplere curabis ut voluntas noſtra, quæ non niſi ad Gregem cuſtodiæ noſtræ commiſſum, tuendum, & ampliandum invigilat, optatum finem ſortiatur; Habita ſuper his cum venerabilibus fratribus noſtris Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, matura deliberatione, de ipſorum Fratrum Conſilio, Circumſpectionem tuam apud dictam Mariam Reginam, necnon in toto Scotiæ Regno, ac univerſis & ſingulis Provinciis, Civitatibus, Terris, Caſtris, & Locis eidem Mariæ Reginæ mediate vel immediate ſubjectis, noſtrum & ſedis prædictæ Legatum, ad beneplacitum noſtrum, Creamus, Conſtituimus & Deputamus. Circumſpectio igitur tua munus hujuſmodi devota mente ſuſpiciens, ſe in illius executione ſic ſollicitam, ac verbo & opere ſtudioſam diligentemq; exhibeat, quod ex tuis laboribus divina favente gratia optati fructus, quod ſperamus, ſuccedant: Tuq; per ſollicitudinem tuam præter æternæ retributionis præmium, poſſis apud nos & ſedem eandem merito commendari. Nos autem, ut ipſi expectati fructus quantocius emanent,

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

emanent, & tu erga Perſonas Regni, Provinciarum, Civitatum, Terrarum, Caſtrorum, & Locorum prædictorum, necnon familiares tuos continuos, commenſales, undecunq; originem & ubicunq; Domicilium habentes, tuis obſequiis inſiſtentes, & tibi ſervientes, te poſſis reddere gratioſum, Circumſpectioni tuæ Matrimoniales & Beneficiales, ac alias Eccleſiaſticas necnon ſpirituales & prophanas cauſas quaſlibet, ad forum Eccleſiaſticum quomodolibet pertinentes, tam primæ inſtantiæ, quem Appellatione quorumcunque, etiam a quibuſcunq; Judicibus, Ordinariis & Delegatis, etiam per nos & ſedem prædictam, ſeu quoſcunq; alios etiam a Latere Legatos, & Judices interpoſitarum pro tempore, & durante dicta Legatione interponendarum, etiam Summarie, ſimpliciter, & de plano, ſine ſtrepitu & figura Judicii, ſola facti veritate inſpecta; cum poteſtate citandi, & inhibendi, ac ſequeſtrandi, & exequendi, etiam per edictum publicum conſtituto, ſummariæ & extrajudicialiter, de non tuto acceſſu, etiam ſub cenſuris & pœnis Eccleſiaſticis etiam pecuniariis, tuo vel morum Delegatorum arbitrio moderandis, exigendis & applicandis, per te, vel alium ſeu alios, audiendas, cognoſcendas, & ſine debito terminandas, delegandi; aliaſq; etiamſi per nos aut alios Autoritate Apoſtolica delegatæ forent, ſeu alias coram quocunq; penderent, cum tibi placuerit, ad te advocandi, & aliis etiam ſimpliciter committendi, & adverſus quaſcunq; ſententias, & res Judicatas, ac Contractus, & Læſiones quaſcunque, dictis tuis familiaribus Beneficium Reſtitutionis in integrum concedendi. Ac Officium Tabellionatus quibuſcunq; perſonis idoneis, recepto ab eis in forma ſolita juramento, concedendi: illoſq; Tabelliones creandi, & Notariatus Officio inveſtiendi, alias juxta formam in Quinterno Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ deſcriptam: Ac Milites auratos, Comiteſq; Palatinos, & Poetas Laureatos creandi, conſtituendi, & deputandi: Ac perſonas ſufficientes & idoneas ad Doctoratus, ſeu Licenciaturæ, & Baccalaureatus in utroq; vel altero Jurium, & etiam ad Magiſterii tam in Theologia quam Artibus, & Medicina, vel alios gradus hujuſmodi promovendi; eiſq; inſignia ſolita & debita, conferendi, & exhibendi, ſeu exhiberi & conferri faciendi, eiſq; quod omnibus & ſingulis Gratiis, Privilegiis, Libertatibus, immunitatibus, exemptionibus, & indultis, quibus alii Milites aurati, Poetæ Laureati, & Comites Palatini, per nos & ſedem prædictam, creati & inſtituti, necnon ad hujuſmodi Gradus in Univerſitatibus Studiorum generalium, juxta illos actus & mores, ac ſervatis ſervandis promoti utuntur, potiuntur & gaudent; ſeu uti, potiri, & gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum, uti, potiri & gaudere, libere & licete poſſint, & debeant indulgendi. Ac cum Nobilibus & Graduatis, ut quæcunq; Tria, & ſi cum eis ad Duo incompatibilia Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, inſimul ad vitam obtinenda diſpenſatum foret; cum eis ut quodcunq; Tertium, cum aliis vero non Nobilibus aut Graduatis, ut quæcunq; Duo Curata, ſeu alias invicem incompatibilia, etiam ſi dignitas, Perſonatus, Adminiſtrationes, vel Officia in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis, vel Collegiatis: & Dignitates ipſæ in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis, poſt Pontificiales Majores, ſeu Collegiatis Eccleſiis hujuſmodi Principales, aut duo ex eiſdem Parrochiales Eccleſiæ, vel earum perpetuæ Vicariæ fuerint: Et ad dignitates, perſonatus, adminiſtrationes, vel officia hujuſmodi conſueverint, qui per electionem aſſumi, eiſq; cura immineat animarum, necnon quæcunq; duo diſſimilia,

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vel ſimilia, ſub uno, duobus vel tribus tectis dictarum vel aliarum Eccleſiarum conſiſtentia : Ac cum quibuſvis Perſonis, cujuſvis Ordinis, Monachis, Canonicis, & Religioſis, ut quæcunq; duo Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, cum cura vel ſine cura regularia, & cum eorum altero, ſeu ſine illis, unum curatum ſeculare, & cum quibuſvis Clericis Secularibus, ut unum Beneficium Eccleſiaſticum cum cura, vel ſine cura cujuſvis Ordinis regulare, etiam ſi beneficia regularia hujuſmodi Prioratus, præpoſituræ, præpoſitatus, Dignitates, Perſonatus, Adminiſtrationes vel Officia fuerint ; & ad illos illas vel illa conſueverint, qui per electionem aſſumi, eiſq; cura immineat animarum : Regulares, videlicet unum ex dictis regularibus beneficiis quod maluerint, ſi Prioratus, præpoſitura, aut alia Dignitas Conventualis, aut officium clauſtrale fuerit, in titulum & ipſi regulares reliquum, ac ſeculare vel alterius Ordinis regulare ; necnon Clerici Seculares unum quod Conventuale aut Clauſtrale non ſit, in commendam quoad vixerint, vel ad tempus de quo tibi videbitur retinere, ac de ipſius commendandi beneficii, fructibus, redditibus, & proventibus diſponere, & ordinare, ſicuti illud in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis diſponere & ordinare potuerunt, ſeu etiam debuerunt ; Alienatione tamen quorumcunque bonorum immobilium, & precioſorum mobilium, dicti Beneficii in Commendam retinendi, eis penitus interdicta : Necnon cum petentibus defectum Natalium etiam regularibus, ut ad omnes etiam Sacros Ordines promoveri, & quæcumque, quotcumque, & qualiacumque Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica cum cura vel ſine cura, ac ſe invicem compatientia, etiam ſi Canonicatus, & Prebendæ in Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis vel Collegiatis Eccleſiis, hujuſmodi ac alias ut præfertur qualificata fuerint ; dummodo dignitates in Metropolitanis vel aliis Cathedralibus, poſt Pontificales Majores, & in Collegiatis Eccleſiis hujuſmodi Principales non exiſtant ; ac etiam cum eis ſi graduati non fuerint, ut præfertur, ad duo, ſi vero graduati fuerint, ad tria incompatibilia beneficia hujuſmodi, non tamen dignitates majores ut præfertur, nec Principales, vel cum diſpenſatis ad duo ut tertium Curatum, vel alias incompatibile ut ſupradictum eſt, & cum regularibus etiam ad beneficia regularia ut præfertur, qualificata, & competentibus, ætatis defectum etiam regularibus, ſupra decimum ſeptimum ſuæ ætatis Annum, ut ſeculare quodcunq; Beneficium Eccleſiaſticum Curatum, vel alias incompatibile, etiam ſi dignitas, perſonatus, adminiſtratio, vel Officium in Cathedrali, vel Metropolitana vel Collegiata, etiam ſi dignitas ipſa in Cathedrali vel Metropolitana poſt Pontificalem majori, & in Collegiata Eccleſia hujuſmodi Principalis ſeu Parochialis Eccleſia, vel ejus perpetua Vicaria fuerit ; & ad dignitates, perſonatus, adminiſtrationes, vel officia tam ſecularia quam regularia, hujuſmodi conſueverunt, quæ per electionem aſſumi, eiſq; cura immineat animarum, Regulares vero beneficium etiam ſeculare ut præfertur qualificatum, ſi eis alias canonice conferatur, aut ipſi eligantur, præſententur, vel alias aſſumantur ad illa & inſtituantur, in eis recipere & inſimul quoad vixerint retinere, illaq; ſimul vel ſucceſſive, ſimpliciter vel ex cauſa permutationis, quoties ſibi placuerit dimittere, & commendæ hujuſmodi cedere, ac loco dimiſſi vel dimiſſorum, aliud vel alia, ſimile vel diſſimile, ut ſimilia vel diſſimilia, beneficium ſeu beneficia, Eccleſiaſticum vel Eccleſiaſtica, quæcunque, quotcunque & qualiacunque compatientia, ſeu duo aut tria vel tertium curata, ſeu alias invicem in-

compatibilia, ac duo alia ſimilia vel diſſimilia, ſub uno vel duobus aut tribus tectis conſiſtentia, ac quæcunque, quotcunque & qualiacunque cum cura vel ſine cura, ſe invicem & cum prædictis compatientia, aut ſupra dictum decimum ſeptimum Annum agentes, curatum vel alias incompatibile Beneficium Eccleſiaſticum reſpective ſimiliter recipere, & dummodo inter ipſa tria incompatibilia plures quam duæ Parochiales Eccleſiæ, vel earum perpetuæ Vicariæ, aut duo Canonicatus & Prebendæ, ſeu duæ dignitates, perſonatus, adminiſtrationes, vel officia, ſub eodem tecto ac pro dictis patientibus, defectum Natalium, dignitates ipſæ in eiſdem Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis poſt Pontificales Majores, aut Collegiatis Eccleſiis hujuſmodi modo Principales non exiſtent, inſimul quoad vixerint vel ad tempus retinere. Quodq; conſtituto in ſexto decimo, ut ad Subdiaconatus, & in decimo octavo ad Diaconatus, ac in vigeſimo primo ſuarum ætatis Annis, etiam ſi ratione Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum per eos obtentorum arctati fuerint, ad Preſbiteratus Ordines, & tam ipſi quam quicunq; alii in ætate legitima conſtituti, & ſimiliter arctati, promoveri volentes, ut ad omnes ordines prædictos, etiam extra tempora a jure Statuta, quibuſvis diebus Dominicis, vel Feſtivis, & prout neceſſitas exegerit; ad duos ex ordinibus prædictis eodem die a quocunq; maluerint, Catholico Antiſtite, gratiam & communionem dictæ ſedis habente, alias tamen rite promoveri libere & licite poſſint. Quodq; obtinentes Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica curata, ſeu alias Sacros & Preſbiteratus Ordines hujuſmodi, tam de jure quam ex Statuto, fundatione, vel alias requirentia, ut ratione illorum, Uſque ad ſeptennium a fine Anni eis a jure præfixi computandum, ad aliquem ex Diaconatus & Preſbyteratus Ordinibus hujuſmodi, dummodo infra primum dicti ſeptennii Biennium ad dictum Subdiaconatus Ordinem promoti fuerint, ſe promoveri facere minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam, quavis Auctoritate inviti valeant coarctari; etiam unum, duo, vel plura ſeptennia, vel alia tempora ad id per nos aut ſedem eandem pluries conceſſa, & prorogata fuerint, & pendeant: Et cum quibuſvis Perſonis tertio aut quarto, aut mixtim, tertio & quarto, etiam multiplici conſanguinitatis ſeu affinitatis gradibus invicem conjunctis, & quocunq; impedimento publicæ honeſtatis, aut cum his qui per Adulterium ſe polluiſſent, dummodo in mortem defuncti conjugis quicquam machinati non fuiſſent, ut invicem matrionaliter copulari, & in contractis per eos ſcienter vel ignoranter Matrimoniis, cum abſolutione a cenſuris quas ſic ſcienter contrahendo incurriſſent, remanere poſſint, etiam prolem exinde ſuſceptam legitimam decernendo, diſpenſandi. Ac Perſonis quibuſcunque, Eccleſiaſticis Secularibus & Regularibus, ut quoad vixerint, vel ad aliud tempus in Romana Cura, vel altero Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum per eos obtentorum reſidendo, aut Literarum Studio in Loco ubi illud vigeat generale inſiſtendo, fructus, redditus & proventus omnium & ſingulorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, cum cura vel ſine cura, quæ in quibuſvis Eccleſiis ſive Locis pro tempore obtinebunt, etiam ſi ut præfertur, qualificata fuerint cum ea integritate, quotidianis diſtributionibus duntaxat exceptis, libere percipere valeant, cum qua illos perciperent, ſi in eiſdem Eccleſiis ſive locis, perſonaliter reſiderent, & ad reſidendum interim in eiſdem minime teneantur, nec ad id a quoquam valeant coarctari. Proviſo quod beneficia prædicta debitis propterea non fraudentur obſequiis, & animarum

Cura

Cura in eis quibus illa immineat nullatenus negligatur; ſed per bonos & ſufficientes Vicarios, quibus de ipſorum beneficiorum proventibus neceſſaria congrue miniſtrentur, diligenter exerceatur, & deſerviatur inibi laudabiliter in divinis. Ac quibuſcunq; perſonis liceat habere Altare portatile, cum debitis Reverentia, & honore, ſuper quo in locis ad id congruentibus & honeſtis ſive alieni juris præjudicio: Et cum qualitas negotiorum pro tempore ingruentium id exegerit, antequam eluceſcat dies, circa tamen diurnam lucem, ita quod id nec eis, nec Sacerdoti taliter celebranti ad culpam valeat imputari, & cum eos ad loca Eccleſiaſtica interdicta ſuppoſita contigerit declinare, in illis clauſis Januis, Excommunicatis & interdictis excluſis, non pulſatis Campanis, & ſubmiſſa voce poſſint etiam per ſe ipſos, ſi Eccleſiaſtici & ad Preſbyteratus ordinem rite promoti fuerint, aut per proprium vel alium Sacerdotem, Miſſas & alia Divina Officia in ſua & famulorum ſuorum domeſticorum præſentia celebrare, & celebrari facere; dummodo ipſi vel illi cauſam non dederint interdicto, nec id ipſis vel illis contigerit ſpecialiter interdici: Proviſo etiam quod parce hujuſmodi conceſſione ante diem, celebrandi & celebrari faciendi utantur; quia cum in Altaris Miniſterio immoletur Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius, qui Candor eſt Lucis æternæ, convenit hoc non noctis tenebris fieri, ſed in Luce. Ac quibuſcunq; Perſonis ut Confeſſorum ſeu Confeſſores idoneos eligere poſſint, qui eos & eorum quemlibet juxta formam in quinterno dictæ Cancellariæ annotatam, poterit abſolvere. Necnon quibuſvis Perſonis Eccleſiaſticis ſecularibus ut quoad vixerint, & quoties eis placuerit, per ſeipſas aut cum uno Preſbytero, ſeu Clerico, ſocio ſeu familiari, horas Canonicas diurnas & nocturnas, ac alia divina officia ſecundum uſum & morem Romanæ Eccleſiæ, etiam juxta ritum Breviarii noviter impreſſi, extra tamen chorum Eccleſiæ, dicere & recitare, libere & licite valeant; & ad alium uſum ſuper hoc obſervandam, etiam ratione beneficiorum per eas obtentorum, minime teneantur, nec ad id compelli poſſint, indulgendi. Quodq; quilibet Sacerdos aut Religioſus Eccleſiaſt. Sacramenta miniſtrare valeat, Juræ Parochialis Eccleſiæ, & cujuſlibet alterius in omnibus ſemper ſalvo. Concedendi, ac Mulieribus honeſtis quibuſcunque, ut quæcunq; Monaſteria, & domos Monialium quarumcunque, etiam obſervantiæ regularis exempta & non exempta, quomodocunq; recluſa, cum aliquibus Matronis etiam honeſtis, de conſenſu eorum qui dictis Monaſteriis & Domibus præfuerint, dummodo inibi non pernoctent, Devotionis cauſa ingredi valeant: Ac Rectoribus Parrochialium Eccleſiarum, & aliorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, Curatorum, vel quoſcunq; eorum, Parochianos utriuſq; ſexus, ab omnibus & ſingulis eorum peccatis, & Criminibus, in Caſibus in quibus Ordinarii locorum de Jure vel conſuetudine, aut alias abſolvere poſſint; Et in illis qui ſede prædictæ reſervati non fuerint, abſolvere, Ac vota quæcunque per eos pro tempore emiſſa, preterquam ſedi prædictæ reſervata, in alia pietatis opera commutare valeant: Ac quibuſcunq; perſonis utriuſque ſexus, Secularibus, Eccleſiaſticis, Religioſis, Mendicantibus, quæ Zelo Devotionis accenſæ, Sepulchrum Dominicum, & alia pia Loca & Oratoria terræ Sanctæ, deſiderant perſonaliter viſitare, quibuſvis prohibitionibus Apoſtolicis in contrarium factis non obſtantibus, Sepulchrum & alia Loca prædicta viſitare. Et in locis in quibus uſus olei non habetur, ut Butiro & Caſeo & infirmi de Conſilio utriuſq; Medici,

Carnibus Veſci, & licite uti valeant, indulgendi. Necnon quæcunq; Juramenta ad effectum agendi, ac etiam ſimpliciter ut tibi videbitur, dummodo alicui exinde magnum præjudicium non fiat, relaxandi. Ac quoſcunq; qui Perjurii Reatum incurrerint, ab illo abſolvendi, & ad Priores honores, Statum, & famam reſtituendi, ac plenarie redintegrandi, omnemq; inhabilitatis & infamiæ maculam ſive notam, Præmiſſorum occaſione contractam, pœnitus abolendi: Ac quoſcunque per ſaltum, vel furtive, ad aliquos ſacros Ordines promotos, ab exceſſu quem propterea incurrerint, abſolvendi; vel ut ad aliquos alios ſi promoti non eſſent, alias rite promoveri, libere & licite poſſint diſpenſandi: Abſolvendi quoq; omnes & ſingulos qui Simoniæ labem, tam in beneficiis per eos habitis cujuſcunq; qualitatis fuerint, quam Ordinibus per eos ſuſceptis contraxerint, ab illa & excommunicationis aliiſq; cenſuris, & pœnis Eccleſiaſticis quas propterea incurrerint; & ſuper Irregularitate ſi quam illis ligati, Miſſas & alia Divina Officia, non tamen in contemptum Clavium, celebrando, ſeu alias ſe immiſcendo, contraxiſſent, diſpenſandi: omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam, ſimiliter per eos dicta occaſione, ac etiam ſi forſan aliqua beneficia, curata vel alias incompatibilia, poſt & contra fœlicis recordationis Johannis Papæ 22, Prædeceſſoris noſtri, quæ incipit, Execrabilis, Conſtitutionem detinuiſſent, & detinerent, fructus perripiendo, ex eiſdem contractam abolendi; dictaq; beneficia eis, facta tamen per eos prius de fructibus male perceptis, debita Compoſitione pro Camera Apoſtolica, denuo conferendi: Et eos qui etiam Parochiales Eccleſias, vel alia beneficia Eccleſiaſtica Preſbyteratus vel alium ordinem requirentia, intra Annum vel aliud tempus pacifice poſſediſſent, & ea poſtmodum detinuiſſent & detineant, ad dictum Preſbyteratus ordinem legitimo ceſſante impedimento, nullaq; per eos deſuper diſpenſatione obtenta, non promoti, fructus etiam percipiendo, abſolvendi; omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam, ſive notam, ſimiliter per eos dicta occaſione contractam, pœnitus tollendi, eiſq; de novo de beneficiis prædictis ſic detentis providendi, facta tamen debita de fructibus male perceptis, pro Camera prædicta ut prædictum eſt, compoſitione. Ac quoſcunq; qui in Clericos & Preſbyteros, citra tamen membri mutilationem & mortem, manus violentas temere injeciſſent, ab Excommunicationis ſententia, quam propterea incurrerint, ſi hoc humiliter petierint; Et etiam qui tempore Bellorum, Rapinas, Sacrilegia, Furta, & alia mala perpetrarunt, debita ſatisfactione prævia, & etiam illos, qui horas Canonicas omiſerunt, & debito tempore non recitaverunt, aut inadvertenter dixerunt, cujuſcunq; Qualitatis, Ordinis & Conditionis fuerint, ab exceſſibus & omiſſione hujuſmodi reſpective; Necnon etiam quoſcunq; Religioſos Ordinum quorumcunque, qui ob ſui habitus non delationem, aut alias, Reatum ſedis Apoſtolicæ incurriſſent, ab illa ac etiam Excommunicationis, aliiſq; ſententiis, cenſuris & pœnis Eccleſiaſticis, quos propterea etiam juxta inſtituta ſuorum ordinum regularia incurriſſent, abſolvendi: Ac ſuper irregularitate quacunque, præterquam homicidii voluntarii, aut Bigamiæ, quoviſmodo, etiam per ſententiam, etiam ſanguinis, ultimi ſupplicii inde ſequuti, aut mutilatione membrorum contracta, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Preſbyteratus Ordines, citra tamen Altaris Miniſterium, & ad dignitates & beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, cum cura & ſine cura, quæcunque, quotcunq; & qualiacunque, ſe invicem compatientia, eis alias Canonice

Canonice conferenda, diſpenſandi; omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam ſive notam etiam inde contractam, pœnitus abolendi. Et contra quoſcunq; tam Eccleſiaſticos quam Laicos, Literarum Apoſtolicarum & Supplicationum ac Commiſſionum Falſarios, Schiſmaticos, Hæreticos, Uſurarios, Raptores, & aliorum quorumcunque Criminum Reos, cujuſcunque dignitatis, ſtatus, gradus, ordinis, vel conditionis exiſtentes, inquirendi, procedendi, ac reos juxta criminum & exceſſuum exigentiam, prout Canonicæ diſponunt Sanctiones, ut videbitur Conſcientiæ expedire, puniendi: Contradictores quoſlibet & Rebelles, per Cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam, & alia Juris Remedia, Appellatione poſtpoſita, compeſcendi, & ſi opus fuerit auxilium Brachii ſecularis invocandi, ſeu præmiſſa fieri faciendi: Et ſi ad Cor reverſi, ſuum errorem recognoverint, & de præmiſſis volverint, ipſiq; humiliter poſtulaverint, ſeu ſupplicaverint, & tibi videbitur eos a criminibus, & exceſſibus ac ſententiis, cenſuris, & pœnis hujuſmodi quas propterea incurrerint, abſolvendi: Ac cum eis, facta tamen cum dicta Camera Compoſitione, ad Ordines, Honores & Dignitates, ac etiam Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque, diſpenſandi, eoſque in priſtinum ſtatum reſtituendi, reponendi, & plenarie redintegrandi, omnemq; inhabilitatis & Infamiæ maculam, ſive notam per eos præmiſſorum occaſione contractam, etiam pœnitus abolendi. Ac cum dictis Uſurariis ſuper male ablatis, & perceptis incertis, pro dicta Camera componendi, eiſque, ut facta compoſitione hujuſmodi, ad aliam reſtitutionem faciendam non teneantur, concedendi. Ac quaſcunque Eccleſias, Monaſteria, Domos, Univerſitates, & Collegia, ac pia Loca, quæcunq; etiam exempta, & eidem ſedi immediate ſubjecta, per te vel alium, ſeu alios idoneos, viſitandi, & quæ ex eis Correctione & Emendatione tam in Spiritualibus quam Temporalibus indigere cognoveris, tam in Capite quam in membris reformandi, prout ſecundum Deum, & Canonicas Sanctiones, ac Regularum ſuarum inſtituta, noveris expedire: Ac quæcunq; Statuta, & Ordinationes Eccleſiarum, Univerſitatum, & Studiorum generalium, Monaſteriorum, Ordinum, & Conventuum, quæ tamen Libertatem Eccleſiaſticam non confundant, aut illi derogent vel repugnent, confirmandi, & approbandi; Supplendique omnes & ſingulos defectus, ſi qui forſan interveniſſent in eiſdem, illaq; ſi tibi expedire videbitur, moderandi, corrigendi, & in melius reformandi, ac illis juxta illorum exigentiam addendi. Necnon quotquot tibi videbitur in noſtros & dictæ ſedis Accolitos, Capellanos, & Notarios Apoſtolica Auctoritate recipiendi, & aliorum noſtrorum & dictæ ſedis Accolitorum, Capellanorum, & Notariorum numero, & conſortio favorabiliter aggregandi. Ac eis quod omnibus & ſingulis Privilegiis, Prærogativis, indultis, honoribus, exemptionibus, gratiis, libertatibus, & immunitatibus, utantur, potiantur, & gaudeant, quibus utuntur, potiuntur & gaudent, ac uti, potiri & gaudere poterunt, quomodolibet in futurum alii noſtri & dictæ ſedis Notarii: Exhibendi quoque, & exhiberi faciendi, eis Inſignia Notariatus hujuſmodi, recepto tamen prius ab eis ſolito Juramento, ac quibuſvis perſonis Eccleſiaſticis etiam Prælatis, Secularibus, & Regularibus, utriuſq; ſexus, etiam juxta formam Quinterni Cancellariæ, hujuſmodi licentiam Teſtandi, concedendi; Ac etiam per te vel alium ſeu alios quorumcunq; beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum cum cura & ſine cura, Secularium vel Regularium, etiam

etiam quæ dictæ ſedi ex quavis cauſa præterquam ratione Officialium ſedis prædictæ, in Romana Curia officia ſua actu exercentium, generaliter reſervata fuerint, reſignationes ſimpliciter, vel ex cauſa permutationis, ac commendatorum & legitioſorum tam in dicta Curia quam extra eam, ceſſiones litis, cauſas juris ac commendarum recipiendi, & admittendi, ac Cauſas deſuper pendentes advocandi, & lites hujuſmodi penitus extinguendi, dictaq; beneficia tam ſimpliciter quam ex eadem cauſa, & alia quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque, etiam alias, etiam per obitum infra limites dictæ Legationis, & quoad tuos Familiares, continuos, commenſales extra dictos limites ubicunq; vacantia, & vacatura, etiam ſi ut præfertur reſervata, vel affecta, & de jure Patronatus Laicorum fuerint, etiam ſi Dignitatis Majores & Principales, & beneficia etiam regularia manualia, & alias quomodolibet qualificata fuerint, perſonis idoneis etiam quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque beneficia Eccleſiaſtica obtinentibus & expectantibus, etiam ſecularibus vel regularibus, conferendi, & de illis etiam providendi: Necnon quibuſvis miniſteriis tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Ordinum quorumcunq; Legationis prædictæ, quorum tamen videlicet Virorum fructus, redditus, & proventus ducentorum fleecnorum Auri, de Camera ſecundum communem extenuationem, valorem annuum non excedant, nunc & pro tempore vacantibus, de Abbatibus & Abbatiſſis, providendi, ac Monaſteria & beneficia hujuſmodi quibuſvis ad vitam, vel ad tempus, per eos tenenda, regenda, & gubernanda; ita quod liceat eis, debitis & conſuetis illorum ſupportatis oneribus, de reſiduis illorum fructibus, redditibus, & proventibus, diſponere & ordinare, ſicuti illa in titulum pro tempore obtinentes, de illis diſponere & ordinare potuerunt, ſeu etiam debuerunt: Alienatione tamen quorumcunq; bonorum immobilium, & precioſorum mobilium, Monaſteriorum & beneficiorum prædictorum eis penitus interdicta. Commendandi necnon invicem, vel ad tempus, etiam quibuſvis Menſis, Spiritualibus, Capitularibus, & Conventialibus, uniendi, annectendi, & incorporandi, Ac Canonicos ſuper-numerarios, de conſenſu Capituli creandi, ac ad ſententiarum, rerum judicatarum, Exemptorialium, & Cenſurarum, per reſignantes, ſeu cedentes in Rota noſtri Pallatii Apoſtolici habitarum, proſecutionem, illos in quorum favorem reſignaverint, ſeu ceſſerint, admittendi, ſeu admitti faciendi, & mandandi & ad ulteriorem executionem uſque ad realem paritionem contra quoſcunq; etiam Pontificali præditos dignitate procedendi, ac verum & ultimum vacationis modum, etiam ſi ex eo quævis generalis reſervatio reſultet, pro expreſſa habend. ac ſuper illorum & quorumcunq; aliorum beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum fructibus, redditibus, & proventibus, quaſcunq; penſiones Annuas, non tamen medietatem fructuum, reddituum & proventuum hujuſmodi excedentes, ac etiam omnes fructus loco penſionis, prædictis reſignantibus, vel cedentibus, aut aliis perſonis idoneis, quoad vixerint per prædicta beneficia, pro tempore obtinentes, & eorum ſucceſſores, annis ſingulis, in locis & terminis etiam ſub privationis & aliis pœnis, ſententiis, & cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis, in talibus apponi ſolitis; perſolvendas etiam cum regreſſu, ingreſſu, vel acceſſu, ob non ſolutionem earum in forma ſolita de conſenſu eorum qui dictas penſiones perſolvere habebunt, reſervandi, conſtituendi, & aſſignandi: Ac eaſdem & alias hactenus & deinceps reſervatas & reſervandas penſiones, & fructuum reſervationes, de conſenſu

etiam

etiam anticipata ſolutione, aliquorum Annorum caſſandi, & extinguendi, ac Annullandi. Ac quo ad familiares tuos prædictos qui transferendi facultatem habuerint eaſdem penſiones, & fructus de eorum conſenſu, etiam in quoſcunq; per eos nominatos, transferendi, etiam cum hoc quod ipſi in quos transferentur, quæcunque transferentium debita perſolvere, vel alia onera, & conditiones in ipſis tranſlationibus appoſita, adimplere, ſub pæna invaliditatis tranſlationis, teneantur: & fructibus hujuſmodi clauſulam quod earum Litteræ per te concedendæ pro expeditis & intimatis, habeantur, de conſenſu illorum qui ſolvere habebunt, apponendi: Ac perſonas prædictas ad effectum gratiarum prædictarum, quas pro tempore per te eis concedi contigerit, ab omnibus & ſingulis Excommunicationis, Suſpenſionis, & Interdicti aliiſq; Eccleſiaſticis Sententiis, cenſuris & pænis, a jure vel ab homine quovis occaſione vel cauſa latis, ſi quibus quomodolibet immediate fuerint, abſolvendi, & abſolutas fore cenſendi. Ac omnia & ſingula beneficia Eccleſiaſt. cum cura, & ſine cura, quæ etiam ex quibuſvis diſpenſationibus Apoſtolicis obtinent, & expectant, ac in quibus & ad quævis eis quomodolibet competit, quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque ſint, eorumque, fructuum, reddituum, & proventuum, veros annuos valores, ac hujuſmodi diſpenſationum tenores, in Litteris tuis, pro expreſſis, abſq; eo quod de illis vel eorum aliquo mentionem facere teneantur, aut propter non factam mentionem ipſam, Litteræ per te concedendæ, ſurreptionis aut nullitatis vitia ſubjacere cenſeantur, habendo. Necnon quaſcunque gratias expectativas, ſpeciales reſervationes, uniones, annexiones, & incorporationes, nominationes, nominandi & conferendi facultates, & mandata per nos & ſedem prædictam, aut Legatos ejuſdem, in favorem quarumcunq; perſonarum, etiam cujuſcunq; dignitatis, ſtatus, gradus, Ordinis, vel Conditionis, aut Cardinalatus honore fulgentium, ſub quibuſvis verborum formis ac clauſulis, etiam derogatariarum, derogatoribus fortioribus, efficacioribus, & inſolitis, etiam motu proprio & ex certa ſcientia, aut quavis conſideratione, intuitu vel reſpectu etiam quantumcunq; grandi vel excogitabili; etiam Regum, Reginarum aliacunq; Principum & Prælatorum, factas & conceſſas, ac faciendas & concedendas, impoſterum illorumq; vim & effectum omnino ſuſpendendi. Ac viſitantibus quaſcunq; Eccleſias, Seculares vel Regulares, etiam ad illarum fabricas, ſeu pro conſervatione & inſtauratione earum, manus porrigentibus adjutrices, in duabus feſtivitatibus duntaxat, ſeptem Annos & totidem Quadragenas, vel infra dictum tempus illud quod tibi videbitur de injunctis Pœnitentiis miſericorditer in Domino relaxandi; ita quod perpetuo vel ad tempus prout tibi videbitur durare habeant. Ac quibuſvis perſonis dictæ Legationis, ac etiam familiaribus prædictis, ut bona immobilia eorundem Monaſteriorum, Dignitatum, Prioratuum, Adminiſtrationum, & Officiorum, aliorumq; beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, quæ obtinent, ſeu durante Legatione hujuſmodi obtinebunt, permutare, vendere, & ad tempus longum locare, ac in feudum & Emphiteoſim, ſeu Cenſum vel affectum concedere, & alias alienare valeant, cum evidenti Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum & Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, ad quæ pertinent, utilitate: Proviſo quod pretia exinde provenientia, in hujuſmodi utilitatem convertenda, penes aliquam ædem ſacram, aut fide & facultatibus idoneam Perſonam, cum recognoſcibilibus clauſulis & cautelis in ſimilibus apponi ſolitis, fideliter reponantur.

reponantur. Necnon Regularibus Perſonis utriuſq; ſexus, etiam Ordinum Mendicantium, ut de eorum Monaſteriis, Domibus & Locis ad illa Monaſteria, Domos & Loca, etiam aliorum Ordinum, etiam non Mendicantium, in quibus benevolos invenerint receptores, ſe transferre, & nova loca recipere: Ac Perſonis quibuſlibet, Eccleſias, Monaſteria & Domos Ordinum Mendicantium, & beneficia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunque de novo fundare & dotare & collapſas reparare volentibus, ut illa in Locis ad hoc honeſtis & commodis fundare & reparare, ac in fundatione hujuſmodi licita & honeſta onera illa pro tempore obtinentibus, imponere valeant; reſervato eis, & dictis tuis familiaribus, etiam quo ad Eccleſias per eos jam ubilibet conſtructas ſeu reſtauratas, & ulterius vel de novo conſtruendas & reſtaurandas, ac eorum poſteris, jure Patronatus, & preſentandi perſonam idoneam, ad illa dum vacabunt, licentiam concedendi; ac locationes & alienationes de bonis immobilibus Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, Prioratuum, Adminiſtrationum, vel Officiorum, aliorumq; beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, & locorum factas, ſi in evidentem utilitatem illorum ceſſerint, confirmandi & approbandi; ac ſingulos defectus, ſi qui intervenerint, in eiſdem ſupplendi: Necnon tempus præfixum Executoribus ultimarum Voluntatum, ad illas exequendum prorogandi; Ac juri patronatus Laicorum, ad effectum proviſionum & commendarum, ac Unionum prædictarum Canonice pro medietate, & ſi ex cauſa permutationis fierint, vel lis penderet, aut jus patronatus non ex fundatione vel dotatione acquiſitum eſſet, in totum derogandi. Necnon omnia & ſingula, quæ Major Penitentiarius noſter, in dicta Curia ex ſpeciali vel alia ſibi conceſſa facultate, quomodolibet facere poteſt & conſuevit, ad quæ in prædictis & circa ea neceſſaria eſſent, ſeu quomodolibet opportuna, faciendi, mandandi, ordinandi & decernendi, per te vel alium, ſeu alios, Auctoritate Apoſtolica tenore præſentium concedimus facultatem. Decernentes te omnibus & ſingulis facultatibus prædictis, in quibuſcunq; partibus prædictis, & cum illorum ſeu in illis reſidentibus perſonis ac familiaribus tuis, libere uti poſſe: Non obſtantibus defectibus, & aliis prædictis ac Lateranen. Vienen. Pictaven. & Generalium, ac aliorum Conſiliorum, necnon piæ memoriæ Bonifacii Papæ VIII. etiam Prædeceſſoris noſtri, per quam conceſſiones percipiendi fructus, id abſentia, ſine præfinitione temporis, fieri prohibentur: ac de una vel duabus Dietis in Concilio generali edita, & aliis Apoſtolicis, ac in Provincialibus & Sinodalibus Conciliis editis, generalibus vel ſpecialibus conſtitutionibus, & ordinationibus, etiam quibuſvis Regulis Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ editis & edendis, quarum tempora durantia, ac etiam pluries prorogata & decurſa de novo concedere poſſis: quibus & aliis præmiſſis, & in ſpecie valeas derogare ſtatutis & conſuetudinibus Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, Univerſitatum, Collegiorum, & Civitatum hujuſmodi, necnon ordinum quorumcunque, etiam juramento, confirmatione Apoſtolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis, etiam ſi de illis ſervandis & non impetrandis Literis, contra ea, & illis etiam ab alio vel aliis impetratis, ſeu alias quoviſmodo conceſſis, non utendo perſonæ quibus indultum de percipiendis fructibus in abſentia hujuſmodi conceſſum fuerit preſtitiſſent, eatenus vel imposterum forſan præſtare contigerit, juramentum ac quibuſvis privilegiis & indultis generalibus vel ſpecialibus, ordinibus quibuſcunq; etiam Cluniacenſ. & Ciſtercien. quomodolibet conceſſis, confirmatis & renovatis,

innovatis, quæ præmiſſis quoviſmodo obſtarent, per quæ præſentibus non expreſſa vel totaliter non inſerta, effectus earum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differri, & de quibus quorumq; totis tenoribus de verbo ad verbum habenda ſit in noſtris Literis mentio ſpecialis, quæ quoad hoc nolumus cuiquam ſuffragari: quibus omnibus & fundationibus quibuſcunq; prout expedierit ſecundum rei & Caſus exigentiam ut tibi placuerit valeas derogare; quodq; aliqui ſuper proviſionibus ſibi faciendis de hujuſmodi vel aliis Beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis in illis partibus ſpeciales vel generales dictæ ſedis vel Legatorum ejus Literas impetratas, etiam ſi per eas ad inhibitionem, reſervationem, & decretum, vel alias quomodolibet, ſit proceſſum: quibus omnibus perſonis, quibus per te de beneficiis prædictis providebitur, in eorum aſſecutione volumus anteferri; ſed nullum per hoc eis quoad aſſecutionem beneficiorum aliorum præjudicium generari. Seu ſi Locorum Ordinariis & Collatoribus, vel quibuſvis aliis communiter, vel diviſim ab eadem ſit ſede indultum, quod ad receptionem vel proviſionem alicujus minime teneantur, & ad id compelli, aut quod interdici, ſuſpendi vel excommunicari non poſſint, quodq; de hujuſmodi vel aliis beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis ad eorum collationem, proviſionem, præſentationem, electionem, ſeu quamvis aliam diſpoſitionem, conjunctim vel ſeparatim ſpectantibus, nulli valeat provideri, ſeu commenda fieri per Literas Apoſtolicas; non facientes plenam & expreſſam, ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujuſmodi mentionem, & qualibet alia dictæ ſedis indulgentia, generali vel ſpeciali, cujuſcunq; tenoris exiſtat, per quam præſentibus non expreſſim, vel totaliter non inſertam effectus Literarum tuarum impediri valeat, quomodolibet vel differri & de qua cujuſq; toto tenore habenda ſit in noſtris Literis mentio ſpecialis. Et quia difficile eſſet præſentes in ſingulis Literis tuis ſuper præmiſſis comedendis inferri, aut ad omnia Loca, in quibus de eis fides facienda eſſet deferri; volumus & decernimus, earum tranſumptis etiam per impreſſionem factis & tuo ſigillo munitis; ac manu tui Secretarii aut Regentis Cancellariæ tuæ ſubſcriptis, dictiſq; Literis tuis abſq; earundem præſentium in toto vel in parte inſertione, eam ubiq; fidem in Judicio & extra adhiberi, quæ ipſis præſentibus adhiberetur, ſi originaliter exhiberentur. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Domini Milleſimo quingenteſimo quadrageſimo tertio. Tertio Kalend. Februarii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno decimo.

C. L. de Torres.

N. Richardus.

In Dorſo. Data in Secretaria Apoſtolica.

De Torres.

Number 18.

A Letter of the Queen's, recommending the Promotion of Cardinal Pool *to the Popedom; written to the Biſhop of* Winchester, *the Earl of* Arundel, *and the Lord* Paget, *then at* Calice.

An Original.

MARY the Queen.

Cotton Libr. *Titus.* B. 2.

RIght Reverend Father in God, right truſty and right well-beloved; and right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellors, and right truſty and well-beloved Counſellors, We greet you well. And where We do conſider that Chriſt's Catholick Church, and the whole State of Chriſtendom, having been of late ſo ſundry ways vexed, it ſhould greatly help to further ſome quiet ſtay and redreſs of that is amiſs, if at this time, of the Pope's Holineſs Election, ſome ſuch godly, learned, and well-diſpoſed Perſon may be choſen to that Place, as ſhall be given to ſee good Order maintained, and all Abuſes in the Church reformed; and known beſides, to the World, to be of godly Life and Diſpoſition. And remembring, on the other ſide, the great Inconveniency that were like to ariſe to the State of the Church, if (worldly reſpects being only weighed in this choice) any ſuch ſhould be preferred to that Room, as wanting thoſe godly Qualities before remembred, might give any occaſion of the decay of the Catholick Faith; We cannot, for the diſcharge of our Duty to God and the World, but both earneſtly wiſh, and carefully travel, that ſuch a one may be choſen, and that without long delay or contention, as for all reſpects may be moſt fitteſt to occupy that Place, to the furtherance of God's Glory, and quietneſs of Chriſtendom. And knowing no Perſon in our mind more fit for that purpoſe, than our deareſt Couſin the Lord Cardinal *Pool*, whom the greateſt part of Chriſtendom hath heretofore for his long Experience, integrity of Life, and great Learning, thought meet for that Place, We have thought good to pray you, that taking ſome good occaſion for that purpoſe, you do, in our Name, ſpeak with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Conſtable, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners of our good Brother, the French King, praying them to recommend unto our ſaid good Brother, in our Name, our ſaid deareſt Couſin, to be named by him to ſuch Cardinals as be at his Devotion, ſo as the rather, by his good furtherance and means, this our Motion may take place. Whereunto if it ſhall pleaſe him to give his Aſſent, like-as upon knowledg thereof, We ſhall, for our part, alſo labour to ſet forwards the Matter the beſt We may; So doubt We not, but if this Our good purpoſe take effect, both He, and We, and the reſt of all Chriſtendom, ſhall have good cauſe to give God thanks, and rejoice thereat. Aſſuring him, that if We had in our Conſcience thought any other Perſon more fit for that Place than our ſaid deareſt Couſin, We would

would not, for any private Affection, have preferred his Advancement before God's Glory, and the Benefit of Chriſtendom: the furtherance whereof is (We take God to Record) the only thing We ſeek herein, which moveth Us to be the more earneſt in this Matter. The overture whereof We have taken in hand, (as you may aſſure them on our Honour) without Our ſaid deareſt Couſin's knowledg or conſent. And becauſe We need not to remember the Wiſdom, Sincerity of Life, and other godly Parts, wherewith Almighty God hath endowed Our ſaid deareſt Couſin, the ſame being well enough known to Our ſaid good Brother, and his ſaid Commiſſioners, and the reſt of the World; We do refer the manner of the opening and handling of the reſt of the Matter unto your own Wiſdoms; praying you, We may underſtand from you, as ſoon as ye may, what anſwer ye ſhall have received herein at the ſaid Commiſſioners hands.

Given under Our Signet, at Our Honour of *Hampton Court*, the 30*th* of *May*, the firſt and ſecond Years of Our Reigns.

Number 19.

An Order preſcribed by the King and Queens Majeſties, unto the Juſtices of Peace of the County of Norfolk, *for the good Government of their Majeſties loving Subjects within the ſame Shire,* March 26. 1555.

An Original.

Philip R. *Mary* the Queen.

FIrſt, The ſaid Juſtices of the Peace aſſembling themſelves together, and conſulting by what good Means, good Order and Quietneſs may be beſt continued, ſhall after divide themſelves into eight, ten, or twelve parts, more or leſs, as to their diſcretions, having regard to the quantity of the Shire, and number of themſelves, ſhall ſeem moſt convenient; endeavouring themſelves, beſides their general care, that every particular number may give diligent heed, within their Limits appointed to them, for conſervation of Quietneſs and good Order. *Cotton* Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

Item. The ſaid Juſtices of the Peace, ſhall not only be aiding and aſſiſting unto ſuch Preachers as be, and ſhall be ſent unto the ſaid County, but ſhall alſo be themſelves preſent at Sermons, and uſe the Preachers reverently, travelling ſoberly with ſuch, as by abſtaining from coming to the Church, or by any other open doings ſhall appear not perſwaded to conform themſelves, and to uſe ſuch as be wilful and obſtinate, more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good bearing, or committing them to Priſon, as the Quality of the Perſons, and Circumſtance of their Doings, may ſeem to deſerve.

Item. Amongſt all other things, they muſt lay ſpecial weight upon thoſe which be Preachers and Teachers of Hereſy, or Procurers of ſecret Meetings for that purpoſe.

Item. The ſaid Juſtices of Peace, and every of them, muſt by themſelves, their Wives, Children, and Servants, ſhew good example; and if they ſhall have any of their own Servants faulty, they muſt firſt begin to reform them.

Item. The ſaid Juſtices of the Peace, and every of them, ſhall, as much as in them lieth, procure to ſearch out all ſuch as ſhall by any means ſpread falſe Tales, or ſeditious Rumours, cauſing them, when they ſhall be known, to be further apprehended and puniſhed according to the Laws.

Item. They ſhall procure to have in every Pariſh, or part of the Shire, as near as may be, ſome one or more honeſt Men, ſecretly inſtructed, to give information of the behaviour of the Inhabitants amongſt or about them.

Item. They ſhall charge the Conſtables, and four, or more of the moſt Honeſt and Catholick of every Pariſh, with the order of the ſame Pariſh, unto whom idle Men, Vagabonds, and ſuch as may be probably ſuſpected, ſhall be bound to give a reckoning how they live, and where they ſhall be come from time to time.

Item. They ſhall have earneſt regard to the execution, and keeping of the Statutes againſt rebellious Vagabonds, and Reteinours, Ale-Houſes, and for keeping of the Statute of Huy-and-Cry; and ſhall give order for keeping of good and ſubſtantial Watches, in places convenient, the ſame to begin the 20*th* day of *April* next.

Item. As ſoon as any Offenders for Murder, Felony, or other Offences ſhall be taken, the ſaid Juſtices of the Peace, ſhall cauſe the matter to be forthwith examined and ordered, as to Juſtice ſhall appertain, according to the Tenour of the Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, addreſſed preſently unto them for that purpoſe.

Finally; The ſaid Juſtices of Peace ſhall meet and conſult together, at the Seſſions, every month, and more-often, as occaſion may require, conferring among themſelves, upon the ſtate of all particular parts of the Shire, and taking ſuch order for all Miſorders, as to their Wiſdoms may ſeem requiſite.

Number

Number 20.

A Letter written by the King and Queen, requiring the Biſhop of London *to go on in the proſecution of the Hereticks.*

Philip R. *Mary* the Queen.

RIght Reverend Father in God, right truſty and well-beloved, We greet you well. And where of late We addreſſed our Letters unto the Juſtices of the Peace within every of the Counties of this our Realm; whereby, amongſt other Inſtructions given therein, for the good Order and quiet Government of the Country about, therein they are willed to have a ſpecial regard unto ſuch diſordered Perſons, as forgetting their Duties towards Almighty God and Us, do lean to any Erroneous and Heretical Opinions, to ſhew themſelves conformable to the Catholick Religion of Chriſt's Church; whom, if they cannot by good admonition and fair means reform, they are willed to deliver unto the Ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty Opinions; or elſe, if they continue obſtinate, to be ordered according to the Laws provided in that behalf: Underſtanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the ſaid diſordered Perſons, being by the Juſtices of the Peace, for their contempt and obſtinacy, brought to the Ordinaries to be uſed as is aforeſaid, are either refuſed to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither ſo travelled with as Chriſtian Charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the Order of Juſtice, but are ſuffered to continue in their Errors, to the diſhonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others. Like-as We find this Matter very ſtrange, ſo have We thought convenient, both to ſignify this Our knowledg, and therewith alſo to admoniſh you, to have in this behalf ſuch regard henceforth to the Office of a good Paſtor and Biſhop, as when any ſuch Offenders ſhall be by the ſaid Juſtices of Peace brought unto you, ye do uſe your good wiſdom and diſcretion, in procuring to remove them from their Errors, if it may be, or elſe in proceeding againſt them, (if they ſhall continue obſtinate) according to the order of the Laws; ſo as through your good furtherance, both God's Glory may be the better advanced, and the Common-Wealth the more quietly governed. Regiſt. *Bon.* Fol. 363.

Given under Our Signet, at Our Honour of *Hampton Court*, the 24*th* of *May*, in the firſt and ſecond Years of Our Reigns.

Number

Number 21.

Sir T. More's *Letter to* Cromwell, *concerning the Nun of* Kent.

Right Worſhipful,

Ex MS. *Norfolcianis* in Col. *Greſham.*

AFter my moſt hearty recommendation, with like thanks for your Goodneſs, in accepting of my rude long Letter. I perceive, that of your further goodneſs and favour towards me, it liked your Maſterſhip to break with my Son *Roper*, of that, that I had had communication, not only with divers that were of Acquaintance with the lewd Nun of *Canterbury*, but alſo with her ſelf; and had, over that, by my writing, declaring favour towards her, given her advice and counſel; of which my demeanour, that it liketh you to be content to take the labour and the pain to hear, by mine own writing, the truth, I very heartily thank you, and reckon my ſelf therein right deeply beholden to you.

It is, I ſuppoſe, about eight or nine Years ago ſith I heard of that Houſewife firſt; at which time, the Biſhop of *Canterbury* that then was, God aſſoil his Soul, ſent unto the King's Grace a roll of Paper, in which were written certain words of hers, that ſhe had, as report was then made, at ſundry times ſpoken in her Trances; whereupon it pleaſed the King's Grace to deliver me the Roll, commanding me to look thereon, and afterwards ſhew him what I thought therein. Whereunto, at another time, when his Highneſs asked me, I told him, That in good faith I found nothing in theſe words that I could any thing regard or eſteem; for ſeeing that ſome part fell in Rithm, and that, God wots, full rude alſo; for any reaſon, God wots, that I ſaw therein, a right ſimple Woman might, in my mind, ſpeak it of her own wit well enough. Howbeit, I ſaid, that becauſe it was conſtantly reported for a Truth, that God wrought in her, and that a Miracle was ſhewed upon her; I durſt not, nor would not, be bold in judging the Matter. And the King's Grace, as me thought, eſteemed the Matter as light as it after proved lewd.

From that time, till about *Chriſtmaſs* was twelve-month, albeit that continually there was much talking of her, and of her Holineſs, yet never heard I any Talk rehearſed, either of Revelation of hers, or Miracle, ſaying that I heard ſay divers times, in my Lord Cardinal's days, that ſhe had been both with his Lordſhip, and with the King's Grace, but what ſhe ſaid, either to the one or to the other, upon my Faith, I had never heard any one word. Now, as I was about to tell you, about *Chriſtmaſs* was twelve-month, Father *Risby*, Friar Obſervant, then of *Canterbury*, lodged one Night at mine Houſe; where, after Supper, a little before he went to his Chamber, he fell in communication with me of the Nun, giving her high commendation of Holineſs, and that it was wonderful to ſee and underſtand the Works that God wrought in her; which thing, I anſwered, That I was very glad to hear it, and thanked God thereof. Then he told me, that ſhe had been with my Lord Legat in his Life, and with the King's Grace too; and that

that ſhe had told my Lord Legat a Revelation of hers, of three Swords that God hath put in my Lord Legat's hand, which if he ordered not well, God would lay it ſore to his Charge. The firſt, he ſaid, was the ordering the Spirituality under the Pope, as Legat. The ſecond, The Rule that he bore in order of the Temporality under the King, as his Chancellor. And the third, ſhe ſaid, was the medling he was put in truſt with by the King, concerning the great Matter of his Marriage. And therewithal I ſaid unto him, That any Revelation of the King's Matters I would not hear of, I doubt not but the Goodneſs of God ſhould direct his Highneſs, with his Grace and Wiſdom, that the thing ſhould take ſuch end as God ſhould be pleaſed with, to the King's Honour, and Surety of the Realm. When he heard me ſay theſe words, or the like, he ſaid unto me, That God had ſpecially commanded her to pray for the King; and forthwith he brake again into her Revelations concerning the Cardinal, that his Soul was ſaved by her Mediation; and without any other Communication went unto his Chamber. And he and I never talked any more of any ſuch manner of Matter, nor ſince his departing on the Morrow, I never ſaw him afterwards, to my remembrance, till I ſaw him at *Paul*'s Croſs.

After this, about Shrovetide, there came unto me, a little before Supper, Father *Rich*, Friar Obſervant of *Richmond*; and as we fell in talking, I asked him of Father *Risby*, how he did? And upon that occaſion, he asked me, Whether Father *Risby* had any thing ſhewed me of the Holy Nun of *Kent*? and I ſaid, Yea, and that I was very glad to hear of her Vertue. I would not, quoth he, tell you again that you have heard of him already; but I have heard, and known, many great Graces that God hath wrought in her, and in other Folk, by her, which I would gladly tell you, if I thought you had not heard them already. And therewith he asked me, Whether Father *Risby* had told me any thing of her being with my Lord Cardinal? and I ſaid, Yea: Then he told you, quoth he, of the three Swords: Yea verily, quoth I. Did he tell you, quoth he, of the Revelations that ſhe had concerning the King's Grace? Nay forſooth, quoth I, nor if he would have done, I would not have given him the hearing; nor verily no more I would indeed, for ſith ſhe hath been with the King's Grace her ſelf, and told him, me-thought it a thing needleſs to tell me, or to any Man elſe. And when Father *Rich* perceived that I would not hear her Revelations concerning the King's Grace, he talked on a little of her Vertue, and let her Revelations alone; and therewith my Supper was ſet upon the Board, where I required him to ſit with me; but he would in no wiſe tarry, but departed to *London*. After that night I talked with him twice, once in mine own Houſe, another time in his own Garden at the *Friars*, at every time a great ſpace, but not of any Revelations touching the King's Grace, but only of other mean Folk, I knew not whom of, which things, ſome were very ſtrange, and ſome were very childiſh. But albeit, that he ſaid, He had ſeen her lie in her Trance in great pains, and that he had at other times taken great ſpiritual comfort in her Communication; yet did he never tell me that ſhe had told him thoſe Tales her ſelf; for if he had, I would, for the Tale of *Mary Magdalene* which he told me, and for the Tale of the Hoſtie, with which, as I have heard ſhe ſaid ſhe was

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Houſeled at the King's Maſs at *Calice:* If I had heard it of him, as told unto himſelf by her Mouth for a Revelation, I would have both liked him and her the worſe. But whether ever I heard the ſame Tale of *Rich* or of *Risby*, or of neither of them both, but of ſome other Man ſince ſhe was in hold, in good faith I cannot tell; but I wot well when or whereſoever I heard it, me thought it a Tale too marvellous to be true, and very likely that ſhe had told ſome Man her Dream, which told it out for a Revelation. And in effect, I little doubted but that ſome of theſe Tales that were told of her were untrue; but yet ſith I never heard them reported as ſpoken by her own Mouth, I thought nevertheleſs that many of them might be true, and ſhe a very vertuous Woman too; as ſome Lyes be peradventure written of ſome that be Saints in Heaven, and yet many Miracles indeed done by them for all that.

After this, I being upon a day at *Sion*, and talking with divers of the Fathers together at the Grate, they ſhewed me that ſhe had been with them, and ſhewed me divers things that ſome of them miſliked in her; and in this talking, they wiſhed that I had ſpoken with her, and ſaid, they would fain ſee how I ſhould like her. Whereupon, afterward, when I heard that ſhe was there again, I came thither to ſee her, and to ſpeak with her my ſelf. At which Communication had, in a little Chappel, there were none preſent but we two: in the beginning whereof, I ſhewed that my coming to her was not of any curious mind, any think to know of ſuch things as Folk talked, that it pleaſed God to reveal and ſhew unto her, but for the great Vertue that I had heard ſo many Years, every day more and more ſpoken and reported of her; I therefore had a great mind to ſee her, and be acquainted with her, that ſhe might have ſomewhat the more occaſion to remember me to God in her Devotion and Prayers: Whereunto ſhe gave me a very good vertuous Anſwer, That as God did of his goodneſs far better by her than ſhe, a poor Wretch, was worthy, ſo ſhe feared that many Folk yet beſide that ſpoke of their own favourable minds many things for her, far above the Truth, and that of me ſhe had many ſuch things heard, that already ſhe prayed for me, and ever would; whereof I heartily thanked her. I ſaid unto her, Madam, one *Hellen*, a Maiden dwelling about *Totnam*, of whoſe Trances and Revelations there hath been much talking, ſhe hath been with me of late, and ſhewed me, that ſhe was with you, and that after the rehearſal of ſuch Viſions as ſhe had ſeen you ſhewed her, that they were no Revelations, but plain Illuſions of the Devil, and adviſed her to caſt them out of her mind: And verily ſhe gave therein good credence unto you, and thereupon hath left to lean any longer unto ſuch Viſions of her own: Whereupon ſhe ſaith, ſhe findeth your words true, for ever ſince, ſhe hath been the leſs viſited with ſuch things as ſhe was wont to be before. To this ſhe anſwered me, Forſooth Sir, There is in this Point no praiſe unto me, but the Goodneſs of God, as it appeareth, hath wrought much meekneſs in her Soul, which hath taken my rude warning ſo well, and not grudged to hear her Spirit and her Viſions reproved. I liked her, in good Faith, better for this Anſwer, than for many of theſe things that I heard reported by her. Afterward ſhe told me, upon that occaſion, how great need Folk have, that are viſited with ſuch Viſions, to take heed

heed, and prove well of what Spirit they come of; and in that Communication she told me, That of late the Devil, in likeness of a Bird, was flying and fluttering about her in a Chamber, and suffered himself to be taken; and being in hands, suddenly changed, in their sight that were present, into such a strange ugly-fashioned Bird, that they were all afraid, and threw him out at a Window.

For conclusion; we talked no word of the King's Grace, or any great Personage else, nor in effect, of any Man or Woman, but of her self and my self; but after no long communication had, for or ever we met, my time came to go home, I gave her a double Ducate, and prayed her to pray for me and mine, and so departed from her, and never spake with her after. Howbeit, of a truth, I had a great good opinion of her, and had her in great estimation, as you shall perceive by the Letter that I wrote unto her. For afterwards, because I had often heard that many right worshipful Folks, as well Men as Women, used to have much communication with her; and many Folk are of nature inquisitive and curious, whereby they fall sometimes into such talking, and better were to forbear, of which thing I nothing thought while I talked with her of Charity, therefore I wrote her a Letter thereof; which sith it may be peradventure, that she brake or lost, I shall insert the very Copy thereof in this present Letter.

These were the very words.

GOod Madam, and my right dearly-beloved Sister in our Lord God, after most hearty Commendation, I shall beseech you to take my good Mind in good worth, and pardon me, that I am so homely as of my self unrequired, and also without necessity, to give counsel to you, of whom for the good Inspirations, and great Revelations that it liketh Almighty God of his Goodness to give and shew, as many wise, well-learned, and very vertuous Folk testify, I my self have need, for the comfort of my Soul, to require and ask advice. For surely, good Madam, sith it pleased God sometime to suffer, such as are far under and of little estimation, to give yet fruitful advertisement to such other as are in the Light of the Spirit so far above them, that there were between them no comparison; as he suffered his High Prophet *Moses* to be in some things advised and counselled by *Jethro*, I cannot, for the love that in our Lord I bear you, refrain to put you in remembrance of one thing, which in my poor mind I think highly necessary to be by your Wisdom considered, referring the end, and the order thereof, to God and his Holy Spirit, to direct you. Good Madam, I doubt not, but that you remember that in the beginning of my Communication with you, I shewed you, that I neither was, nor would be, curious of any knowledg of other Mens Matters, and least of all of any Matter of Princes, or of the Realm, in case it so were, that God had, as to many good Folks before-time, he hath any time revealed unto you such things, I said unto your Ladyship, that I was not only not desirous to hear of, but also would not hear of. Now Madam, I consider well that many Folk desire to speak with you, which are not all peradventure of my mind in this Point; but some hap to be curious

and inquiſitive of things that little pertain unto their parts; and ſome might peradventure hap to talk of ſuch things as might peradventure after turn to much harm; as I think you have heard how the late Duke of *Buckingham*, moved with the fame of one that was reported for an Holy Monk, and had ſuch talking with him, as after was a great part of his deſtruction, and diſheriting of his Blood, and great ſlander and infamy of Religion. It ſufficeth me, good Madam, to put you in remembrance of ſuch things, as I nothing doubt your Wiſdom, and the Spirit of God ſhall keep you from talking with any Perſon, ſpecially with high Perſons, of any ſuch manner things as pertain to Princes Affairs, or the State of the Realm, but only to commune and talk with any Perſon, high and low, of ſuch manner things as may to the Soul be profitable for you to ſhew, and for them to know. And thus, my good Lady, and dearly beloved Siſter in our Lord, I make an end of this my needleſs advertiſement unto you, whom the Bleſſed Trinity preſerve and increaſe in Grace, and put in your mind to recommend me and mine unto him in your devout Prayers. At *Chelſey*, this *Tueſday*, by the Hand of

Your hearty loving Brother and Beadſman,

Thomas More Kt.

At the receipt of this Letter, ſhe anſwered my Servant, that ſhe heartily thanked me: Soon after this there came to mine Houſe the Prior of the *Charterhouſe* at *Schene*, and one Brother *Williams* with him, who nothing talked to me, but of her, and of the great joy that they took in her Vertue, but of any of her Revelations they had no communication. But at another time Brother *Williams* came to me, and told me a long Tale of her, being at the Houſe of a Knight in *Kent*, that was ſore troubled with Temptations to deſtroy himſelf; and none other thing we talked of, nor ſhould have done of likelyhood, though we had tarried together much longer, he took ſo great pleaſure, good Man, to tell the Tale, with all the Circumſtances at length. When I came again another day to *Sion*, on a day in which there was a Profeſſion, ſome of the Fathers asked me how I liked the Nun? And I anſwered, that, in good Faith, I liked her very well in her talking; howbeit, quoth I, ſhe is never the nearer tried by that, for I aſſure you, ſhe were likely to be very bad, if ſhe ſeemed good, e're I ſhould think her other, till ſhe happened to be proved naught; and in good Faith, that is my manner indeed, except I were ſet to ſearch and examine the Truth, upon likelyhood of ſome cloaked evil; for in that caſe, although I nothing ſuſpected the Perſon my ſelf, yet no leſs than if I ſuſpected him ſore, I would as far, as my wit would ſerve me, ſearch to find out the truth, as your ſelf hath done very prudently in this Matter; wherein you have done, in my mind, to your great laud and praiſe, a very meritorious Deed, in bringing forth to light ſuch deteſtable Hypocriſy, whereby every other Wretch may take warning, and be feared to ſet forth their own deviliſh diſſembled falſhood, under the manner and colour of the wonderful Work of God; for verily, this Woman

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ſo handled her ſelf, with help of that evil Spirit that inſpired her, that after her own Confeſſion declared at *Paul's* Croſs, when I ſent word by my Servant unto the Prior of the *Charterhouſe*, that ſhe was undoubtedly proved a falſe deceiving Hypocrite; The good Man had had ſo good opinion of her ſo long, that he could at the firſt ſcantly believe me therein. Howbeit it was not he alone that thought her ſo very good, but many another right good Man beſides, as little marvel was upon ſo good report, till ſhe was proved naught.

I remember me further, that in Communication between Father *Rich* and me; I counſelled him, that in ſuch ſtrange things as concerned ſuch Folk as had come unto her, to whom, as ſhe ſaid, ſhe had told the cauſes of their coming, e're themſelves ſpake thereof; and ſuch good Fruit as they ſaid that many Men had received by her Prayer, he, and ſuch other as ſo reported it, and thought that the knowledg thereof ſhould much pertain to the Glory of God, ſhould firſt cauſe the things to be well and ſure examined by the Ordinaries, and ſuch as had Authority thereunto; ſo that it might be ſurely known whether the things were true or not, and that there were no Letters intermingled among them, or elſe the Letters might after hap to aweigh the credence of theſe things that were true. And when he told me the Tale of *Mary Magdalen*, I ſaid unto him, Father *Rich*, that ſhe is a good vertuous Woman, in good Faith, I hear ſo many good Folk ſo report, that I verily think it true; and think it well-likely that God worketh ſome good and great things by her; but yet are, you wot well, theſe ſtrange Tales no part of our Creed; and therefore before you ſee them ſurely proved, yon ſhall have my poor counſel, not to wed your ſelf ſo far forth to the credence of them, as to report them very ſurely for true, leaſt that if it ſhould hap that they were afterwards proved falſe, it might miniſh your eſtimation in your Preaching, whereof might grow great loſs. To this he thanked me for my counſel, but how he uſed it after that, I cannot tell.

Thus have I, good Mr. *Cromwell*, fully declared to you, as far as my ſelf can call to remembrance, all that ever I have done or ſaid in this Matter, wherein I am ſure that never one of them all ſhall tell you any further thing of effect; for if any of them, or any Man elſe, report of me, as I truſt verily no Man will, and I wot well truly no Man can, any Word or Deed by me ſpoken or done, touching any breach of my legal Truth and Duty toward my moſt redoubted Soveraign, and natural Liege Lord, I will come to mine Anſwer, and make it good in ſuch wiſe as becometh a poor true Man to do; that whoſoever any ſuch thing ſhall ſay, ſhall therein ſay untrue: for I neither have in this Matter done evil, nor ſaid evil, nor ſo much as any evil thing thought, but only have been glad, and rejoiced of them that were reported for good; which condition I ſhall nevertheleſs keep toward all other good Folk, for the falſe cloaked Hypocriſy of any of theſe, no more than I ſhall eſteem *Judas* the true Apoſtle, for *Judas* the falſe Traitor.

But ſo purpoſe I to bear my ſelf in every Man's Company, while I live, that neither good Man nor bad, neither Monk, Friar, nor Nun, nor other Man or Woman in this World, ſhall make me digreſs from my Truth and Faith, either towards God, or towards my natural Prince,

by the Grace of Almighty God; and as you therein find me true, ſo I heartily therein pray you to continue toward me your favour and good-will, as you ſhall be ſure of my poor daily Prayer; for other pleaſure can I not do you. And thus the Bleſſed Trinity, both bodily and ghoſtly, long preſerve and proſper you.

I pray you pardon me, that I write not unto you of mine own hand, for verily I am compelled to forbear writing for a while, by reaſon of this Diſeaſe of mine, whereof the chief occaſion is grown, as it is thought, by the ſtooping and leaning on my Breaſt, that I have uſed in writing. And thus, eft-ſoons, I beſeech our Lord long to preſerve you.

Number 22.

Directions of Queen Mary *to her Council, touching the Reformation of the Church, out of her own Original.*

Ex MS. D.G. *Petyte.*

First, That ſuch as had Commiſſion to talk with my Lord Cardinal at his firſt coming, touching the Goods of the Church, ſhould have recourſe unto him, at the leaſt once in a week, not only for putting theſe Matters in execution, as much as may be, before the Parliament, but alſo to underſtand of him which way might be beſt to bring to good effect, thoſe Matters that have been begun concerning Religion, both touching good Preaching, I wiſh, that may ſupply and overcome the evil Preaching in time paſt; and alſo to make a ſure Proviſion, that no evil Books ſhall either be printed, bought, or ſold, without juſt puniſhment. Therefore I think it ſhould be well done, that the Univerſities and Churches of this Realm, ſhould be viſited by ſuch Perſons as my Lord Cardinal, with the reſt of you, may be well aſſured to be worthy and ſufficient Perſons to make a true and juſt account thereof, remitting the choice of them to him and you. Touching puniſhment of Hereticks, me thinketh it ought to be done without raſhneſs, not leaving in the mean while to do Juſtice to ſuch, as by Learning would ſeem to deceive the ſimple; and the reſt ſo to be uſed, that the People might well perceive them not to be condemned without juſt occaſion, whereby they ſhall both underſtand the Truth, and beware to do the like. And eſpecially in *London*, I would wiſh none to be burnt, without ſome of the Councils preſence, and both there and every-where, good Sermons at the ſame. I verily believe that many Benefices ſhould not be in one Man's hand, but after ſuch ſort as every Prieſt might look to his own Charge, and remain reſident there, whereby they ſhould have but one Bond to diſcharge towards God; Whereas now they have many, which I take to be the cauſe that in moſt part of this Realm there is over-much want of good Preachers, and ſuch as ſhould with their Doctrine overcome the evil diligence of the abuſed Preachers in the time of Schiſm, not only by their Preaching, but alſo by their good Example, without which, in mine Opinion, their Sermons ſhall not ſo much profit as I wiſh. And like-as their good Example, on their behalf, ſhall undoubtedly do much good,

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ſo I account my ſelf bound, on my behalf alſo, to ſhew ſuch example, in encouraging and maintaining thoſe Perſons, well-doing their Duty, (not forgetting, in the mean while, to correct and puniſh them which do contrary) that it may be evident to all this Realm how I diſcharge my Conſcience therein, and miniſter true Juſtice in ſo doing.

Number 23.

Injunctions by *Hugh Latimer* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, to the Prior and Convent of St. *Mary Houſe* in *Worceſter*, 1537.

Hugh, *by the Goodneſs of God, Biſhop of* Worceſter, *wiſheth to his Brethren, the Prior and Convent aforeſaid, Grace, Mercy, Peace, and true knowledg of God's Word; from God our Father, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

Foraſmuch as in this my Viſitation, I evidently perceive the Ignorance and Negligence of divers Religious Perſons in this Monaſtery to be intollerable, and not to be ſuffered; for that thereby doth reign Idolatry, and many kinds of Superſtitions, and other Enormities: And conſidering withal, that our Soveraign Lord the King, for ſome part of Remedy of the ſame, hath granted, by his moſt gracious License, that the Scripture of God may be read in Engliſh, of all his obedient Subjects. I therefore, willing your Reformation in moſt favourable manner, to your leaſt diſpleaſure; do heartily require you all, and every one of you, and alſo in God's behalf command the ſame, according as your Duty is, to obey me as God's Miniſter, and the King's, in all my lawful and honeſt Commandments; that you obſerve and keep inviolably, all theſe Injunctions following, under pain of the Law. *L. 3us Reg. Prior. & Convent. Wigorn.*

FIrſt; Foraſmuch as I perceive that ſome of you neither have obſerved the King's Injunctions, nor yet have them with you, as willing to obſerve them; therefore ye ſhall from henceforth, both have and obſerve diligently and faithfully, as well ſpecial commandments of Preaching, as other Injunctions given in his Grace's Viſitation.

Item. That the Prior ſhall provide, of the Monaſteries charge, a whole Bible in Engliſh, to be laid faſt chained in ſome open place, either in their Church or Cloiſter.

Item. That every Religious Perſon have, at the leaſt, a New Teſtament in Engliſh, by the Feaſt of the Nativity of our Lord next enſuing.

Item. Whenſoever there ſhall be any Preaching in your Monaſtery, that all manner of Singing, and other Ceremonies, be utterly laid aſide in his preaching time; and all other Service ſhortned, as need ſhall be; and all Religious Perſons quietly to hearken to the Preaching.

Item. That ye have a Lecture of Scripture read every day in Engliſh amongſt you, ſave Holy-days.

Item.

Item. That every Religious Perſon be at every Lecture, from the beginning to the ending, except they have a neceſſary Lett allowed them by the Prior.

Item. That every Religious Houſe have a Layman to their Steward, for all former Buſineſſes.

Item. That you have a continual Schoolmaſter, ſufficiently learned, to teach your Grammer.

Item. That no Religious Perſon diſcourage any manner of Lay-man or Woman, or any other from the reading of any good Book, either in Latin or Engliſh.

Item. That the Prior have at his Dinner or Supper, every day a Chapter read, from the beginning of the Scripture to the end, and that in Engliſh, whereſoever he be in any of his own Places, and to have edifying communication of the ſame.

Item. That the Covent ſit together, four to one Meſs, and to eat together in common, and to have Scripture read in likewiſe, and have communication thereof; and after their Dinner or Supper, their Reliques and Fragments to be diſtributed to the poor People.

Item. That the Covent and Prior, provide Diſtributions to be miniſtred in every Pariſh, whereas ye be Parſons and Proprietaries, and according to the King's Injunctions in that behalf.

Item. That all theſe my Injunctions be read every month, once in the Chapter Houſe, before all the Brethren.

Number 24.

A Letter of Ann Bolleyn's *to* Gardner.

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

Mr. *Stephens*, I thank you for my Letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful Mind that you have to do me pleaſure, not doubting, but as much as is poſſible for Man's Wit to Imagine, you will do. I pray God to ſend you well to ſpeed in all your Matters, ſo that you would put me to the ſtudy how to reward your high Service: I do truſt in God you ſhall not repent it, and that the end of this Journey ſhall be more pleaſant to me than your firſt, for that was but a rejoicing hope, which ceaſing the lack of it, does put me to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know: And therefore I do truſt that this hard beginning ſhall make the better ending.

Mr. *Stephens*, I ſend you here Cramp-Rings for you and Mr. *Gregory*, and Mr. *Peter*, praying you to diſtribute them as you think beſt. And have me recommended heartily to them both, as She, that you may aſſure them, will be glad to do them any pleaſure which ſhall lie in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God ſend you good health. Written at *Greenwich*, the 4*th* day of *April*.

By your aſſured Friend,

Ann Bollein.

Number

Number 25.

The Office of Conſecrating the Cramp-Rings.

Certain Prayers to be uſed by the Queen's Highneſs, in the Conſecration of the Cramp-Ring.

DEus miſereatur noſtri & benedicat nos Deus, illuminet vultum ſuum ſuper nos & miſereatur noſtri. Ex MS. in Biblioth. *R. Smith.* Lond

Ut cognoſcamus in terra viam tuam, in omnibus gentibus ſalutare tuum.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes.

Lætentur & exultent gentes, quoniam judicas populos in equitate, & gentes in terra dirigis.

Confiteantur tibi Populi Deus, confiteantur tibi populi omnes, terra dedit fructum ſuum.

Benedicat nos Deus, Deus noſter, benedicat nos Deus, & metuent eum omnes fines terræ.

Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto.

Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & ſemper, & in ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen.

Omnipotens ſempiterne Deus, qui ad ſolatium humani generis, varia ac multiplicia miſeriarum noſtrarum levamenta uberrimus gratiæ tuæ donis ab inexhauſto benignitatis tuæ fonte manantibus, inceſſanter tribuere dignatus es, & quos ad Regalis ſublimitatis faſtigium extuliſti, inſignioribus gratiis ornatos, Donorumq; tuorum organa atq; canales eſſe voluiſti, ut ſicut per te regnant aliiſq; præſunt, ita te authore reliquis proſint, & tua in populum beneficia conferant; preces noſtras propitius reſpice, & quæ tibi vota humilime fundimus, benignus admitte, ut quod a te majores noſtri de tua miſericordia ſperantes obtinuerunt, id nobis etiam pari fiducia poſtulantibus concedere digneris. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Amen.

The Rings lying in one Baſon, or more, this Prayer to be ſaid over them.

DEus Cœleſtium terreſtriumq; conditor creaturarum, atq; humani generis beniginſſime reparator, Dator ſpiritualis gratiæ, omniumq; benedictionum largitor, immitte Spiritum Sanctum tuum Paracletum de cælis ſuper hos Annulos arte fabrili confectos, eoſq; magna tua potentia ita emundare digneris, ut omni nequitia lividi venenoſiq; ſerpentis procul expulſa, metallum a te bono conditore creatum, a cunctis inimici ſordibus maneat immune. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Amen.

Benedictio

Benedictio Annulorum.

Deus Abraham, Deus Iſaac, Deus Jacob, exaudi miſericors preces noſtras, parce metuentibus, propitiare ſupplicibus, & mittere digneris Sanctum Angelum tuum de Cœlis qui Sanctificet ✝ & benedicat ✝ annulos iſtos, ut ſint remedium ſalutare omnibus nomen tuum humiliter implorantibus, ac ſemetipſos pro conſcientia delictorum ſuorum accuſantibus, atq; ante conſpectum Divinæ Clementiæ tuæ facinora ſua deplorantibus, & ſereniſſimam pietatem tuam humiliter obnixeq; flagitantibus; proſint deniq; per invocationem Sancti tui nominis omnibus iſtos geſtantibus, ad corporis & animæ ſanitatem. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Amen.

Benedictio.

Deus qui in morbis curandis maxima ſemper potentiæ tuæ miracula declaraſti, quiq; annulos in Juda Patriarcha fidei arrabonem, in Aarone Sacerdotale ornamentum, in Dario fidelis cuſtodiæ Symbolum, & in hoc Regno variorum morborum remedia eſſe voluiſti, hos annulos propitius ✝ benedicere & ✝ ſanctificare digneris: ut omnes qui eos geſtabunt ſint immunes ab omnibus Satanæ inſidiis, ſint armati virtute cœleſtis defenſionis, nec eos infeſtet vel nervorum contractio, vel comitialis morbi pericula, ſed ſentiant te opitulante in omni morborum genere Levamen. In nomine Patris ✝ & Filii ✝ & Spiritus Sancti ✝. Amen.

Benedic anima mea Domino: & omnia quæ intra me ſunt nomini ſancto ejus. *Here follows the reſt of that Pſalm.*

Immenſam clementiam tuam Miſericors Deus humiliter imploramus, ut qua animi fiducia & fidei ſinceritate, ac certa mentis pietate, ad hæc impetranda accedimus, pari etiam devotione gratiæ tuæ ſymbola fideles proſequantur; faceſſat omnis ſuperſtitio, procul abſit Diabolicæ fraudis ſuſpitio, & in gloria tui nominis omnia cedant; ut te Largitorem bonorum omnium fideles tui intelligant, atque a te uno quicquid vel animis vel corporibus vere proſit, profectum ſentiant & profiteantur. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Amen.

Theſe Prayers being ſaid, the Queen's Highneſs rubbeth the Rings between her Hands, ſaying;

Sanctifica Domine Annulos iſtos, & rore tuæ benedictionis benignus aſperge, ac manuum noſtrarum confricatione, quas olei ſacri infuſione externa, ſanctificare dignatus es pro miniſterii noſtri modo, conſecra, ut quod natura metalli præſtare non poſſit, gratiæ tuæ magnitudine efficiatur. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Amen.

Number

Then muſt Holy Water be caſt on the Rings, ſaying;

In Nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Domine Fili Dei unigenite, Dei & Hominum Mediator, Jeſu Chriſte, in cujus unius nomine ſalus recte quæritur, quiq; in te ſperantibus facilem ad Patrem acceſſum conciliaſti, quem quicquid in nomine tuo peteretur, id omne daturum, eum certiſſimo veritatis Oraculo ab ore tuo Sancto, quum inter homines verſabaris homo pronunciaſti, precibus noſtris aures tuæ pietatis accommoda, ut ad thronum gratiæ in tua fiducia accedentes, quod in nomine tuo humiliter poſtulavimus, id a nobis, te mediante, impetratum fuiſſe, collatis per te beneficiis, fideles intelligant. Qui vivis & regnas cum Deo patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen.

Vota noſtra quæſumus Domine, Spiritus Sanctus qui a te procedit, aſpirando preveniat, & proſequatur, ut quod ad ſalutem fidelium confidenter petimus, gratiæ tuæ dono efficaciter conſequamur. Per Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Amen.

Majeſtatem tuam, Clementiſſime Deus, Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus, ſuppliciter exoramus, ut quod ad nominis tui ſanctificationem piis hic Ceremoniis peragitur, ad corporis ſimul & animæ tutelam valeat in terris, & ad uberiorem fœlicitatis fructum proficiat in Cœlis.

Qui vivis & regnas Deus, per omnia ſæcula ſæculorum. Amen.

Number 26.

A Letter of Gardiner's *to King* Henry *the Eighth, concerning the Divorce.*

An Original.

PLeaſeth it your Majeſty to underſtand, that beſides all other means uſed to the Pope's Holineſs, for attaining and atchieving your Highneſs Purpoſe and Intent, ſuch as in our common Letters to my Lord Legat's Grace, and my ſeveral Letters to the ſame be contained at length. I have alſo a-part ſhewed unto the Pope's Holineſs, that which your Highneſs ſhewed me in your Gallery at *Hampton-Court*, concerning the ſollicitation of the Princes of *Almayn*, and ſuch other Matter as ſhould and ought to fear the Pope's ſaid Holineſs; adding alſo thoſe Reaſons which might induce the ſame to adhere expreſly to your Highneſs, and the French King, and ſo to take the more courage to accompliſh your Highneſs Deſires: uſing all ways poſſible to enforce him to do ſomewhat, being a Man of ſuch Nature, as he never reſolveth any thing, but by ſome violent Affection compelled thereunto. And conſidering we can ſpeed no better at his hands, it agreeth with Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

that your Majeſty, of your high Wiſdom before perpended, that his Holineſs would do nothing which might offend the Emperor, unleſs he firſt determined himſelf to adhere to your Highneſs, and the French King, and ſo to declare himſelf, containing himſelf no longer in Neutrality; which he will not do: Ne the State of the Affairs here conſidered, it were for his Wealth ſo to do, unleſs the Leagues otherwiſe proceeded than they yet do, or that his Holineſs would determine himſelf to leave theſe Parts, and eſtabliſh his See in ſome other Place; foraſmuch, as here being, he is daily in danger of the Imperials, like as we have ſignified by our other Letters. His Holineſs is in great perplexity and Agony of Mind, nor can tell what to do: he ſeemeth in words, faſhion, and manner of ſpeaking, as though he would do ſomewhat for your Highneſs; and yet, when it cometh to the Point, nothing he doth: I dare not ſay certainly, whether it be for fear, or want of good Will, for I were loth to make a Lie of him, or to your Highneſs, my Prince, Soveraign Lord and Maſter. Finally, I perceive this by the Pope, and all other here, that ſo your Highneſs cauſe were determined there by my Lord's Legats, they would be glad thereof; and, as I think, if the Emperor would make any Suit againſt that which ſhall be done there, they would ſerve him as they now do your Highneſs, and ſo drive off the time, for they ſeem to be ſo minded, as in this Cauſe they would ſuffer much, but do very little: Wherefore if my Lord *Campegius* will ſet apart all other reſpects, and frankly promiſe your Highneſs to give Sentence for you, then muſt be your Highneſs Remedy ſhort and expedite; nor ſhall there want wit, by another means, to meet with ſuch delays, as this falſe counterfeit Breve hath cauſed. For with theſe Men here, your Highneſs ſhall by no Suit profit; which thing I write unto your Highneſs, as of my moſt bounden Duty I ought to do: there ſhall every day riſe new Devices, and none take effect, but long delays, and waſted time: wherefore doing what I can yet to get the beſt, although we be fully anſwered therein, I ſhall do what I can to get the Commiſſion amplified as much as may be, and at the leaſt, to extend to the reprobation of the Brief, if I can, for I dare promiſe nothing to your Majeſty at this Man's hands; and that which ſhall be obtained, if any be obtained, ſhall be, according to your Highneſs Pleaſure, ſent by Mr. *Bryan*.

And whereas your Highneſs, in your gracious Letters directed to me and my Colleagues, marvelleth that I have not e're this advertiſed the ſame, of ſuch Bulls as your Majeſty willed me to impetrate here; I thought verily, that foraſmuch as the ſame be to be impetrate at the Pope's Hand, and that we ſignified unto your Majeſty, by our Letters, of the Pope's great Sickneſs, and how we could not have acceſs unto the ſame, that it had been ſuperfluous for me, in my Letters, to make any mention of the ſaid Bulls: ſignifying unto your Highneſs now, that having thoſe Matters, as it becometh me to have in good remembrance, I have not yet broken with the Pope's Holineſs in them, nor thought good to interrupt the Proſecution of your Highneſs Matter, with the purſuit of thoſe, ſaving that I ſpake a word to the Pope's Holineſs, *de Eccleſiis Cathedralibus*, and his Holineſs ſaid nothing could be done till the *Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor* be recovered. In other things I ſpeak not; for our Audience with the Pope's Holineſs hath been ſo

ſcarce,

ſcarce, that we thought it little enough to ſpend the ſame in your Highneſs principal Matter.

And to advertiſe your Highneſs what Counſel is here conducted for the defence of your Majeſty's Cauſe, the ſame ſhall underſtand that this Court, as it hath ſuffered in all other things, ſo it is alſo much appeyred in Learned Men, and of them that be, we dare not truſt every one, *ne Cauſa Majeſtatis veſtræ illis denudata*, they ſhould, *prodere illam Adverſariis*; wherefore counſelling, as yet only with two, the one called *Dominus Michael*, the other *Dominus Sigiſmundus*; we perceiving nothing to be ſolicited openly on the other ſide, and that here as yet, hath been no need to diſpute openly, have communicate your Highneſs Matter to no more. And as for that Article, *Quod Papa non poſſit diſpenſare*, the Pope himſelf will hear no Diſputations in it; and ſo he might retain your Highneſs good Mind, he ſeemeth not to care for himſelf, whether your Highneſs Cauſe be decided by that Article or no, ſo he did it not: but ſurely it appeareth, as a Man may gather by his faſhion and manner, that he hath made his account no further to meddle in your Highneſs Matter, neither with your Majeſty, nor againſt the ſame, but follow that ſhall be done by his Legats there. Wherefore if my Lord *Campegius* would promiſe your Majeſty to give Sentence frankly and apertly, having *propitium Judicem*, I would truſt, being there with ſuch Conſultations as I ſhould bring from hence to ſay ſomewhat to this Breve there, *Apud illos & iſta eſt Sacra Anchora Majeſtatis veſtræ*, for from hence ſhall come nothing but Delays; deſiring your Highneſs not to ſhew this to my Lord *Campegius*, nor my Lord's Grace.

Mr. *Gregory* ſendeth preſently unto your Highneſs the Promiſe made by the Pope's Holineſs, concerning your Highneſs Cauſe, at ſuch time as I went to *Venice* for his Cauſe, which Promiſe in the firſt three words, *viz. Cum nos juſtitiam ejus Cauſæ perpendentes, &c.* doth make as much, and more, for the maintenance of that ſhall be done in your Highneſs Cauſe; then if the Commiſſion Decretal, being in Cardinal *Campegius*'s Hands, ſhould be ſhewed: and this your Highneſs at your liberty to ſhew to whom of your Council it ſhall pleaſe your Grace, thinking, in my poor Opinion, that it were not the beſt therefore to move the Pope in that Matter again in this adverſe Time.

I moſt humbly deſire your Majeſty, that I may be a Suitor to the ſame for the ſaid Mr. *Gregory*; ſo as by your moſt gracious Commandment, payment may be made there to his Factors, of ſuch Diets as your Highneſs alloweth him: for omitting to ſpeak of his true, faithful, and diligent Service, which I have heretofore, and do now perceive in him here; I aſſure your Highneſs, he liveth here ſumptuouſly and chargeably, to your Highneſs Honour, and in this great Scarcity, muſt needs be driven to Extremity, unleſs your Highneſs be a gracious Lord unto him in that behalf.

Thus having none other Matter whereof privately to write unto your Majeſty, beſides that is contained in our common Letters to my

Lord Legat's Grace, desiring your Highness, that I may know your Pleasure what to do, in case none other thing can be obtained here. I shall make an end of these Letters, praying Almighty God to preserve your most noble and royal Estate, with a short expedition of this Cause, according to your Highness Purpose and Desire.

From *Rome*, the 21 day of *April*.

Your Highness most humble Subject,

Servant, and daily Orator,

Stephen Gardiner.

Number 27.

The Writ for the burning of Cranmer.

Philip and *Mary*, *&c.*

Rot. Pat. 2, & 3, *Phil.* & *Mar.* 2, par.

TO Our right trusty *Nicholas*, Arch-bishop of *York*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, Greeting. We Will and Command you, that immediately upon the sight hereof, and by Warrant of the same, ye do cause to be made a Writ for the Execution of *Thomas Cranmer*, late Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; and the same so made, to Seal with our Great Seal of *England*, being in your Custody, according to the Tenor and Form hereafter following.

PHilippus & Maria Dei Gratia, &c. Majori & Ballivis Civitatis Oxon. Salutem. Cum Sanctissimus Pater noster Paulus Papa ejusdem Nominis Quartus, per sententiam definitivam juris Ordine in ea parte requisito in omnibus observato, & juxta canonicas sanctiones judicialiter & definitive, Thomam Cranmer nuper Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum, sive Hæresiarchum, Anathematizatum, & Hæreticum manifestum, propter suos varios nefandos Errores manifestos & damnabiles Hæreses, & detestandas & pessimas Opiniones, Fidei nostræ Catholicæ, & Universalis Ecclesiæ determinationi obviantes & repugnantes: & prædict. Thomam Cranmer multis modis contract. comiss. dict. affirmat. perpetrat. & publice & pertinaciter tent. & defens. judicavit, declaravit, pronunciavit & condemnavit. & eadem causa idem Sanctissimus Pater noster Papa Paulus quartus Judicialiter & definitive, more solito, prædictum Thomam Cranmer a prædicto Archiepiscopatu, aliis Prælaturis, dignitatibus, Officiis & Beneficiis deprivavit & abjudicavit, prout cunctam inde habemus noticiam: Cumq; etiam Reverendus in Christo Pater Edmundus Londini Episcopus, & Thomas Elien. Episcopus Authoritate ejusdem Sanctissimi nostri Patris Papæ prædictum Thomam Cranmer ab omni Ordine, Gradu, Officio & Dignitate Ecclesiastica, tanquam Hæresiarcham & Hæreticum manifestum realiter degradaverunt; Ulterius cujus idem Thomas Cranmer in presenti Hæreticus & Hæresiarcha juste,

juste, legitime, & Canonice Judicatus, condemnatus & degradatus extitit; Et cum etiam Mater Ecclesia non habet quod ulterius in hac parte contra tam putridum & detestabile membrum & hæresiarcham faciat aut facere debeat, Idem Reverendi Patres eundem Thomam Cranmer damnatum Hæreticum & Hæresiarcham brachiis & potestati nostris secularibus tradiderunt, commiserunt & reliquerunt, prout per Literas Patentes eorundem Reverendorum Patrum superinde confect. nobis in Cancellaria nostra Certificatum est. Nos igitur ut Zelatores Justiciæ, & Fidei Catholicæ Defensores, volentesque Ecclesiam Sanctam, ac Jura & Libertates ejusdem, & Fidem Catholicam manutenere & defendere, hujusmodi Hæreses & Errores ubique, quantum in nobis est, eradicare & extirpare, & prædictum Thomam Hæresiarcham ac convictum, damnat. & degradat. animadversione condigna punire. Attendentesque hujusmodi Hæretic. & Hæresiarch. in forma prædicta convict. damnat. & degradat. jurta Leges & consuetudines Regni nostri Angliæ in hac parte consuetas ignis incendio comburi debere; Vobis Præcipimus quod dictum Thomam Cranmer, in custodia vestra existen. in Loco publico & aperto, infra Libertatem dicti Civitatis nostræ Oxon. & causa prædicta, coram Populo igni Committi, ac ipsum Thomam Cranmer in eodem igne realiter comburi facietis, in hujusmodi Criminis detestationem, aliorum Christianorum exemplum manifestum: & hoc sub pœna & periculo incumbente, ac prout nobis subinde respondere volueritis, nullatenus Omittatis. Test. nobis ipsis apud Westmonasterium, Vicesimo quarto Februarii, Annis Regis & Reginæ secundo ac tertio.

And this Bill, signed with the hand of Us the said Queen, shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge for the same.

Number 28.

A Commission to Bonner, *and others, to search and raze Records.*

Philip and *Mary*, &c.

TO the Right Reverend Father in God, *Edmond* Bishop of *London*; and to Our trusty and well-beloved *Henry Cole*, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, *London*; and *Thomas Marten* Esq; Doctor of the Civil Law, Greeting. Where is come to Our knowledg and understanding, that in the time of the late Schism, divers and sundry Accompts, Books, Scroles, Instruments, and other Writings, were practised, devised, and made, concerning Professions against the Pope's Holiness, and the See Apostolick: And also sundry and divers infamous Scrutinies were taken in Abbeys, and other Religious Houses, tending rather to subvert and overthrow all good Religion, and Religious Houses, than for any Truth contained therein; which Writings, and other the Premises, as We be informed, were delivered to the Custody and Charge of divers and sundry Registers, and other Officers and Ministers of this Our

Rot. Pat. 3, & 4. *Phil.* & *Mar.* 12. Par.

Our Realm of *England*, to be by them kept and preſerved. And minding to have the ſaid Writings, and other the Premiſes, brought to knowledg, whereby they may be conſidered and ordered, according to Our Will and Pleaſure. And truſting in your Fidelities, Wiſdoms, and Diſcretions, We have appointed, and aſſigned you to be Our Commiſſioners; and by theſe Preſents do give full Power and Authority unto you, or two of you, to call before you, or two of you, all and ſingular the ſaid Regiſters, and other Officers and Miniſters within this Our ſaid Realm, to whoſe hands, cuſtody, knowledg, or poſſeſſion, any of the ſaid Accompts, Books, Scroles, Inſtruments, or other Writings concerning the Premiſes, or any part thereof, did, or is come; giving ſtreight charge and commandments to them, and every of them, to bring before you, or two of you, at their ſeveral appearance, all and ſingular the ſaid Accompts, Books, Writings, and other the Premiſes whatſoever: And them, and every of them, to charge by Oath, or otherwiſe, to make a true Certificate and Delivery of all and ſingular the ſaid Premiſes, to the hands of you, or two of you; commanding you, or two of you, to attend and execute the Premiſes, with effect, by all ways and means, according to your Wiſdoms and Diſcretions.

And of all and ſingular your doings therein, Our Pleaſure and Commandment is, Ye ſhall make Certificate unto the moſt Reverend Father in God, and our deareſt Couſin *Reginald Pool*, Lord Cardinal, Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, Metropolitan and Primate of *England*, with diligence, to the intent that further Order may be taken therein as ſhall appertain; charging and commanding all and ſingular Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Conſtables, and all other Our Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, to be aiding, helping, aſſiſting, and at Our Commandment in the due execution hereof, as they tender Our Pleaſure, and will anſwer to the contrary at their perils.

In Witneſs whereof, *&c.* Witneſs the King and Queen, at *Greenwich*, the 29*th* day of *December*.

Per Regem & Reginam.

Number

Number 19.

Cromwell's *Commiſſion, to be Lord Vicegerent, in all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.*

HEnricus Octavus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ & Franciæ, Rex, Fidei Defenſor, Dominus Hiberniæ ac in Terris Supremum totius Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Caput, dilectis nobis A. B. C. D. Salutem. In terris, ſupremam Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Autoritatem, etſi Regiæ Noſtræ dignitati, ut præcellenti, jam inde ab adepto primum divina diſponente gratia, hujus regni noſtri Angliæ Sceptro, jure nobis competierit, nunc denuo exercere quodam modo impellimur; nempe quum hi, qui curam illius & regimen ſibi potiſſimum arrogabant, ſuis potius ipſorum privatis commodis, quam publicæ illius ſaluti, aut compendio conſulentes, eam tandem eo calamitatis, tum nimia licentia & in Officiis eis commiſſis oſcitantia, tum ſuis malis exemplis devenire paſſi ſunt, ut non ab re metuendum ſit, ne illam Chriſtus nunc ſuam non agnoſcat ſponſam. Quamobrem noſtræ Regiæ excellentiæ, cui prima & ſuprema poſt Deum Auctoritas in quoſcunq; hujus Regni noſtri incolas, nullo ſexus, ætatis, ordinis aut conditionis habito diſcrimine, ſacro teſtante eloquio, cœlitus demandata eſt, ex muneris hujuſmodi debito potiſſimum incumbit, dictam Eccleſiam vitiorum vepribus, quantum cum Deo poſſumus, purgare, & virtutum ſeminibus & plantis conſerere. Porro cum hi, qui in eadem de cæteris antehac cenſuram ſibi vindicabant, de ſe vero nullam a quovis mortalium haberi ſuſtinebant, tum aliis hominibus plura indies corrigenda committant, tum ex eorum corruptis moribus majori præ cæteris ſunt plebi offendiculo; ut non immerito iidem & bonorum omnium, ſi boni, & malorum omnium, ſi contra certiſſimi ſint Authores: Ab his igitur veluti fonte & ſcaturigine ad univerſalem hujus Regni noſtri & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ reformationem jure auſpicandum eſſe duximus, haud vanam ſpem habentes, quod, fonte primitus purgato, purus deinde & limpidus decurret rivus. Cæterum quia ad ſingula hujus Regni noſtri loca pro præmiſſis exequendis nos ipſi perſonaliter obire non valemus, alios quorum Vicaria fide freti munus hujuſmodi veluti per miniſtros exequamur, qui quum vices noſtras in ea parte ſuppleant, in partem ſolicitudinis adſtitimus & vocamus. Cum itaque nos alias prædilectum nobis Thomam Cromwell Secretarium noſtrum primarium, & Rotulorum noſtrorum Magiſtrum ſive cuſtodem, Noſtrum, ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas quaſcunq; noſtra Autoritate uti ſupremi capitis dictæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ quomodolibet tractand. ſeu ventiland. atq; ad exercend. expediend. & exercend. omnem & omnimodam jurisdictionem, Authoritatẽ, ſive poteſtatem Eccleſiaſticam, quæ nobis tanquam ſupremo capiti hujuſmodi competit, aut quoviſmodo competere poſſit, aut debeat, ubilibet infra Regnum noſtrũ, Angliæ & loca quæcunq; nobis ſubjecta, Vicem gerentem, Vicarium Generalem, ac Commiſſarium ſpecialem & principalem, cum poteſtate alium vel alios Commiſſarium ſive Commiſſarios ad præmiſſa, vel eorum aliqua ordinanda & deputanda, per alias literas noſtras Patentes, ſigillo noſtro majori communitas

Cotton. Libr. *Cleop.* F. 2.

nitas, conſtituerimus, deputaverimus & ordinaverimus, prout ex tenore literarum noſtrarum hujuſmodi plenius liquet. Quia tamen & ipſe noſtris & totius hujus Regni noſtri negotiis præpeditus exiſtit, quominus præmiſſa perſonaliter obire & exequi poſſit; Idem Thomas Cromwell Vicem gerens, Vicarius generalis & Officialis principalis noſter hujuſmodi vos A. B. C. D. prelibatos ad infra-ſcripta omnia & ſingula vice & nomine noſtris exequenda Commiſſarios noſtros deputaverit, ordinaverit & conſtituerit; Nos igitur deputationem, ordinationem, & conſtitutionem hujuſmodi ratam & gratam habentes, ad viſitandum tam in Capite quam in Membris, de tam plena, quam vacante, quoties, & quando vobis opportunum viſum fuerit, omnes & ſingulas Eccleſias, etiam Metropoliticas, Cathedrales & Collegiatas, Hoſpitalia quæque & Monaſteria, tam Virorum quam Mulierum, Prioratas, Preceptorias, Dignitates, Officia, Domos & Loca alia Eccleſiaſtica, tam Scholaria quam Regularia, exempta & non exempta, quæcunque infra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ, & Provincias, Civitates, Terras, Dominia & Loca nobis Subjecta, ubicunque ſita ſeu conſtituta, cujuſcunque Dignitatis, Prærogativæ, Ordinis, Regulæ ſive conditionis exiſtant: deque ſtatu & conditione eorundem tam in Spiritualibus quam in Temporalibus, necnon vita, moribus & converſatione, tam Præſidentium ſive Prælatorum eorundem quocunque nomine & dignitate, etiamſi Archiepiſcopali vel Epiſcopali, præfulgeant, quam aliarum perſonarum in eis degentium quarumcunque, inquirendum & inquiri faciendum. Ac illos quos in ea parte curioſos vel culpabiles fore compereritis, pro modo culpæ hujuſmodi corrigendi, puniendi & coercendi; ac ſi delicti qualitas poposcerit, officiis ſive beneficiis ſuis pro tempore vel in perpetuum privandi & amovendi, vel ad tempus ab eiſdem ſuſpendendi: fructus quoque, redditus & proventus Eccleſiarum & Locorum hujuſmodi, ſi videbitur, ſequeſtrandos, ac ſub ſalvo & tuto ſequeſtro cuſtodiri faciendos, atque mandando ſequeſtrumque hujuſmodi relaxandum ac computum calculum & rationem, de receptis & collectis per ſequeſtros hujuſmodi tempore ſequeſtri, & de adminiſtratione per eoſdem exigenda & recipienda, ac bene & fideliter computantes quietando & liberando deque ſtatu dictarum Eccleſiarum & Locorum tempore viſitationis hujuſmodi, annotationem, necnon de bonis rebus & localibus eorundem inventaria facienda & exigenda.

Statuta inſuper, Ordinationes & Injunctiones particulares & generales pro bona & laudabili conſervatione, ſeu reformatione perſonarum, locorum & ordinum prædictorum, juxta rei exigentiam, Auctoritate noſtra faciendo & imponendo: pœnaſque convenientes in earum violatores infligendas & irrogandas, Synodoſque, Capitula & Convocationes, tam ſpeciales quam generales pro præmiſſis vel aliis cauſis, & rationibus quibuſcunque, quoties & quando & ubicunque vobis viſum fuerit magis expedire nomine & auctoritate noſtris concedendos & convocandos ac eas & ea celebranda continuanda & proroganda. Clerumq; & Populum ad Synodos & capitula hujuſmodi convocando & congregando ac Synodis capituli, & congregationibus hujuſmodi intereſſendo & præſidendo eaque inibi ſtatuendo & ordinando quæ pro reformatione vel emendatione locorum, perſonarum & ordinum prædictorum viſa fuerint quomodolibet expedire. Dictaſque Eccleſias, loca & perſonas modis omnibus, quibus melius & efficacius valeatis ad ſtatum honeſtiorem,

rem, probatioresque vivendi mores, reducendo & reponendo. Crimina quoque, excessus, & delicta quorumcunque subditorum nostrorum juxta comperta & detecta quæcunque debite reformando, corrigendo & puniendo. Quoscunq; insuper subditos nostros, pro præmissis vel quibuscunque aliis causis ad forum Ecclesiasticum quomodolibet spectantibus & pertinentibus, undecunque & quacunque infra hoc nostrum Angliæ Regnum vobis videbitur melius expedire, ad vos & coram vobis citando & evocando: contumacesq; & rebelles, tam per censuras & pænas Ecclesiasticas, quam per mulctarum impositionem ac alia juris hujus Regni nostri remedia coercendo & puniendo. Causasq; & negotia Ecclesiastica hujusmodi cognoscendo, examinando ac fine debito terminando: & subditos hujusmodi rei per vos judicatæ stare & acquiescere cogendo & compellendo. Resignationes insuper sive cessiones Ecclesiarum, seu locorum & quascunq; quorumcunq; prædictorum factas sive faciendas recipiendo & admittendo. Ecclesiasq; & loca resignata, Vacantia, & pro vacantibus habenda fore pronunciando & declarando: Licentiasq; ad tractandū & communicandū & concludendū de & super pensionibus & fructibus & emolumentis, necnon dictarum Ecclesiarum & locorum commissorum assignando: necnon de & super, quacunque permutatione fienda quibuscunq; personis idoneis id petentibus concedendo. Pensionesque annuas congruas & moderatas, resignantibus hujusmodi, assignando & limitando: Ecclesiasq; & loca prædicta de & super pensionum hujusmodi solutione & præstatione onerando & obligando, ac decreta & summas in ea parte necessarias seu requisitas ferendas & promulgandas.

Electionibus quoque Prælatorum, qui per electionem hujusmodi assumi soleant quorumcunque interessendi & presidendi, eligendumq; in eisdem dirigendo & informando. Electiones insuper quascunq; rite factas & celebratas, & personas electas sive eligendas confirmando: ac aliter factas & celebratas cassando & annullando, ac rite electos & confirmatos installando seu installari faciendo. Institutiones quoq; & investituras in quibuscunq; Ecclesiis & locis prædictis pendente visitatione nostra hujusmodi personis idoneis & rite presentatis quibuscunq; conferendo & concedendo, ac eos in realem, actualem & corporalem possessionem Ecclesiarum & locorum prædictorum inducendo seu sic induci faciendo atq; mandando, cum suis juribus & pertinentibus universis. Quæcunq; insuper instrumenta, literasq; tam testimoniales, quam mandatores & rescripta alia quæcunq; in ea parte necessaria, opportuna, &c.

Desunt cætera.

Number 30.

A Letter written by the Monks of *Glaſſenbury*, for the new Founding of that Abbey.

An Original.

To the Right Honourable, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen's Majeſty.

Ex MS. Nob. Illuſtr. Com. de *Huntington.*

RIght Honourable, in our moſt humble wiſe, your Lordſhips daily Beadſmen, ſometimes at the Houſe of *Glaſſenbury*, now here Monks in *Weſtminſter*, with all due ſubmiſſion, we deſire your Honour to extend your accuſtomed Vertue, as it hath been always heretofore propenſe to the Honour of Almighty God, to the honourable Service of the King and Queen's Majeſty; So it may pleaſe your good Lordſhip again, for the honour of them, both of God and their Majeſties, to put the Queen's Highneſs in remembrance of her gracious Promiſe, concerning the Erection of the late Monaſtery of *Glaſſenbury*; which Promiſe of her Grace hath been ſo by her Majeſty declared. That upon the ſame, we your Lordſhips daily Beadſmen, underſtanding my Lord Cardinals Grace's Pleaſure to the ſame, by the procurement hereof, our Reverend Father *Abbot*, hath gotten out the Particulars; and through a Warrant from my Lord Treaſurer, our Friends there have builded, and beſtowed much upon Reparation: Notwithſtanding all now ſtandeth at a ſtay; we think the Cauſe to be want of remembrance; which cannot ſo well be brought unto her Majeſty's underſtanding, as by your Honourable Lordſhips favour and help. And conſidering your Lordſhips moſt godly diſpoſition, we have a confidence thereof to ſollicite the ſame, aſſuring your Lordſhip of our daily Prayers while we live, and of our Succeſſors during the World, if it may ſo pleaſe your good Lordſhip to take it in hand.

We ask nothing in Gift to the Foundation, but only the Houſe and Scite, the reſidue for the accuſtomed Rent; So that with our Labour and Huſbandry, we may live here a few of us in our Religious Habits, till the Charity of good People may ſuffice a greater number: and the Country there being ſo affected to our Religion, we believe we ſhould find more help amongſt them, towards the Reparations and Furniture of the ſame; whereby we would happily prevent the ruin of much, and repair no little part of the whole, to God's Honour, and for the better proſperity of the King and Queens Majeſties, with the whole Realm; for, doubtleſs, if it ſhall pleaſe your good Lordſhip, if there hath ever been any flagitious Deed, ſince the Creation of the World, puniſhed of God, in our Opinion the overthrow of *Glaſſenbury* may be compared to the ſame, not ſurrendred, as other, but extorted; the Abbot prepoſterouſly put to death, with two innocent vertuous Monks with him; that if the thing were to be ſkanned by

by any Univerſity, or ſome learned Councel in Divinity, they would find it more dangerous than it is commonly taken: which might move the Queen's Majeſty to the more ſpeedy Erection; namely, that being an Houſe of ſuch Antiquity, and of Fame through all Chriſtendom; firſt begun by St. *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, (who took down the dead Body of our Saviour Chriſt from the Croſs) and lieth buried in *Glaſſenbury*: and him moſt heartily we beſeech with us, to pray unto Chriſt for good ſucceſs unto your Honourable Lordſhip, in all your Lordſhip's Affairs; and now eſpecially in this our moſt humble requeſt, that we may do the ſame in *Glaſſenbury* for the King and Queens Majeſties as our Founders, and for your good Lordſhip, as a ſingular Benefactor.

Your Lordſhip's daily Beadſmen of *Weſtminſter*,

John Phagan.
John Nott.
William Ailewold.
William Kentwyne.

Number 31.

A Letter from Sir Edward Carne *from* Rome, *ſhewing how the Pope diſſembled with him concerning a General Peace.*

An Original.

PLeaſeth it your moſt Excellent Majeſty to be advertiſed, That *Francis* the Poſt arrived here upon *Corpus Chriſti* day, with your Majeſty's moſt gracious Letters, as well for the expedition of the Biſhopricks of *Wincheſter* and *Cheſter*, as alſo for his Holineſs beſide; with your moſt gracious Letters of the 30*th* of *March* to me: According to the purport whereof, I ſued for Audience at his Holineſs Hands, the next day following; whereof I had Anſwer, That I ſhould come to his Holineſs, *viz.* the ſixth of this; and being with his Holineſs, after the delivery of your Majeſty's moſt gracious Letters, with your Majeſty's humble Commendations. After he had read your Majeſty's Letter, in the preſence of the moſt Reverend Lord Cardinal *Morone*, he ſaid, how much he was bound to that Bleſſed Queen, and moſt Gracious and Loving Daughter, that had written to him ſo gratefully and humbly; ſaying, That he would keep that Letter to be read openly in the Conſiſtory, before all the moſt Reverend Lords his Brethren; and ſaid, that he was much bound to his Legate there, to make that good Report of him to your Majeſty. Whereupon I declared unto him your Majeſty's Pleaſure, according to my Inſtructions, with ſuch Thanks and Congratulations as your pleaſure was I ſhould uſe to his Holineſs, with the reſt of my Inſtructions; leaving no part thereof undeclared and ſpoken: Whereunto he ſaid, That his Affection to that bleſſed Queen (making a Croſs upon your Majeſty's Name contained Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

in the Letter) was not, neither could be as much as the goodneſs of her Majeſty required; but this your Majeſty ſhould be ſure of, he ſaid, that his good Affection, and good Will, ſhould not only continue, but encreaſe to the utmoſt, to the ſatisfaction of your Majeſty in all that may lie in him.

And as touching the Peace to be had perfectly, betwixt the Emperor's Majeſty, and the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty, and the French King, he was wondrous glad to hear that your Majeſty's furtherance ſhould not want in helping to bring the Truce, late concluded, to a perfect Peace. And of his part, he ſaid, that he ſent two Legats for that purpoſe, for his diſcharge towards God: Or elſe, he ſaid, if he ſhould overpaſs, and not declare unto them the great Neceſſities of the Common-Weal of all Chriſtendom to have a perfect Peace, God would impute his ſilence therein unto him, being appointed over his Flock here as he is: For, he ſaid, it is more than time to be doing therein, conſidering that the Realm of *Polonia* doth ſo waver, and that the King there neither can nor dare, being compaſſed with naughty Sects round about him, do any thing againſt them. And likewiſe the King of *Romany* about him. They call upon his Holineſs for help, and ſome Proviſion for Amendment; which thing he cannot do without a General Council, which, he ſaid, cannot be well done, unleſs the ſaid Peace be made; for though there be an Abſtinence from War, yet the grudg of the Doings heretofore, and the incertainty of Peace, will be an occaſion to keep Men of War, and the one ſhall be in miſtruſt of the other, in ſuch ſort, as the Paſſages cannot be ſure for thoſe that ſhould come to the ſaid Council: Therefore he will travel, as much as is poſſible for him, to have a Peace, without the which it will not be poſſible to do any good in the Council. His Holineſs is minded to have the General Council here in *St. John Latarenenſe*, and thinks it the moſt meeteſt Place, for divers conſiderations which he declared; For it is the Head Church of Chriſtendom, and there hath been divers times many wholſome and Holy Councils in times paſt. And for that this City is *Communis Patria*, and free to all the World to reſort to freely, truſting that all Neceſſaries ſhall come hither, both by Sea and Land. And alſo foraſmuch as in divers Councils begun in times of his Predeceſſors, little good could be done; and Men thought that more good might have been done, if the Pope had been preſent himſelf in the ſaid Councils; therefore his Holineſs would be preſent himſelf in this Council; which he cannot, being in a manner decrepit for Age, in caſe it were kept far here-hence; he not being able to travel for Age, unleſs it be kept here, where he truſteth to be himſelf in Perſon. And for to conclude this Matter, in ſuch ſort as the Neceſſity of Chriſtendom requireth, he hath diſpatched the two Legats, *de Latere ſuo*, at this preſent, wherein he knoweth that your Majeſty may do more than any others, and doubteth not but your Majeſty will ſo do. Concluding that God hath preſerved your Majeſty to help all the World; whereunto I ſaid, That there ſhould not want neither good Will, neither any other thing that your Majeſty might do for the furtherance thereof.

As touching the Proviſions of *Wincheſter* and *Cheſter*, it ſhall be done with all the ſpeed that may be. And his Holineſs hath promiſed

all

all the favour that he can conveniently ſhew for your Majeſty's ſake: It muſt have ſomewhat longer time, for that the Proceſs made there by my Lord Legat's Grace, for to try the Yearly Value of *Wincheſter*, muſt be committed to certain Cardinals, for to report in the Conſiſtory before the new Tax can be made; but there ſhall be no time loſt, for it ſhall be diligently ſollicited.

Alſo concerning the Pention to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, of a thouſand Pounds *Sterling* Yearly, the Pope his Holineſs will aſſign it according to your Majeſty's Pleaſure; ſo that all ſhall be done therein with all the ſpeed that may be, God willing; wherein the moſt reverend Lord Cardinal *Morone*, who rejoiceth much in your Gracious Letters ſent to him, to his great comfort, doth travel, as he is moſt ready always, in all that toucheth your Majeſty, or any of your moſt noble Realms.

As concerning the Occurrents here, ſince my laſt Letters of the fifteenth of the laſt, be none other, but that the Cardinal *de Caraffa*, departed here-hence towards *France*, the fourteenth of the laſt, with divers Antiquities to be preſented to the French King. Some ſay here, that part of his Charge is, to move the French King to take the Dukedom of *Paleano* in his Protection, as he hath *Parma* and *Mirandula*. There be a great number of Workmen already gone to Fortify *Paleano*, *Neptuno*, and *Rocca del Papa*; and certain Captains appointed and gone thither alſo.

The Legat to the Emperor's Majeſty, and the King's Majeſty, departed the 30*th* of the laſt.

The Ambaſſador of *Polonia* is returned toward his Maſter. His Petition, as I am informed, to his Holineſs, was, to have Licenſe for Prieſts to Marry, and all Lay-folk to receive the Communion, *ſub utraque ſpecie*, in the Realm of *Polonia*, and certain Diſmes upon the Clergy, to be ſpent againſt the Turk. His Anſwer, as I hear, was, in general, with relation of all ſuch Matters to the General Council.

Alſo there came hither four Ambaſſadors very honourably from the State of *Genua*, with the Obedience of that State to his Holineſs: Which Ambaſſador did viſit me, declaring the good Will, Amity, and Service, that the ſaid State bare towards the King, and your moſt Excellent Majeſty, deſiring me advertiſe your Majeſty thereof.

The 24*th* of the laſt, the Pope's Holineſs kept the Anniverſary of his Coronation: I was warned to be at the Chappel, by the Officers appointed for that purpoſe. Alſo one of his Holineſs Gentlemen was ſent to invite me to dine with his Holineſs that day. At my coming to the Court, the Ambaſſador of *Portugal* being there, at his Holineſs coming forth, would have kept the Place, amongſt all the Ambaſſadors, from me, that I was wont to ſtand in, that is, next the French Ambaſſador; And next to me would be the Ambaſſador of *Polonia*. I came to the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, as gently as I could; and for that he would not give me my Place, I took him by the Shoulder, and removed him out of that Place, ſaying, That it was your Majeſty's Ambaſſador's Place always. Beneath me he would not ſtand, neither next me he ſhould not, for the Ambaſſador of *Polonia* who claimed next to me: Whereupon the *Portugal* went and complained to the Duke of *Paleano*, who

who went ſtreight to the Pope; and after him went the ſaid Ambaſſador of *Portugal* to him himſelf. His Holineſs willed him to depart there-hence. He deſired that I ſhould depart likewiſe. And thereupon the Duke came to me, ſaying, That the Pope his Pleaſure was, I ſhould depart alſo. I asked him, Why? He ſaid, That his Holineſs, to avoid diſſention, would have me to depart. I told him, I made no Diſſention; for if the other would keep his own Place, and not uſurp upon the Place that always the Ambaſſadors of *England*, in times paſt, were wont to be in, he might be in quiet, and ſuffer me to be in quiet likewiſe, and not to ſeek that ſeemed him not. All this Year he never ſought it till now, why now, I cannot tell; but he may be ſure he ſhall not have it of me, unleſs your Majeſty command it. Alſo the Maſter of the Houſhold with his Holineſs, ſaid, That I was invited, and that *Portugal* was not, but came upon his own Head.

I am much bound to the Marqueſs, he was very angry with the *Portugal*, being his Brother, to attempt any ſuch thing againſt your Majeſty's Ambaſſador; and ſent to me, as ſoon as he heard of it. Indeed he was not there, I kept my Place from him, ſending him to ſeek his Place in ſuch ſort, that all the Ambaſſadors thought it well done; and others that were indifferent, ſaid no leſs. I told the Duke that I would not loſe a jot of your Majeſty's Honour for no Man. For it is the Place of Ambaſſadors of *England*, nigh a thouſand Years before there was any King in Portugal.

Other Occurrents here be none. And thus I beſeech Almighty God to conſerve your moſt Excellent Majeſty, in long and moſt proſperous Life.

From *Rome*, the 9*th* of *June*, 1556.

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble Subject,

and Poor Servant,

Edward Carne.

Number

Number 32.

A Commiſſion for a ſevere way of proceeding againſt Hereticks.

PHilip and *Mary*, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England*, *Spain*, *France*, both *Sicils*, *Jeruſalem*, and *Ireland*, and Defenders of the Faith; Arch-Dukes of *Auſtria*, Duke of *Burgundy*, *Millain*, and *Brabant*; Counts of *Harſpurge*, *Flanders*, and *Tyroll*. To the Right Reverend Father in God, *Edmond* Biſhop of *London*, and to the Reverend Father in God, Our right truſty, and right well-beloved Counſellor, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Ely*; and to Our right truſty, and right well-beloved, *William Windſor* Kt. Lord *Windſor*; *Edward North* Kt. Lord *North*; and to Our truſty and right well-beloved Counſellors, *John Bourne* Kt. one of Our chief Secretaries; *John Mordaunt* Kt. *Francis Engleſield* Kt. Maſter of our Wards and Liveries; *Edward Walgrave* Kt. Maſter of Our great Wardrobe; *Nicholas Hare* Kt. Maſter of the *Rolls* in our Court of *Chancery*; and to Our truſty and well-beloved *Thomas Pope* Kt. *Roger Cholmley* Kt. *Richard Read* Kt. *Thomas Stradling* Kt. and *Rowland Hill* Kt. *William Raſtall* Serjeant at Law; *Henry Cole* Clerk, Dean of *Pauls*; *William Roper*, and *Randulph Cholmley* Eſquires; *William Cooke*, *Thomas Martin*, *John Story*, and *John Vaughan*, Doctors of Law, Greeting. Rot. Pat. in Dorſo. Rot. 3, & 4. *Phil.* & *Mar.* 2. p.

Foraſmuch as divers deviliſh and clamorous Perſons, have not only invented, bruited, and ſet forth divers falſe Rumours, Tales, and ſeditious Slanders againſt Us, but alſo have ſown divers Hereſies and Heretical Opinions; and ſet forth divers ſeditious Books within this our Realm of *England*, meaning thereby to move, procure, and ſtir up Diviſions, Striſe, Contentions and Seditions, not only amongſt Our loving Subjects, but alſo betwixt Us and Our ſaid Subjects; with divers other outragious Miſdemeanours, Enormities, Contempts, and Offences daily committed and done, to the diſquieting of Us and Our People; We minding and intending the due puniſhment of ſuch Offenders, and the repreſſing of ſuch-like Offences, Enormities, and Miſbehaviours from henceforth, having ſpecial truſt and confidence in your Fidelities, Wiſdoms, and Diſcretions, have authoriſed, appointed, and aſſigned you to be Our Commiſſioners; and by theſe Preſents do give full Power and Authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire, as well by the Oaths of twelve good and lawful Men, as by Witneſſes, and all other means and politick ways you can deviſe, of all and ſundry Hereſies, Heretical Opinions, Lollardies; heretical and ſeditious Books, Concealments, Contempts, Conſpiracies, and of all falſe Rumours, Tales, Seditious and Clamorous Words and Sayings, raiſed, publiſhed, bruited, invented, or ſet forth againſt Us, or either of Us; or againſt the quiet Governance and Rule of Our People and Subjects, by Books, Letters, Tales, or otherwiſe, in any County, City, Burrough, or other Place or Places within this Our Realm of *England*, and elſewhere, in any Place or Places beyond the Seas; and of

of the bringers in Uſers, Buyers, Sellers, Readers, Keepers, or Conveyers of any ſuch Letters, Books, Rumour, or Tale; and of all and every their Coadjutors, Counſellors, Conſorters, Procurers, Abetters, and Maintainers, ; Giving to you, and three of you, full Power and Authority, by vertue hereof, to ſearch out, and take into your hands and Poſſeſſion, all manner of heretical and ſeditious Books, Letters, Writings, whereſoever they, or any of them ſhall be found, as well in Printers Houſes and Shops, as elſewhere; willing you, and every of you, to ſearch for the ſame in all places, according to your diſcretions. And alſo to enquire, hear, and determine, all and ſingular Enormities, Diſturbances, Miſbehaviours, Miſdemeanours and Negligences, done, ſuffered, or committed, in any Church, Chappel, or other hallowed Place within this Realm. And alſo for and concerning the taking away, or the with-holding of any Lands, Tenements, Goods, and Ornaments, Stocks of Mony, or other things belonging to any of the ſame Churches and Chappels, and all Accompts and Reckonings concerning the ſame. And alſo to enquire and ſearch out all ſuch Perſons as obſtinately do refuſe to preach the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, to hear Maſs, or come to their Pariſh, or other convenient Places, appointed for Divine Service; and all ſuch as refuſe to go in Proceſſions, to take Holy Water, or Holy Bread; or otherwiſe do miſuſe themſelves in any Church, or other Hallowed Place, whereſoever any of the ſame Offences have been, or hereafter ſhall be, committed within this Our ſaid Realm. Nevertheleſs Our Will and Pleaſure is, That when, and as often as any Perſon or Perſons hereafter to be called or convented before you, do obſtinately perſiſt or ſtand in any manner of Hereſy, or heretical Opinions, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the ſame Perſon, or Perſons, ſo ſtanding or perſiſting, be delivered and committed to his Ordinary, there to be uſed according to the Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Laws. And alſo We give unto you, or three of you, full Power and Authority to enquire and ſearch out all Vagabonds and Maſterleſs Men, Barretors, Quarrellers, and ſuſpect Perſons, Vagrant, or abiding within the City of *London*, or ten miles compaſs of the ſame; and all Aſſaults and Affrays done and committed within the ſame City, and Compaſs. And further, to ſearch out all Waſtes, Decays, and Ruines of Churches, Chancels, Chappels, Parſonages, and Vicarages, in whatſoever Dioceſs the ſame be within this Realm. Giving to you, or any three of you, full Power and Authority, by vertue hereof to hear and determine the ſame, and all other Offences and Matters above ſpecified and rehearſed, according to your Wiſdoms, and Conſciences, and Diſcretions; willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to uſe and deviſe all ſuch politic ways and means, for the trial and ſearching out of the Premiſes, as by you, or three of you, ſhall be thought moſt expedient and neceſſary; and upon enquiry, and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out by the Confeſſion of the Parties, or by ſufficient Witneſſes, before you, or three of you, concerning the Premiſes, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or meanes requiſite, to give and award ſuch puniſhment to the Offenders, by Fine, Impriſonment, or otherwiſe; and to take ſuch order for redreſs and reformation of the Premiſes, as to your Wiſdoms, or three of you, ſhall be thought meet and

and convenient. Further willing and commanding you, and any three of you, in caſe you ſhall find any Perſon or Perſons, obſtinate or diſobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or aſſignment; or elſe in not accompliſhing, or not obeying your Decrees, Orders, and Commandments, in any thing or things touching the Premiſes, or anv part thereof, to commit the ſame Perſon, or Perſons, ſo offending, to Ward, there to remain, till they be by you, or three of you, enlarged and delivered. And We give to you, and any three of you, full Power and Authority, by theſe Preſents, to take and receive, by your Diſcretions, of every Offender, or ſuſpect Perſon, to be convented or brought before you, a Recognizance or Recognizances, Obligation or Obligations to Our uſe, of ſuch Sum or Sums of Mony, as to you, or three of you, ſhall ſeem convenient, as well for the perſonal appearance before you, of any ſuch ſuſpect Perſon, or for the performance and accompliſhment of your Orders and Decrees, in caſe you ſhall think ſo convenient, as for the ſure and true payment of all and every ſuch Fine and Fines, as ſhall hereafter be by you, or three of you, taxed or aſſeſſed upon any Offender that ſhall be before you, or three of you, duly convinced, as is aforeſaid, to Our uſe, to be paid at ſuch days and times, as by you, or three of you, ſhall be ſealed, limited, or appointed: And you to certifie any ſuch Recognizance, or Obligation, as being taken for any Fine, or Fines, not fully and wholly paid before you, under your Hands and Seals, or the Hands and Seals of three of you, into Our Court of *Chancery*, to the intent We may be therefore duly anſwered, as appertaineth.

And furthermore, We give to you, or three of you, full Power and Authority, by theſe Preſents, not only to call afore you all and every Offender and Offenders, and all and every ſuſpect Perſon and Perſons in any of the Premiſes, but alſo all ſuch, and ſo many Witneſſes as ye ſhall think meet to be called; and them, and every of them, to examine and compel to Anſwer, and Swear, upon the Holy Evangeliſt, to declare the Truth in all ſuch things, whereof they, or any of them ſhall be examined, for the better trial, opening, and declaration of the Premiſes, or of any part thereof.

And furthermore, Our Will and Pleaſure is, that you, or three of you, ſhall name and appoint, one ſufficient Perſon to gather up and receive all ſuch Sums of Mony as ſhall be aſſeſſed or taxed by you, or three of you, for any Fine or Fines, upon any Perſon or Perſons, for their Offence; and you, or three of you, by Bill, or Bills, ſigned with your Hands, ſhall, and may aſſign and appoint, as well to the ſaid Perſon for his pains in receiving the ſaid Sums, as alſo to your Clark, Meſſengers, and Attendants upon you, for their travel, pains and charge to be ſuſtained for Us about the Premiſes, or any part thereof, ſuch ſum and ſums of Mony for their Rewards, as by you, or three of you, ſhall be thought expedient. Willing and commanding you, or three of you, after the time of this Our Commiſſion is expired, to certify into our Exchequer, as well the Name of the ſaid Receiver, as alſo a Note of ſuch Fines as ſhall be ſet or taxed before you, to the intent, that upon the determination of the Account of the ſame Receiver, We may be anſwered, that that to Us ſhall juſtly appertain. Willing and Commanding alſo all Our Auditors, and other Officers,

upon the ſight of the ſaid Bills, ſigned with the Hands of you, or three of you, to make to the ſaid Receiver, due allowance, according to the ſaid Bills upon his account. Wherefore We Will and Command you, our ſaid Commiſſioners, with diligence to execute the Premiſes, with effect: any of Our Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, or other Grants, Privileges, or Ordinances, which be, or may ſeem to be contrary to the Premiſes, notwithſtanding.

And moreover, We Will and Command, all and ſingular Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Conſtables, and all other Our Officers, Miniſters, and faithful Subjects, to be aiding, helping, and aſſiſting to you, at your commandment, in the due execution hereof, as they tender Our Pleaſure, and will anſwer to the Coſts, at their utmoſt Perils.

And We Will and Grant, That theſe Our Letters Patents ſhall be a ſufficient Warrant and Diſcharge for you, and any of you, againſt Us, Our Heirs and Succeſſors; and all, and every other Perſon or Perſons whatſoever they be, of, for, or concerning the Premiſes, or any parcel thereof, or for the execution of this Our Commiſſion, or any part thereof.

In Witneſs Whereof, We have cauſed theſe Our Letters to be made Patents, and to continue and endure for one whole Year next coming after the Date hereof. Witneſs Our Self at *Weſtminſter*, the 8*th* day of *February*, the third and fourth Years of Our Reign.

Number 33.

A Letter writ by the Council, expreſſing their Jealouſies of the Lady Elizabeth.

An Original.

Cotton Libr. *Titus* B. 2.

Mr. *Pope*, after our very hearty Commendations, ye ſhall underſtand, That amongſt divers other deviliſh Practices, attempted from time to time, by *Dudly Aſhton*, and other Traitors in *France*, for the diſturbance of the Quiet of the Realm; they have now lately ſent over one *Cleyberdo*, who (if I the Lord Chancellor be not deceived in the Man) was, whilſt I was Preſident in *Wales*, indicted of a Burglary, and ſhould have been, if he had not eſcaped by the means of certain his Complices, who took him from the Sheriffs Man, as well for the ſaid Burglary, as for divers other notable Robberies, and other Offences, made ſure enough from attempting this Enterprize now. This Man being ſent by the foreſaid Traitors into the extream parts of *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*; where naming himſelf to be Earl of *Devonſhire*, he hath, by ſpreading abroad of ſlanderous Letters & Proclamations, abuſed the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Graces Name; pronouncing thereby, as much as in him lay, to ſtir the King's and Queen's Majeſties Subjects in thoſe parts to Rebellion, as by the Copies of the ſaid Letters and Proclamations, which we ſend unto you herewith, may at better length appear unto you. And albeit the People there have ſhewed themſelves ſo true and

and obedient Subjects, as immediately upon the understanding of this Enterprize, they did of themselves, and without any Commandment, apprehend as many of the Attempters of this deviliſh Practice as they could come by, whereby their good-will and truth to the King and Queen's Majeſties doth well appear. Yet becauſe this Matter is ſpread already abroad, and that peradventure many Conſtructions and Diſcourſes will be made thereof, we have thought meet to ſignify the whole Circumſtances of the Cauſe unto you, to be by you opened unto the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Grace, at ſuch time as ye ſhall think convenient; to the end it may appear unto her how little theſe Men ſtick, by falſhood and untruth, to compaſs their Purpoſe; not letting, for that intent, to abuſe the Name of her Grace, or any others: which their Deviſes nevertheleſs are (God be thanked) by his Goodneſs diſcovered from time to time to their Majeſties preſervance, and confuſion of their Enemies. And ſo bid you heartily well to fare. From *Eltham*, the 30*th* of *July*, 1556.

Your Loving Friends,

Nichol. Eborac. Canc. *Arundel.*

Thomas Ely.
R. Roche ſter.

Henry Jernegam.

Number 34.

A Letter from Sir Edward Carne, *concerning the ſuſpenſion of Cardinal* Pool's *Legatine Power.*

An Original.

PLeaſe it your moſt excellent Majeſties, according as I advertiſed your Highneſs in my Letters of the 8*th* of this; So I have informed all the Cardinals that be here of the Congregation of the Inquiſition, as the moſt Reverend Lord Cardinal *Morone* adviſed me, informing them of the good Proceedings and Reformations made, by the moſt Reverend Lord Cardinal's Grace there, as well in *Clero* as in *Populo*; not only in things pertaining *ad cultum Dei*, but alſo in other, pertaining to the Common-Weal of Chriſt's Church, in ſuch ſort as Chriſt's Religion doth ſo proſper there, that there is good hope all things ſhould come to their perfection in time. And for that purpoſe his Grace had called there a Synod of the Clergy of the Realm, where many good Ordinances, for the maintenance of the Premiſes been paſt already; and many ready in hand for to paſs, and not fully ended nor perfected: which ſhould be ſtaid, in caſe the Legacy ſhould be there-hence revoked, which might turn to the great danger and damage of many in that your Majeſty's Realm, in caſe due Reformation throughout and perfectly were not made: Therefore I deſired them, Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

that when the Matter were moved amongſt them, ſo to weigh it, as ſuch a good beginning, that through your Majeſty's Goodneſs hath been there, be not brought by their doings here, into no worſe terms, then your Majeſties, with no little pain, have always travelled to bring it unto: Adding beſides divers Caſes that daily might fall, which could not be holpen without the Authority of this See: And that Men newly reduced to the Unity of the Church, would rather ſtand in their naughty Doings, whoſe Examples might be noiſome to many, than repair hither for any help; But having the Legat there, would gladly ſeek help at his hands being preſent amongſt them.

And likewiſe for reduction of your Majeſty's Realm of *Ireland* to the Unity of the Church, which whether it were paſt or no, I doubted, and ended throughly: And if it were, yet were it moſt expedient that there ſhould be Reformation, as well in *Clero* as in *Populo*; which could not well be, in caſe the Legacy continue not there. This is the effect of the Points that I informed them upon, who all thought it moſt expedient, that the Legacy ſhould continue there, and would not fail to ſtay, as much as might lie in them, for theſe Conſiderations above rehearſed; and thought, being of ſuch importance, that if my Lord's Grace were not there already, it were moſt expedient that he ſhould be ſent thither, rather than to be revoked; and hereof, as well Cardinal *Morone*, as all the other, would needs I ſhould move his Holineſs.

Whereupon the 12*th* of this, I went to the Pope himſelf, upon pretence to give him Thanks for the Proviſion of the Church of *Chicheſter*, and of the moſt gracious and honourable Report that he made in the Conſiſtory the ſame time, of your Highneſs my Soveraign Lady the Queen; where his Holineſs declared ſo much Goodneſs and Vertue of your Majeſty, that he, and his See, could not, he ſaid, ſhew ſo much favour to any of yours, as the ſame required. As undoubtedly, as far as I could here, he doth, whenſoever he hath occaſion to ſpeak of your Majeſty, ſo reverently as more could not be; who prevented me, and ſaid, that he was glad that I was come unto him, and truſted that God had ſent me thither: for there had been with him, the day before, Cardinal *Pacheco*, who ſhewed him of the good inclination of your Majeſty, my Soveraign Lord, to have Peace with him and the Church. And that alſo he had received a Letter from the moſt Reverend Lord Cardinal's Grace there-hence, who had ſpoken with your Majeſty, and found the ſame ſo well inclined to have Peace with his Holineſs, as might be deſired; which his Holineſs ſaid he liked very well, and held up his hands, beſeeching Almighty God to continue your Majeſty in that good mind. And then he began to declare, how that God provided, and always confirmed you, the Queen's Majeſty, not only to do good to that Realm, but to all Chriſtendom alſo; in whom his Holineſs had ſuch hope, that the ſame will ſo help with the King's Majeſty, that Peace may follow betwixt the Church and him: and he of his part coveted nothing more, as it ſhould appear, if the King's Majeſty would treat of it; Yea, he ſaid, though he ſhould ſuſtain great Damage thereby, he will win his Majeſty if he can.

And where his Majeſty is informed, that his Holineſs would hear none of thoſe that were ſent to him from his Majeſty, as *Franciſco Pacheco*,

Pacheco, and one Citizen of *Naples*; he ſaid, That he never heard that either the ſaid *Franciſco*, or the ſaid Citizen, had any Letter or Word to him from his Majeſty; If they had had, he, as he ſaid, who giveth Audience daily to as many as do ſeek it at his hands, without denial, would have heard them, or any that had been ſent from his Highneſs; and this, he ſaid, all that be about him can teſtify, and called God to Record of it. And yet, he ſaid, that the King's Majeſty is informed of the contrary; whereupon, he ſaid, that his Majeſty was brought in belief, that it was ſufficient for his Highneſs to offer himſelf to be heard, and ſeeing he could not, he was diſcharged towards God, and ſo lay the fault in his Holineſs; from the which Error, ſo his Holineſs named it, he would and wiſhed that his Majeſty ſhould be brought: for his Holineſs cauſed to be enquired of them, Whether they had any Letters, or any thing to ſay of his Majeſty's behalf to him, and could hear of none; Wherefore his Holineſs deſired me to write to your Majeſty, and to ſignify the ſame to your Highneſs; and of his Holineſs behalf, to pray you to adverti ſe the King's Majeſty, that therein was no lack of his Holineſs: Saying, If his Majeſty had ſent to him, he would have gladly heard him; or if it may pleaſe his Majeſty yet to ſend, no Man will be more glad thereof than he: And ſaid further, that God, who had called him to that place, knew that he always hath been of mind to have a General Council for a Reformation throughout Chriſtendom, and in ſuch Place as had been meet for it; and doubted not, but that he would have ſeen Chriſtendom in ſuch Order, that ſuch Enormities as do reign in many Parts, ſhould have been reformed, if theſe Wars had not troubled him: Saying therewith, That the Power of the Church is not able to maintain Wars of it ſelf, but that God had provided Aid elſewhere; but if he can have Peace, he will embrace it, he ſaid, though it were to his loſs. And prayed me to deſire your Majeſty, of his behalf, to put to your good help towards it. To whom after Thanks firſt given to his Holineſs for the ſaid good Opinion that he had of your Majeſty, and alſo of the Proviſion made of the ſaid Church of *Chicheſter*, I ſaid, that I was glad to hear of that good inclination of his Holineſs to Peace; and ſaid, that I would gladly ſignify to you, the Queen's Majeſty, according to his Holineſs Pleaſure: And that I had heard of divers, that his Holineſs would not give Audience, to ſuch as you my Soveraign Lord had ſent to him; whereof I was ſorry, and yet nevertheleſs truſted that betwixt his Holineſs and your Majeſty, ſhould be as great Amity as appertaineth; and had not ſo good hope thereof, ſithence this War began, as now hearing his Holineſs to be ſo well inclined to it; not doubting but all the World ſhould perceive no lack of your Majeſty's behalf, as far as any Reaſon required.

Whether this be done for a practice to pleaſe, leſt any ſtir be there, againſt the Frenchmen, which is moſt feared here, I am not able to ſay, for there lacketh no practice in this Court that they think may ſerve for their purpoſe. The truth is, that there is jarring betwixt the Pope and the French now; with whom the Pope is nothing contented, neither they with him, as it is credibly reported here. All the Italians that the Pope had in the French Camp be all gone; the French handled them

them very ill and vile, and eſpecially *Don Antonio de Caraffa* the Pope's Nephew: So that it is thought here, that the Pope will turn the Leaf, if any were here of your behalf, the King's Majeſty, that had Authority to treat with his Holineſs: And if it pleaſe your Majeſty to ſend any hither for that purpoſe, by the Opinion of all your Majeſty's well-willers here, there can come but good of it.

After this Communication, I lamented to his Holineſs greatly of one thing, that I had heard his Holineſs pretended to do: And foraſmuch as your Majeſty had placed me here with his Holineſs, and that the caſe was ſuch, that it touched the maintenance of the Common-Wealth of Chriſtian Religion within your Majeſty's Realm there, ſo much, that of Duty I could do no leſs but open it to his Holineſs, truſting that the ſame, who had always ſhewed himſelf moſt ready, with all benignity, to do for You, the Queen's Majeſty, and your Realm, would ſo continue ſtill: Which thing was, I ſaid, That his Holineſs would revoke his Legat there, which ſhould be too great a prejudice to the Church of that Realm, to be done before all things were truly ſtabliſhed there, and opened unto his Holineſs all the Conſiderations before rehearſed, whereof I had informed the Cardinals in as ample manner as I could. Then, he ſaid, that there was nothing that he could do for you, the Queen's Majeſty, or your ſaid Realm, but he would do it moſt gladly, unleſs occaſion ſhould be given there-hence that he might not. And as touching the Revocation of the Legat in *England*, he ſaid, That it was done already, and not for to provide any thing within that Realm, but only for becauſe, it was not convenient that any Legat of his ſhould be within any of the King's Majeſty's Realms or Dominions; and therefore he revoked his Nuncio's from *Naples*, from *Spain*, and all other parts of the King's Majeſty's Realms and Dominions, and of *England* therefore: Nevertheleſs, he ſaid, if you the Queen's Majeſty would write to him, for the continuance of his Legat there, he would reſtore him to his former Authority, or any thing elſe that your Majeſty ſhould think expedient for him to do. Then, I ſaid, It would be long time before Anſwer can come from *England* hither; and if his Revocation ſhould be once known in *England*, what would come of it, I doubted. Therefore I beſought his Holineſs not to ſuffer it to paſs, for if it be once known abroad, it ſhall be a great comfort to the Wicked, and diſcomfort to the Good, whereby many Inconveniences might enſue. Then, he ſaid, that that is done, cannot be undone. I ſaid, That his Holineſs had not ſo far gone in his Decree, but that he might moderate it, that it need not extend to *England*. And then I told him, that he had ſhewed me, that in all his Proceedings, he would have your Majeſty's Realm of *England* ſeparated from all other the King's Majeſty's Realms, and now had ſet it as far further as any of the other; therefore, I ſaid, his Holineſs ſhould conſider it, and that the Decree in no wiſe ſhould extend thither. Then, he ſaid, That it could not ſtand with the Majeſty of the Place that he ſat in, to revoke any part of the Decree ſolemnly given in the Conſiſtory, in the preſence of all the Cardinals. I ſaid, That his Holineſs, with his Honour, might well do it; conſidering, that when he gave the Decree, he was not informed of ſuch Inconveniences that might enſue thereof; and

now

now being informed by me, his Holineſs had not only a juſt cauſe to revoke it, but alſo of congruence ought to do it; conſidering that his Holineſs had the Cure of all Mens Souls: and if any Inconveniency ſhould follow through his Holineſs Doings, it could not be choſen but his Holineſs muſt anſwer for it; where his Holineſs ſuffering all things to proceed in his due courſe, as it hath been begun, all Dangers that have been before rehearſed might be avoided; therefore now his Holineſs had a good Cauſe to ſtay his Decree in that behalf: All which he took in good part, and ſaid thus, I muſt needs do for that Realm what I can, and therefore to morrow is the Congregation of the Inquiſition, and then the Matter ſhall be propounded, where, he ſaid, he would do what he could; and willed me to reſort to the Cardinal St. *Jacobo* to inform him, that he might procure it there. I ſaid, I would; indeed I had been with the ſaid Cardinal before, and had informed him fully; nevertheleſs I went to him again, to ſhew him the Pope's Pleaſure therein; who ſaid, he would do his Duty therein. Indeed that Matter occupied the Pope and the Cardinals all that Congregation time. The next morrow, as the Cardinals ſaid, the Concluſion was, That the Pope would make anſwer to me himſelf. Indeed he thought to take Counſel of the ſaid Congregation, before I had been with them about the ſame Decree, but not to revoke any part thereof, but to have their advice in framing of it. So that if I had not gone to him, the Decree had gone forth, with the intimation thereof, and the inhibition; but being with his Holineſs this Evening, to know what was to be had herein; his Holineſs, after a long Oration, in commendation of you the Queen's Majeſty, he ſaid, That in caſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty would write to him for the continuance of his Legat, for ſuch Cauſes as ſhould ſeem good to the ſame, the Legat to be yet expedient therein, he would appoint my Lord's Grace there to continue, but he could in no wiſe revoke his Decree made in open Conſiſtory. I laid many things that his Holineſs might do it, and that divers of his Predeceſſors had done it, upon Cauſes before not known; with divers Examples that I ſhewed him in Law; that at the laſt, he ſaid plainly, He would not revoke his Decree; but for becauſe of my Suit, he ſaid he was content to ſtay, and to go no further till your Majeſty's Letters do come; and charged the Datary, and his Secretary *Berigno*, that they ſend forth no intimation of his Decree of the ſaid Revocation, without his ſpecial Commandment; where-elſe he ſaid, the Intimation had been ſent forth with an Inhibition alſo: And ſo all is ſtaied, that nothing here-hence ſhall go forth till your Pleaſure, the Queen's Majeſty be known therein; which the Pope doth look for: Until which Intimation, the Legacy there doth continue.

Occurrents here be no other, but that the 10*th* of this, the late made Duke of *Paleano* departed here-hence towards the Duke's Camp, which doth lie yet in the Siege of *Civitella*, within your Majeſty's Realm of *Naples*. They that ſeem to bear their good Wills here towards your Majeſty, do ſay here, that they may lie there long before they take it, for they cannot hurt it much with Battery. And they ſay, the Counts *de Sancto Flore*, and *de Sarme*, be within the Town with two thouſand Souldiers; many of the Frenchmen be ſlain there. Nevertheleſs, others

do

do ſay, that it ſtandeth in danger of taking; for becauſe the Frenchmen have gotten a Hill, from the which they do beat ſore into the Town, and have withdrawn certain Waters from them of the Town, and do undermine it; the moſt part here thinketh they ſhall loſe their labour, for it is very ſtrong.

The Gallies of *Marſeilles* arrived at *Civita Vechia*, ſix or ſeven days paſt, and brought twelve Enſigns more of French Souldiers to reinforce the French Army; and as far as I can learn, they return again to fetch more, always to refreſh their Camp with freſh Souldiers, in the lieu of ſuch as be periſhed: Of the which twelve Enſigns, the French Ambaſſador choſe out three, which he hath ſent to the Duke of *Guiſe*, well furniſhed; the reſt he diſcharged, but all the other that came, be gone to the Camp, to ſuch Captains as will retain them there, for ſuch of the other as be ſlain, or otherwiſe periſhed. *Don Antonio de Carraffa* doth not as yet return to the Camp, neither intendeth to go as I hear. I heard ſay, That the Duke of *Alva* was within ſixteen miles of the Frenchmen, with a great Army of Horſemen and Footmen, what he doth is not ſpoken of here, for there is none that can paſs to them, or from them hither; there is ſuch ſtrait keeping, and dangerous paſſing.

Here be ill News from *Piedmont*, for they ſay here, the Frenchmen in thoſe Parts have taken *Cheraſto*, a very ſtrong Town in *Piedmont*, which I truſt be not true. The common Report is here, That if the Frenchmen be not withſtanded in time, they will do much hurt in *Italy*.

The Pope doth ſet forth a Bull for Mony, that one of every Hundred ſhall be paid of the value of all the Lands that be within the Churches Dominions, which they ſay will draw to Two or three Millions, if it be paid.

And having no other at this preſent, I beſeech Almighty God to conſerve both your moſt Excellent Majeſties, in long and moſt proſperous Life together.

From *Rome*, the 15*th* of *May*, 1557.

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble Subject,

and Poor Servant,

Edward Carne.

Number

Number 35.

The Appeal of Henry Chichely, *Arch-biſhop of* Canterbury, *to a General Council from the Pope's Sentence.*

IN Dei Nomine Amen. Per Preſens publicum inſtrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter, quod anno ab incarnatione Domini ſecundum curſum & computationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ 1427. indictione quinta Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini noſtri Domini Martini, Divina Providentia Papæ quinti, Anno decimo, menſis vero Aprilis die ſexto. Reverendiſſimus in Chriſto Pater & Dominus, Dominus Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopus totius Angliæ Primas, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus, in Capella Majori Manerii ſui de Ford Cantuarien. Diocæſeos perſonaliter exiſtens, mihi Notario Publico, & teſtibus infra-ſcriptis preſentibus, quandam appellationem in ſcriptis, redactam fecit, legit & interpoſuit, ac appellavit ſub eo, qui ſequuntur, tenore verborum. In Dei Nomine. Amen. Coram vobis authentica perſona & teſtibus hic Preſentibus, Ego Henricus dictus Cant. permiſſione divina Cantuar. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus, dico, allego, & in his ſcriptis propono, quod fui & ſum Eccleſiam Sanctam Cant. cum jure Legationis natæ, prerogativis, conſuetudinibus, compoſitionibus, aliiſq; juriſdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, & pertinentibus ſuis univerſis canonice aſſecutus, ipſamq; ſic aſſecutam nonnullo tempore pacifice & inconcuſſe poſſedi, prout ſic poſſideo de preſenti; fuiq; & ſum Eccleſiæ Romanæ, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ obedientiæ, Filius Catholicus, ac jurium & libertatum dictarum Eccleſiæ & Sedis juxta poſſe, aſſiduus defenſor, & promotor; integri ſtatus, bonæ famæ & opinionis illæſæ & in poſſeſſione eorundem exiſtens, nulliſq; ſuſpenſionis aut excommunicationis, ſeu irregularitatis, aut interdicti ſententiæ vel ſententiis innodatus: Quodq; ex parte mei Henrici Archiepiſcopi prædicti in poſſeſſione præmiſſorum omnium, & quaſi ex veriſimilibus conjecturis ac communicationibus quampluribus mihi & Eccleſiæ meæ, ac juri legationis, prerogativis, conſuetudinibus, compoſitionibus, juriſdictionibus, juribus, libertatibus, & pertinentiis Eccleſiæ, Cantuar. prædictæ factis, circa præmiſſa & eorum ſingula grave poſſe prejudicium generari; Ne Sanctiſſimus in Chriſto Pater & Dominus noſter Dominus Martinus, divina providentia Papa quintus, vel quivis alius quavis Autoritate, vice vel mandato, ſcienter vel ignoranter ad ſiniſtram vel minus veram ſuggeſtionem, aut informationem emulorum perſonæ, dignitatis aut Eccleſiæ meæ (quod abſit) me non vocato, legitimeve prænonito, cauſæ cognitione & juris, juſtitiæq; ordine prætermiſſo, in prejudicium ſtatus mei, dignitatis, legationis, prerogativæ, conſuetudinum, compoſitionum, juriſdictionum, jurium, libertatum & pertinentium jure Metropolitico, vel alias dictam Eccleſiam meam Cantuar. & me ejus nomine concernentium quicquam attemptet, ſeu faciat aliqualiter attemptari, citando, monendo, mandando, inhibendo, decernendo, ſuſpendendo, interdicendo, excommunicando, privando, ſequeſtrando, pronunciando, definiendo, & declarando, ſeu quovis

Ex MS. D.G. *Petyt.*

alio modo gravando; Ad Sacroſanctum Concilium generale facientes, conſtituentes & repreſentantes, facturos, conſtituturos & repreſentaturos, ſi ipſum celebrari contigerit, & in defectum ipſius Concilii tenendi, & celebrandi, ad tribunal Dei omnipotentis & Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, cujus idem ſanctiſſimus Pater, Commiſſarius & Vicarius exiſtit in terris, in his ſcriptis ob & ad tuitionem, protectionem & defenſionem omnium, & ſingulorum præmiſſorum fuerit & ſit legitime provocatum. Sanctiſſimus tamen in Chriſto Pater, & Dominus noſter, Dominus Martinus dicta providentia hujus nominis Papa quintus aſſerens, ut dicta fide dignorum relatione, ad ſuum perveniſſe auditum, quod ego, qui ad defenſionem, obedientiam jurium, & honorem Sedis Apoſtolicæ in Provincia Cantuarien. Legatus natus ſum, propter emolumenta Eccleſiaſtica provenientia ex Eccleſiis Cathedralibus totius Regni Angliæ tempore vacationum eorundem, quæ ex quadam (ut me aſſerere dicit) conſuetudine uſibus meis applicare dignoſcor ad reſiſtendum proviſionibus Apoſtolicis de Eccleſiis hujuſmodi Cathedralibus ſum proclivior, Et quod jura & honorem Sedis Apoſtolicæ non defendo nec protego, imo potius impugno, & impugnantibus aſſiſto, in animæ meæ periculum, prædictæ Sedis contemptum, dictarumque Eccleſiarum Cathedralium præjudicium & ſcandalum plurimorum; Cum tamen, (ſuæ benedictionis beatitudinis reverentia ſemper ſalva) nulla horum quæ ſic mihi impinguntur ſunt vera, ſed notorie minus vera, poſt & contra præmiſſam provocationem per me factam, me a Legatione dictæ Sedis, necnon ab omni juriſdictione, ſuperioritate, poteſtate ſive Dominio percipiendi emolumenta Eccleſiaſtica, aliarum Eccleſiarum Cathedralium dicti Regni uſque ad beneplacitum ſuum, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ Authoritate Apoſtolica, & ex certa ſcientia (ut aſſerit) nullatenus in ea parte monitum, citatum, convictum vel confeſſum, ſed abſentem, non per contumaciam, cauſæ cognitione juris & judiciorum ac juſtitiæ ordine in omnibus prætermiſſo, voluntarie & minus præpropere duxerit ſuſpendendum, hiſque non contentus, ſed gravamina accumulans mihi in virtute obedientiæ nihilominus injunxerit, ne de legatione Sedis Apoſtolicæ prædictæ, necnon juriſdictione, Authoritate, & Dominio percipiendi emolumenta hujuſmodi tempore vacationum Eccleſiarum prædictarum per me vel per alium, ſeu alios quovis quæſito ingenio, vel colore de cætero quomodolibet me intromittam: Et inſuper juriſdictionem, ſuperioritatem, poteſtatem, & dominium dictarum Eccleſiarum Cathedralium tempore illarum vacationum ad capitula ſingularum Eccleſiarum devolvi voluit, ſingulos proceſſus, necnon excommunicationis ſuſpenſionis & interdicti ſententias, & alias pœnas ac cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas, ſi quod per me vel alium ſeu alios contra capitula Eccleſiarum Cathedralium præfatarum, aut alias perſonas quaſcunque occaſione conſuetudinis memoratæ, ac legationis, officii (dicto durante beneplacito) ferri contigerit quomodolibet, vel haberi, irritos & inanes decrevit (ſalva ſemper ſuæ Sanctitatis reverentia in omnibus) minus juſte in perſonæ meæ, ſtatus, dignitatis, juris, legationis natæ, prerogativæ, conſuetudinum, compoſitionum, juriſdictionum, jurium, libertatum & pertinentiarum prædictarum, necnon Eccleſiæ meæ Cantuarienſis prædictæ præjudicium non modicum & gravamen. Unde ego Henricus dictus Cantuariæ Cantuarienſis Archiepiſcopus pro prædictis ſentiens me, ſtatum, dignitatem & Eccleſiam meam prædictam ex omnibus & ſingulis

ſingulis gravaminibus prædictis, nimium prægravari, & prægravatum ab eiſdem omnibus & ſingulis, & his, quæ eorum & cujuſlibet eorum occaſione colligi poterunt, aut debebunt; ad Sacroſanctum Concilium Generale, univerſalem Eccleſiam repreſentans, & ad perſonas & ſtatus Concilium Generale facientes, conſtituentes & repreſentantes, facturos, conſtituturos & repreſentaturos; & ad ipſum Concilium Generale proxime celebrandum, ubicunque ipſum celebrari contigerit, & defectu ipſius Concilii tenendi & celebrandi, ad Tribunal Dei Omnipotentis, & Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, cujus idem Sanctiſſimus Pater Commiſſarius & Vicarius exiſtit in terris, Appello; & Apoſtolos peto inſtanter, inſtantius & inſtantiſſime mihi dari, liberari & fieri cum effectu: & juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod non ſunt decem dies plene elapſæ, ex quo mihi certitudinaliter primo conſtabat de gravaminibus antedictis; Quodque neſcio certitudinaliter ubi invenirem dictum Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum ad notificandam eidem Appellationem prædictam, quatenus de jure notificanda eſt infra tempus a parte juris limitatum: Et Proteſtor me velle dictam Appellationem meam corrigere & emendare, eidem addere & ab eadem detrahere, ac eam omnibus, quorum intereſt, notificare & intimare pro loco & tempore opportunis toties, quoties mihi expediens fuerit, juris beneficio in omnibus ſemper ſalvo. Super quibus idem Reverendiſſimus Pater & Dominus Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis me Notarium Publicum ſubſcriptum requiſivit, ſibi unum vel plura conficere inſtrumentum vel inſtrumenta. Acta ſunt hæc omnia prout ſubſcribuntur & recitantur ſub Anno Domini, indictione Pontificatus, menſe, die, & loco prædictis; præſentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, & diſcretis viris M. W. Lyn Curiæ Cant. Officii, & Thoma B. Archidiacono Sanctarum in Eccleſia Linc. utriuſq; juris Doctoribus.

In Dei, &c. Coram vobis, &c.. Ego Henricus dictus C. &c. Unde ego H. dictus C. &c. ſentiens me, ſtatum, dignitatem & Eccleſiam meam prædictam, ex omnibus & ſingulis gravaminibus prædictis nimium prægravari, & prægravatum, ab eiſdem omnibus & ſingulis gravaminibus prædictis & his, quæ eorum & cujuſlibet eorum occaſione colligi poterunt aut debebunt, ad dictum Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum, & Sedem Apoſtolicam melius informandum, & informandam, Appello & Apoſtolos peto inſtanter, inſtantius & inſtantiſſime mihi dari, liberari, & fieri cum effectu, &c.

Number 36.

Inſtructions ſent by the Privy Council, *repreſenting the State of the Nation to King* Philip, *after the loſs of* Calais.

Firſt, to ſay,

Cotton Libr. *Titus.* B. 2.

THat we be moſt bounden unto his Majeſty for his good Affection towards this Realm; and his gracious Diſpoſition and Offer, to put this Force to the Field this Year, being elſe otherwiſe determined for the recovery of that Honour and Reputation, which this Realm hath loſt by the loſs of *Calais*.

To ſay, That this Offer of his Majeſty we ſhould not only have, upon our Knees, accepted, but alſo in like-wiſe have ſued firſt for the ſame.

And ſo undoubtedly we would have done, if other reſpects hereafter following, which we truſt his Majeſty will graciouſly underſtand, had not been (to our great regret) the lett thereof.

Firſt; We do conſider, That if we ſhould ſend over an Army, we cannot ſend under 20000 Men; the levying, and ſending over whereof, will ask a time; before which time, conſidering alſo the time the Enemy hath had (being now almoſt a Month) to Fortify and Victual the Place, it is thought the ſame will be in ſuch ſtrength, as we ſhall not be able alone to recover it.

We do conſider how unapt and unwonted our People be to lie abroad, and ſpecially in the Cold: And what Inconveniency might follow alſo at their hands, (beſides the loſs of Charges) if their hope for recovery of *Calais* ſhould not come to paſs.

The Charge of this Army (if it ſhould go over) would ſtand the Realm in one hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds at the leaſt, for five months; which Sum (having regard to other neceſſary Charges for the Defence of the Realm, both by Land and by Sea, which the People only have in their Heads, with a wan hope of the recovery of *Calais*) neither we doubt will be granted of the People; nor if it were, can be conveniently levied in time to ſerve the turn.

Great Gariſons continually, and an Army for Defence againſt the Scots and Frenchmen by Land, muſt of neceſſity be maintained, the charge whereof will be one way and another (go the next way we can) e're the Year go about, an hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds.

The defence of the Sea-Coaſt, and the Iſles, and the ſetting forth of an Army by Sea, will coſt the Realm in a Year (all things accounted) above two hundred thouſand pounds; and yet all will be too little that way, if the Danes and the Sweeds, which we very much doubt, ſhould be our Enemies.

The Sums amounting in the whole, to five hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, beſides Proviſion of Ammunition, which will be chargeable; and Furniture of Ordnance, whereof we have great lack, by the loſs of *Calais* and *Guiſnes*.

We

We ſee not how it can be levied in one Year to ſave us, unleſs the People ſhould of new have ſtrange Impoſitions ſet upon them, which we think they would not bear.

The Queen's Majeſty's own Revenue, is ſcarce able to maintain her Eſtate.

The Noblemen and Gentlemen, for the moſt part receiving no more Rent than they were wont to receive, and paying thrice as much for every thing they provide, by reaſon of the baſeneſs of the Mony, are not able to do as they have done in times paſt.

The Merchants have had great loſſes of late, whereby the Cloathiers be never the richer.

The Farmers, Graſiers, and other People, how well-willing ſoever they be taken to be, will not be acknown of their Wealth, and by the miſcontentment of this loſs, be grown ſtubborn and liberal of Talk.

So that conſidering our Wants on every ſide, our lack of Mony at Home; our want of Credit, by reaſon of this Loſs abroad; the ſcarcity of Captains and Leaders of our Men, which be but few; the unwillingneſs of our People to go abroad, and leave their Things at home, without a certain hope of recovering their Loſs; the need we have to defend Home, (looking as we do to be aſſaulted both by Land and by Sea) how deſirous ſoever we be to recover *Calais*, and well-willing to ſerve his Majeſty, (either for that purpoſe, or in any other thing wherein it ſhall pleaſe him to employ us) we ſee not how we can poſſibly (at the leaſt, for this Year) ſend over an Army; nor until we may be aſſured of fewer Enemies than we fear to have cauſe to doubt; and have time to bring ſuch as be ill Men amongſt our People, and now be ready (againſt their Duties) to make Uproars and Stirs amongſt our ſelves, to Order and Obedience.

Wherefore, in moſt humble wiſe, upon our Knees, we ſhall beſeech the King's Majeſty to accept, in gracious part, this our Anſwer, which we make much againſt our Hearts, if we might otherwiſe chuſe. And as for our own Perſons, we ſhall beſtow, with all that ever we have, to the death, where and however it ſhall pleaſe him, ſubmitting our ſelves to his Majeſty's Judgment in this Matter, and to the execution and doing of that whatſoever, either his Majeſty, or any other Man, ſhall deviſe to be done, better than we have ſaid in this Anſwer, and more for the Honour and Surety of their Majeſties, and Common-Wealth of this their Realm. *Feb.* 1. 1577.

Number 37.

Sir Thomas Pope's *Letter, concerning the Anſwer made by the Lady* Elizabeth, *to a Propoſition of Marriage, ſent over by the Elected King of* Sweden.

Ex MS. D.G. *Petyt.*

FIrſt, After I had declared to her Grace how well the Queen's Maſty liked of her prudent and honourable Anſwer made to the ſame Meſſenger; I then opened unto her Grace the Effect of the ſaid Meſſengers

ſengers Credence; which after her Grace had heard, I ſaid, The Queen's Highneſs had ſent me to her Grace, not only to declare the ſame, but alſo to underſtand how her Grace liked the ſaid Motion. Whereunto, after a little pauſe taken, her Grace anſwered in form following. Maſter *Pope*, I require you, after my moſt humble Commendations to the Queen's Majeſty, to render unto the ſame like Thanks, that it pleaſed her Highneſs, of her Goodneſs, to conceive ſo well of my Anſwer made to the ſame Meſſenger, and here withal, of her Princely Conſideration, with ſuch ſpeed to command you, by your Letters, to ſignify the ſame unto me; who before remained wonderfully perplexed, fearing that her Majeſty might miſtake the ſame; for which her Goodneſs, I acknowledg my ſelf bound to honour, ſerve, love, and obey her Highneſs, during my Life: Requiring you alſo to ſay unto her Majeſty, That in the King, my Brother's Time, there was offered me a very honourable Marriage or two, and Ambaſſadors ſent to treat with me touching the ſame; whereupon I made my humble Suit unto his Highneſs, as ſome of Honour yet living can be teſtimonies, that it would like the ſame to give me leave, with his Grace's favour, to remain in that Eſtate I was, which of all others beſt liked me or pleaſed me. And in good Faith, I pray you ſay unto her Highneſs, I am even at this preſent of the ſame mind, and ſo intend to continue, with her Majeſty's favour; and aſſuring her Highneſs, I ſo well like this Eſtate, as I perſwade my ſelf there is not any kind of Life comparable unto it. And as concerning my liking the ſaid Motion made by the ſaid Meſſenger, I beſeech you ſay unto her Majeſty, That to my remembrance, I never heard of his Maſter before this time; and that I ſo well like, both the Meſſage and the Meſſenger, as I ſhall moſt humbly pray God, upon my Knees, that from henceforth I never hear of the one nor of the other; aſſure you, that if it ſhould eft-ſoons repair unto me, I would forbear to ſpeak to him. And were there nothing elſe to move me to miſlike the Motion, other than that his Maſter would attempt the ſame, without making the Queen's Majeſty privy thereunto, it were cauſe ſufficient. And when her Grace had thus ended, I was ſo bold as of my ſelf to ſay unto her Grace, (her pardon firſt required) that I thought few or none would believe, but that her Grace could be right-well contented to marry, ſo there were ſome honourable Marriage offered her by the Queen's Highneſs, or her Majeſty's Aſſent. Whereunto her Grace anſwered; What I ſhall do hereafter I know not, but I aſſure you, upon my Truth and Fidelity, and as God be merciful unto me, I am not at this time otherwiſe minded than I have declared unto you, no, though I were offered the greateſt Prince in all *Europe*. And yet percaſe the Queen's Majeſty may conceive this rather to proceed of a maidenly ſhamefaſtneſs, than upon any ſuch certain determination.

Tho. Pope.

FINIS.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

BOOK III.

Number 1.

The Device for Alteration of Religion, in the first Year of Queen Elizabeth: *offered to Secretary* Cecill.

Queſtion 1.

WHen the Queen's Highneſs may attempt to reduce the Church of England *again to the former purity, and when to begin the Alteration?* Ex M. SS. Nob. D. *Grey* de *Ruthen.*

Anſwer.

At the next Parliament; ſo that the Dangers be foreſeen, and Remedies provided; for the ſooner that Religion is reſtored, God is the more glorified, and as we truſt, will be more merciful unto us, and better ſave and defend her Highneſs from all Dangers.

Queſt. 2.

What Dangers may enſue thereof?

Anſw. 1.

The Biſhop of *Rome*, all that he may, will be incenſed, he will Excommunicate the Queen's Highneſs, Interdict the Realm, and give it in Prey to all Princes that will enter upon it; and ſtir them up to it by all manner of means.

2. The

2. The French King will be encouraged more to the War, and make his People more ready to fight againſt us, not only as Enemies, but as Hereticks: He will be in great hope of Aid from hence, of them that are diſcontented with this Alteration, looking for Tumults and Diſcords; He will alſo ſtay concluding of Peace, upon hope of ſome alteration.

3. *Scotland* alſo will have the ſame Cauſes of boldneſs, and by that way the French King will ſeem ſooneſt to attempt to annoy us. *Ireland* alſo will be very difficultly ſtayed in the Obedience, by reaſon of the Clergy that is ſo addicted to *Rome*.

4. Many People of our own, will be very much diſcontented, eſpecially all ſuch as governed in the late Queen *Mary*'s Time, and were choſen thereto for no other Cauſes, or were then moſt eſteemed for being hot and earneſt in that other Religion, and now remain unplaced and uncalled to Credit, will think themſelves diſcredited, and all their Doings defaced, and ſtudy all the ways they can to maintain their own Doings, deſtroy and deſpiſe all this Alteration.

5. Biſhops, and all the Clergy, will ſee their own Ruin; and in Confeſſion, and Preaching, and all other Means and Ways they can, will perſuade the People from it; they will conſpire with whomſoever, will attempt and pretend to do God a Sacrifice, in letting the Alteration, though it be with murder of Chriſtian Men, and Treaſon. Men which be of the Papiſts Sect, which of late were in a manner all the Judges of the Land; the Juſtices of the Peace choſen out by the late Queen in all the Shires, ſuch as were believed to be of that Sect, and the more earneſt therein, the more in eſtimation; Theſe are moſt like to join and conſpire with the Biſhops, and Clergy. Some, when the Subſidy ſhall be granted, and Mony levied, (as it appeareth that neceſſarily it muſt be done) will be therewith offended, and like enough to conſpire and ariſe, if they have any heed to ſtir them to do it, or hope of Gain or Spoil.

6. Many ſuch as would gladly have Alteration from the Church of *Rome*, when they ſhall ſee peradventure that ſome old Ceremonies be left ſtill, for that their Doctrine, which they embrace, is not allowed and commanded only, and all other aboliſhed and diſproved, ſhall be diſcontented, and call the Alteration a *Cloak'd Papiſtry*, or a Mingle-Mangle.

Queſt. 3.

What Remedy for the ſame Dangers? What ſhall be the manner of doing of it? and what is neceſſary to be done before?

Anſw. 1.

Firſt, for *France*, to practiſe a Peace, or if it be offered, not to refuſe it: If Controverſy of Religion be there amongſt them, to kindle it. *Rome* is leſs to be feared, from whom nothing is to be feared, but evil Will, Curſing, and Practiſing. *Scotland* will follow *France* for Peace, but there may be Practice to help forward their Diviſion, and eſpecially to augment the Hope of them who inclined them to good Religion.

For

For certainty, to fortify *Barwick*, and to employ Demi-lances, and Horſemen, for ſafety of the Frontiers, and ſome Expences of Mony in *Ireland*. The fourth divided into five parts.

1. The firſt is of them which were of Queen *Mary*'s Council, elected or advanced to Authority, only or chiefly for being of the Pope's Religion, and earneſt in the ſame. Every Augmentation, or Conſervation of ſuch Men in Authority or Reputation, is an encouraging thoſe of their Sect, and giveth hope to them that it ſhall revive and continue, although it hath a contrary ſhew: leſt ſeeing the Pillars to ſtand ſtill untouched, it be a confirmation of them that are wavering Papiſts, and a diſcouraging of ſuch as are but half inclined to this Alteration. *Dum in dubio eſt animus, parvo momento huc illuc impellitur.* This muſt be ſearched by all Law, ſo far as Juſtice may extend, and the Queen's Majeſty's Clemency not to be extended, before they do acknowledg themſelves to have fallen into the lapſe of the Law. They muſt be abaſed of Authority, diſcredited in their Countries, ſo long as they ſeem to repugn the true Religion, or to maintain the old Proceedings; and if they ſhould ſeem to allow and bear with the new Alteration, yet not lightly to be credited, *quia neophiti*; and no Man, but he loveth that time wherein he did flouriſh, and when he came, and as he came; thoſe Ancient Laws and Orders he will defend and maintain, with whom and in whom he was in Eſtimation, and Authority, and a Doer: for every Man naturally loveth that which is his own Work and Creature. And contrary, as thoſe Men be abaſed, ſo muſt her Highneſs old and ſure Servants, who have tarried with her, and not ſhrunk in the late Storm, be advanced, with Authority and Credit, that the World may ſee that her Highneſs is not unkind, not unmindful. And throughout all *England*, if ſuch Prſons, as are known to be ſure in Religion, and God's Cauſe, ſhall be ſlack; yet their own Safety and Eſtate, ſhould cauſe to be vigilant, careful, and earneſt for the conſervation of her Eſtate, and maintenance of this Alteration; and in all this, ſhe ſhall do but the ſame that the late Queen *Mary* did, to eſtabliſh her Religion.

2. The ſecond is, the Biſhops and Clergy, being in manner all made and choſen, ſuch as were thought the ſtouteſt and mightieſt Champions of the Pope's Church, who in the late Queen *Mary*'s Time, taking from the Crown, impoveriſhing it, by extorting from private Men, and all other means poſſible, *per fas & nefas*, have ſought to enrich and advance themſelves. Theſe, her Majeſty being inclined to uſe much clemency, yet muſt ſeek, as well by Parliament, as by the juſt Laws of *England*, in the Premunire, or other ſuch Penal Laws, to bring again in order; and being found in the default, not to pardon, until they confeſs their Fault, put themſelves wholly to her Highneſs Mercy, abjure the Pope of *Rome*, and conform themſelves to the new Alteration; and by theſe means, well handled, her Majeſty's neceſſity of Mony may be ſomewhat relieved.

3. The third is to amend, even as all the reſt above, by ſuch ways as Queen *Mary* taught, That no ſuch as were, may be in Commiſſion of Peace in their Shires; but rather Men meaner in Subſtance, and younger in Years, ſo that they have diſcretion to be put in Place. A ſharp Law made and extended againſt Aſſemblies of People, without

Authority. Lieutenants made in every Shire, one or two Men known to be ſure of the Queen's Devotion. In the mean time, Muſters and Captains appointed, Young Gentlemen, which do favour her Highneſs. No Office of Juriſdiction or Authority to be in any diſcontented Man's hands, ſo far as Juſtice or Law may extend.

4. The fourth is to be remedied otherwiſe, than by gentle and dulce handling; it is by the Commiſſioners, and by the readineſs and good-will of the Lieutenants and Captains; to repreſs them, if any ſhould begin a Tumult, or murmur, or provide any Aſſembly, or ſtoutneſs, to the contrary.

5. The fifth; For the Diſcontentation of ſuch as could be content to have Religion altered, but would have it to go, for fear the ſtrait Laws upon the Promulgation of the Book, and ſevere execution of the ſame, at the firſt, would ſo oppreſs them, that it is great hope it ſhall touch but a few: And better it were that they did ſuffer, than her Highneſs and Common-Wealth ſhould ſhake or be in danger; and to this they muſt well take heed that draw the Book. And herein the Univerſities muſt not be neglected, and the hurt which the laſt Viſitation in Queen *Mary*'s Time did, muſt be amended: Likewiſe ſuch Colleges, where Children be inſtructed to come to the Univerſity, as *Eaton*, and *Wincheſter*, that as well the encreaſe hereafter, as this preſent time, may be provided for.

Queſt. 4.

What may be done of her Highneſs, for her own Conſcience, openly, before the whole Alteration? or if the Alteration muſt tarry longer?

Anſwer.

This conſultation is to be referred to ſuch Learned Men as be meet to ſhew their Minds therein, and to bring a Plot or Book hereof ready drawn to her Highneſs; which being approved by her Majeſty, may ſo be put in the Parliament-Houſe. To which, for the time it is thought that theſe are apt Men, Dr. *Bill*, Dr. *Parker*, Dr. *May*, Dr. *Cox*, Mr. *Whitehead*, *Grindall*, *Pilkington*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, to call them together, and to be amongſt them: and after the conſultation with theſe, to draw in other Men of Learning, and grave and apt Men for your Purpoſe and Credit, to have their Aſſents. As for that is neceſſary to be done before, it is thought to be moſt neceſſary, that a ſtrait Prohibition be made of all Innovation, until ſuch time as the Book come forth, as well that there ſhould be no often Changes in Religion, which would take away Authority in the common Peoples eſtimation, as alſo to exerciſe the Queen's Majeſty's Subjects to Obedience.

Queſt.

Queſt. 5.

What Orders be fit to be in the whole Realm, as in the interim?

Anſwer.

To alter no further than her Majeſty hath, except it be to receive the Communion, as her Majeſty pleaſeth, at high Feaſts; and that where there be more at the Maſs, that they do always communicate with the Executor in both kinds. And for her Highneſs Conſcience, till then, if there be ſome other devout ſort of Prayer, or Memory, and the or Maſs.

Queſt. 6.

What Noblemen be fit to be made privy to thoſe Proceedings, before it be opened to the whole Council?

Anſwer.

The Marqueſs *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Pembrook*, Lord *John Gray*.

Queſt. 7.

What Allowance the Learned Men ſhall have for the time they are about to renew the Book of Common Prayers, and Order of certain Ceremonies and Service in the Church; and when they ſhall meet?

Anſwer.

Being ſo many Perſons as muſt attend ſtill upon it, two Meſſes of Meat is thought yet indifferently to ſuffice for them, and their Servants. The Place is thought moſt meet, either in ſome ſet Place, or rather at Sir *Thomas Smith*'s Lodging in *Cannon-Row*. At one of thoſe Places, muſt Proviſion be laid in, of Wood, of Coal, and Drink.

Number 2.

Dr. Sand's *Letter to Dr.* Parker, *concerning ſome Proceedings in Parliament.*

An Original.

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.*

YE have rightly conſidered that theſe times are given to taking, and not to giving; for ye have ſtretched forth your hands further than all the reſt. They never asked us in what ſtate we ſtand, neither conſider that we want; and yet in the time of our Exile, were we not ſo bare as we are now brought: but I truſt we ſhall not linger here long, for the Parliament draweth towards an end. The laſt Book of Service is gone through with a *Proviſo*, to retain the Ornaments which were uſed in the firſt and ſecond Year of King *Edward*, until it pleaſe the Queen to take other order for them; our gloſs upon this Text is, that we ſhall not be forced to uſe them, but that others in the mean time ſhall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen. After this Book was paſt, *Boxall*, and others, quarrelled with it, that according to the order of the Scripture, we had not *gratiarum actio*; for, ſaith he, *Chriſtus accepit panem, gratias egit*, but in the time of Conſecration we give no Thanks. This he put into the Treaſurer's Head, and into Count *de Soreus* Head; and he laboured to alienate the Queen's Majeſty from confirming of the Act, but I truſt they cannot prevail. Mr. Secretary is earneſt with the Book, and we have miniſtred Reaſons to maintain that part. The Bill of Supreme Government, of both the Temporality and Clergy, paſſeth with a *Proviſo*, that nothing ſhall be judged hereafter, which is not confirmed by the Canonical Scriptures, and four General Councils. Mr. *Lever* wiſely put ſuch a Scruple into the Queen's Head, that ſhe would not take the Title of *Supream Head*. The Biſhops, as it is ſaid, will not ſwear unto it as it is, but rather loſe their Livings. The Bill is in hand to reſtore Men to their Livings; how it will ſpeed I know not. The Parliament is like to end ſhortly, and then we ſhall underſtand how they mind to uſe us. We are forced, through the vain Bruits of the lying Papiſts, to give up a Confeſſion of our Faith, to ſhew forth the Sum of that Doctrine which we profeſs, and to declare that we diſſent not amongſt our ſelves. This Labour we have now in hand, on purpoſe to publiſh that, ſo ſoon as the Parliament is ended; I wiſh that we had your Hand unto it. Ye are happy that ye are ſo far from this toſſing, and groſs Alterations and Mutations; for we are made weary with them; but ye cannot reſt long in your Cell, ye muſt be removed to a more large Abbey: and therefore in the mean time take your pleaſure, for after ye will find but a little, *Nihil eſt ſtatutum, de conjugio Sacerdotum, ſed tanquam relictum in medio. Lever* was married now of late; The Queen's Majeſty will wink at it, but not ſtabliſh it by Law, which is nothing elſe but to baſtard our Children. Other things another time. Thus praying you to commend me to your Abbeſſes, I take my leave of you for this preſent haſtily, at *London*, April *ult.* 1559.

He was Dean of *Windſor* and *Peterb.* in Q. *Mary*'s Time.

A Miniſter at *Frankfort* much commended by *Calvin*, to be followed as an Example.

Yours, *Edwin Sands.*

Number 3.

The firſt Propoſition, upon which the *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*, Diſputed in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. With the Arguments which the Reformed Divines made upon it.

It is againſt the Word of God, and the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church, to uſe a Tongue unknown to the People in Common-Prayers, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

BY theſe words (*the Word*) we mean only the written Word of God, or Canonical Scriptures. Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

And by *the Cuſtom of the Primitive Church*, we mean, the Order moſt generally uſed in the Church for the ſpace of five hundred Years after Chriſt; in which Times lived the moſt notable Fathers, as *Juſtin*, *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Hierome*, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, &c.

This Aſſertion, above-written, hath two parts.

Firſt, That the uſe of a Tongue not underſtood of the People, in Common Prayers of the Church, or in the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, is againſt God's Word.

The ſecond, That the ſame is againſt the Uſe of the Primitive-Church.

The firſt part is moſt manifeſtly proved by the 14*th* Chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, almoſt throughout the whole Chapter; in the which Chapter St. *Paul* intreateth of this Matter, *ex profeſſo*, purpoſely: And although ſome do cavil, that St. *Paul* ſpeaketh not in that Chapter of Praying, but of Preaching; yet it is moſt evident, to any indifferent Reader of Underſtanding, and appeareth alſo by the Expoſition of the beſt Writers, That he plainly there ſpeaketh not only of Preaching and Propheſying, but alſo of Prayer and Thankſgiving, and generally of all other publick Actions, which require any Speech in the Church or Congregation.

For of Praying, he ſaith, *I will pray with my Spirit, and I will pray with my Mind; I will ſing with the Spirit, and I will ſing with my Mind.* And of Thankſgiving, (which is a kind of Prayer) *Thou giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified; And how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the Unlearned, ſay Amen to thy giving of Thanks, when he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt?* And in the end, aſcending from Particulars to Univerſals, concludeth, *That all things ought to be done to Edification.*

Thus much is clear by the very words of St. *Paul*, and the Ancient Doctors, *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Hierome*, and others, do ſo underſtand this

this Chapter, as it ſhall appear by their Teſtimonies, which ſhall follow afterwards.

Upon this Chapter of St. *Paul*, we gather theſe Reaſons following.

1. All things done in the Church, or Congregation, ought to be ſo done, as they may edify the ſame.

But the uſe of an Unknown Tongue in Publick Prayer, or Adminiſtration of Sacraments, doth not edify the Congregation;

Therefore the uſe of an Unknown Tongue, in Publick Prayer, or Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, is not to be had in the Church.

The firſt part of this Reaſon, is grounded upon St. *Paul*'s words, commanding all things to be *done to Edification*.

The ſecond part is alſo proved by St. *Paul*'s plain words. Firſt, By this Similitude; *If the Trumpet give an uncertain ſound, who ſhall be prepared to Battel?* Even ſo likewiſe, when ye ſpeak with Tongues, except ye ſpeak words that have ſignification, how ſhall it be underſtood what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall but ſpeak in the Air, that is to ſay, in vain, and conſequently without edifying.

And afterward, in the ſame Chapter, he ſaith, *How can he that occupieth the place of the Unlearned, ſay Amen at thy giving of Thanks: ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt? For thou verily giveſt Thanks well, but the other is not edified.*

Theſe be St. *Paul*'s words, plainly proving, That a Tongue not underſtood, doth not edify.

And therefore both the parts of the Reaſons thus prov'd by St. *Paul*, the Concluſion followeth neceſſarily.

2. Secondly; Nothing is to be ſpoken in the Congregation in an Unknown Tongue, except it be interpreted to the People, that it may be underſtood. *For*, ſaith *Paul*, *if there be no Interpreter to him that ſpeaketh in an unknown Tougue*, taceat in Eccleſiâ, *let him hold his peace in the Church.* And therefore the Common Prayers, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, neither done in a known Tongue, nor interpreted, are againſt this Commandment of *Paul*, and not to be uſed.

3. The Miniſter, in Praying, or Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, uſing Language not underſtood of the Hearers, is to them barbarous, an Alien, which of St. *Paul* is accounted a great Abſurdity.

4. It is not to be counted a Chriſtian Common-Prayer, where the People preſent declare not their Aſſent unto it, by ſaying *Amen*; wherein is implyed all other words of Aſſent.

But St. *Paul* affirmeth, That the People cannot declare their Aſſent, in ſaying *Amen*, except they underſtand what is ſaid, as afore.

Therefore it is no Chriſtian Common-Prayer, where the People underſtandeth not what is ſaid.

5. *Paul* would not ſuffer, in his time, a ſtrange Tongue to be heard in the Common-Prayer in the Church, notwithſtanding that ſuch a kind of Speech was then a Miracle, and a ſingular Gift of the Holy Ghoſt,

Ghoſt, whereby Infidels might be perſuaded and brought to the Faith: much leſs is it to be ſuffered now among Chriſtian and Faithful Men, eſpecially being no Miracle, nor eſpecial Gift of the Holy Ghoſt.

6. Some will peradventure anſwer, That to uſe any kind of Tongue in Common-Prayer, or Adminiſtration of Sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But St. *Paul* is to the contrary; for he commandeth all things to be *done to Edification*: He commandeth to keep ſilence, if there be no Interpreter. And in the end of the Chapter, he concludeth thus; *If any Man be Spiritual, or a Prophet, let him know, that the Things which I write are the Commandment of the Lord.* And ſo, ſhortly to conclude, the uſe of a ſtrange Tongue, in Prayer and Adminiſtration, is againſt the Word and Commandment of God.

To theſe Reaſons, grounded upon St. *Paul's* words, which are the moſt firm Foundation of this Aſſertion, divers other Reaſons may be joined, gathered out of the Scriptures, and otherwiſe.

1. In the *Old Teſtament*, all things pertaining to the Publick Prayer, Benediction, Thankſgiving, or Sacrifice, were always in their Vulgar and Natural Tongue.

In the ſecond Book of *Paraleipomenon*, Cap. 29. it is written, *That* Ezechias *commanded the* Levites, *to praiſe God with the Pſalms of* David, *and* Aſaph *the Prophet*; which doubtleſs were written in the *Hebrew*, their Vulgar Tongue. If they did ſo in the Shadows of the Law, much more ought we to do the like; who, as Chriſt ſaith, muſt pray *in Spiritu & Veritate.*

2. The final end of our Prayer is, (as *David* ſaith) *Ut populi conveniant in unum, & annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, & laudes ejus in Hieruſalem.*

But the Name and Praiſes of God cannot be ſet forth to the People, unleſs it be done in ſuch a Tongue, as they may underſtand.

Therefore Common-Prayer muſt be had in the Vulgar Tongue.

3. The definition of Publick Prayer, out of the words of St. *Paul*; *Orabo Spiritu, Orabo & Mente. Publicè orare, eſt vota communia mente ad Deum effundere, & ea Spiritu hoc eſt, Linguâ teſtari.* Common-Prayer is, to lift up our Common Deſires to God with our Minds, and to teſtify the ſame outwardly with our Tongues. Which Definition is approved of by St. *Auguſtine de Magiſt.* C. 1. *Nihil opus eſt (inquit) loquutione, niſi forte ut Sacerdotes faciunt, ſignificandæ mentis Cauſâ, ut populus intelligat.*

4. The Miniſtrations of the Lord's laſt Supper, and Baptiſm, are, as it were, Sermons of the Death and Reſurrection of Chriſt.

But Sermons to the People, muſt be had in ſuch Language, as the People may perceive, otherwiſe they ſhould be had in vain.

5. It

5. It is not lawful for a Christian Man to abuse the Gifts of God. But he that prayeth in the Church in a strange Tongue, abuseth the Gift of God; for the Tongue serveth only to express the mind of the Speaker to the Hearer. And *Augustine* saith, *de Doct. Christ.* lib. 4. cap. 10. *Loquendi omnino nulla est causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur.* There is no cause why we should speak, if they, for whose cause we speak, understand not our speaking.

6. The Heathen, and Barbarous Nations of all Countries, and sorts of Men, were they never so wild, evermore made their Prayers, and Sacrifice to their Gods, in their own Mother-Tongue; which is a manifest Declaration, that it is the very Light and Voice of Nature.

Thus much upon the ground of St. *Paul*, and other Reasons out of the Scriptures; joining therewith the common Usage of all Nations, as a Testimony of the Law of Nature.

Now for the second part of the Assertion, which is, *That the use of a strangue Tongue, in publick Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments, is against the Custom of the Primitive Church.* Which is a Matter so clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed, either of great Ignorance, or of wilful Malice.

Justinus Apol. 2. For, first of all, *Justinus Martyr*, describing the Order of the Communion in his time, saith thus; *Die Solis urbanorum & rusticorum eadem fiunt, ubi Apostolorum, Prophetarumq; literæ, quoad fieri potest, præleguntur: Deinde cessante Lectore Præpositus verba facit adhortatoria, ad imitationem tam honestarum rerum invitans. Post hæc consurgimus omnes, & preces offerimus, quibus finitis, profertur (ut diximus) Panis, Vinum & Aqua, tum præpositus quantum potest preces offert, & gratiarum Actiones; plebs vero Amen accinit.* Upon the *Sundays* Assemblies are made both of the Citizens and Country-men; whereas the Writings of the Disciples, and of the Prophets, are read as much as may be. Afterwards when the Reader doth cease, the Head-Minister maketh an Exhortation, exhorting them to follow so honest things. After this we rise all together, and offer Prayers; which being ended, (as we have said) Bread, Wine, and Water, are brought forth; then the Head-Minister offereth Prayers, and Thanksgivings, as much as he can, and the People answereth, *Amen.*

These words of *Justin*, who lived about 160 Years after Christ, considered with their Circumstances, declare plainly, That not only the Scriptures were read, but also that the Prayers, and Administration of the Lord's Supper, were done in a Tongue understood.

Both the Liturgies of *Basil* and *Chrysostom*, declare, That in the Celebration of the Communion, the People were appointed to answer to the Prayer of the Minister, sometimes *Amen*; sometimes, *Lord have mercy upon us*; sometimes, *And with thy Spirit*; and, *We have our Hearts lifted up unto the Lord*, &c. Which Answers they would not have made in due time, if the Prayers had not been made in a Tongue understood.

And

And for further proof, let us hear what *Basil* writeth in this Matter to the Clerks of *Neocesarea*; *Cæterum ad Objectum in Psalmodiis crimen, quo maximè simpliciores terrent Calumniatores, &c.* 'As touching that is 'laid to our charge in Psalmodies and Songs, wherewith our Slanderers 'do fray the Simple, I have this to say, That our Custom and Usage in 'all Churches, be uniform and agreeable. For in the Night, the Peo-'ple with us riseth, goeth to the House of Prayer: and in Travel, Tri-'bulation, and continual Tears, they confess themselves to God; and 'at the last rising again, go to their Songs, or Psalmodies, where being 'divided into two parts, sing by course together, both deeply weighing 'and confirming the Matter of the Heavenly Saying; and also stirring 'up their Attention and Devotion of Heart, which by other means be 'alienated and pluck'd away. Then appointing one to begin the Song, 'the rest follow; and so with divers Songs and Prayers, passing over 'the Night at the dawning of the Day, all together, even, as it were 'with one Mouth, and one Heart, they sing unto the Lord a new Song 'of Confession, every Man framing to Himself meet words of Repen-'tance. *Basil* Epist. 63.

'If ye will flee us from henceforth for these things, ye must flee also 'the *Egyptians*, and both the *Lybians*, ye must eschew the *Thebians*, *Pa-'lestines*, *Arabians*, the *Phenices*, the *Syrians*, and those which dwell 'besides *Euphrates*. And to be short, all those with whom Watchings, 'Prayers, and common singing of Psalms are had in honour.

These are sufficient to prove, that it is against God's Word, and the Use of the Primitive Church, to use a Language not understood of the People, in Common Prayer, and Ministration of the Sacraments.

Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an Untruth and Abuse crept, at the first, into the Church, but also how it is maintained so stifly at this Day; And upon what ground, these that will be thought Guides, and Pastors of Christ's Church, are so loth to return to the first Original of St. *Paul's* Doctrine, and the Practice of the Primitive Catholick Church of Christ.

J. Scory. *R. Cox.*
D. Whithead. *E. Grindal.*
J. Juel. *R. Horn.*
J. Almer. *E. Gest.*

The God of Patience and Consolation, give us Grace to be like minded one towards another, in Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may, with one mouth, praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Number 4.

The Anſwer of Dr. *Cole*, to the firſt Propoſition of the *Proteſtants*, at the Diſputation before the Lords at *Weſtminſter*.

Eſt contra Verbum Dei, & conſuetudinem veteris Eccleſiæ Linguâ Populo ignotâ uti in publicis precibus, & Adminiſtratione Sacramentorum.

Ex MS. Col. Cor. C. *Cant.*

Moſt Honourable;

WHereas theſe Men here preſent, have declared openly, That it is repugnant, and contrary to the Word of God, to have the Common-Prayers, and Miniſtration of the Sacraments, in the Latin Tongue, here in *England*; and that all ſuch Common-Prayer, and Miniſtration, ought to be, and remain in the Engliſh Tongue. Ye ſhall underſtand, that to prove this their Aſſertion, they have brought in as yet *only one place* of Scripture, taken out of St. *Paul*'s firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. 14. with certain other places of the Holy Doctors; whereunto anſwer is not now to be made: But when the Book, which they read, ſhall be delivered unto us, according to the appointment made in that behalf, *then*, *God willing*, *we* ſhall make anſwer, as well to the Scripture, as other Teſtimonies alledged by them, ſo as all good Men may evidently perceive and underſtand the ſame Scripture to be miſconſtrued, and drawn from the native and true ſenſe: And that *it is not St.* Paul's *mind* there to treat of Common-Prayer, or Miniſtration of any Sacraments. And therefore we now have only to declare, and open before you briefly (which after, as opportunity ſerves in our Anſwer, ſhall appear more at large) cauſes which move us to perſiſt and continue in the order received, and to ſay, and affirm, that to have the Common-Prayer, or Service, with the Miniſtration of the Sacraments in the Latin Tongue, is convenient, (and as the ſtate of the Cauſe ſtandeth at this preſent) neceſſary.

Second Section.

1. And *this we affirm*, firſt, becauſe *there is no Scripture manifeſt* againſt this our Aſſertion and Uſage of the Church. And though there were any, yet it is not to be condemn'd that the Church hath receiv'd. Which thing may evidently appear in many things that were ſometime expreſly commanded by God and his Holy Apoſtles.

2. As for Example, (to make the Matter plain) ye ſee the expreſs Command of Almighty God, touching the obſervation *of the Sabbath-Day*, to be changed by Authority of the Church (*without any Word of God written* for the ſame) into the *Sunday*. The Reaſon whereof appeareth not to all Men; and howſoever it doth appear, and is accepted of all good Men, without any Controverſy of Scripture; yea, without

without any mention of the Day, ſaving only that St. *John* in his *Apocalyps*, nameth it, *Diem Dominicam*: In the change whereof, all Men may evidently underſtand the Authority of the Church, both in this cauſe, and alſo in other Matters to be of great weight and importance, and therein eſteemed accordingly,

3. *Another* Example we have given unto us by the Mouth of our Saviour himſelf, who waſhing the feet of his Diſciples, ſaid, *I have herein given you an Example, that as I have done, even ſo do you.* Notwithſtanding theſe expreſs words, the Holy Church hath left the thing undone, without blame: not of any Negligence, but of great and urgent Cauſes, which appeareth not to many Men, and yet univerſally without the breach of God's Commandment (as is ſaid) left undone. Was not the Fact alſo, and, as it ſeemeth, the expreſs Commandment of Chriſt, our Saviour, changed and altered, by the Authority of the Church, in the higheſt Myſtery of our Faith, the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar? For he miniſtreth the ſame (as the Scripture witneſſeth) after Supper. And now if a contentious Man would ſtrain the Fact to the firſt Inſtitution, St. *Auguſtine* anſwereth (not by Scripture, for there is none to improve it, but indeed otherwiſe) even as the Apoſtles did, *Viſum eſt Spiritui ſancto, ut in honorem tanti Sacramenti, in os Chriſtiani hominis prius intret Corpus Dominicum quam exteri cibi.* It is determin'd (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) by the Holy Ghoſt, that in the honour of ſo great a Sacrament, the Body of our Lord ſhould enter firſt into the Mouth of a Chriſtian Man before other external Meats. So that notwithſtanding it was the Fact of Chriſt himſelf, yet the Church moved by the Holy Ghoſt, (as is ſaid) hath changed that alſo, without offence likewiſe. By the which Sentence of St. *Auguſtine*, manifeſtly appeareth, that this Authority was deriv'd from the Apoſtles unto this Time; the which ſame Authority, according to Chriſt's Promiſes, doth ſtill abide and remain with his Church.

4. *And hereupon* alſo reſteth the Alteration of the Sacrament under one kind, when-as the multitude of the *Gentiles* entred, the Church inſtructed by the Holy Ghoſt, underſtood Inconveniencies, and partly alſo Hereſy to creep in through the Miniſtration under both kinds; and therefore, as in the former Examples, ſo in this now, (the Matter nothing diminiſhed, neither in it ſelf, nor in the Receivers, and the thing alſo being received before, by a common and uniform Conſent, without contradiction) the Church did decree, that from henceforth it ſhould be received under the form of Bread only; and whoſoever ſhould think and affirm, that Whole Chriſt remained not under *both kinds*, pronounc'd him to be in Hereſy.

5. *Moreover*, we read in the *Acts*, whereas it was determined in a Council holden at *Hieruſalem* by the Apoſtles, that the *Gentiles* ſhould abſtain from Strangled, and Blood, in theſe words, *Viſum eſt Spiritui Sancto, & Nobis*, &c. *It is decreed, by the Holy Ghoſt, and Us*, (ſay the Apoſtles) *that no other burden be laid upon you, than theſe neceſſary things, That ye abſtain from things offered up unto Idols, and from Blood; and from that is ſtrangled, and from Fornication.* This was the Commandment of God, (for ſtill it is commanded, upon pain of damnation, to keep our Bodies clean from Fornication) and the other, join'd by the Holy Ghoſt with the ſame, not kept nor obſerved at this day.

6. Likewiſe in the *Acts of the Apoſtles* it appeareth, That among them in the Primitive Church, all things were common. They ſold their Lands and poſſeſſions, and laid the Mony at the Feet of the Apoſtles, to be divided to the People as every Man had need; inſomuch that *Ananias* and *Saphira*, who kept back a part of their Poſſeſſion, and laid but the other part at the Apoſtles Feet, were declared, by the Mouth of St. *Peter*, to be tempted by the Devil, and to lye againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and in example of all other, puniſh'd with ſudden Death. By all which Examples, and many other, it is manifeſt, that though there were any ſuch Scripture which they pretend, as there is not, yet the Church wherein the Holy Ghoſt is alway reſident, may order the ſame, and may therein ſay as truly, *Viſum eſt Spiritui Sancto, & Nobis*, as did the Apoſtles; For Chriſt promiſed unto the Church, That the Holy Ghoſt ſhould teach them all Truth, and that He himſelf would be with the ſame Church unto the Worlds end. And hereupon we do make this Argument with St. *Auguſtine*, which he writeth in his Epiſtle *ad Januarium*, after this ſort, *Eccleſia Dei inter multam paleam multaque Zizania conſtituta, multa tolerat; & tamen quæ ſunt contra fidem, vel bonam vitam non approbat, nec tacet, nec facit.*

To this *Major*, we add this *Minor*; But the Catholick Church of God, neither reproveth the Service, or Common-Prayer, to be in the Learned Tongue, nor yet uſeth it otherwiſe.

Therefore it is moſt lawful and commendable ſo to be.

Third Section.

Another Cauſe that moveth us to ſay and think, is, That otherwiſe doing, (as they have ſaid) there followeth neceſſarily the breach of Unity of the Church, and the Commodities thereby are withdrawn and taken from us; there follows neceſſarily an horrible Schiſm and Diviſion.

In alteration of the Service into our Mother-Tongue, we condemn the Church of God, which hath been heretofore, we condemn the Church that is preſent, and namely the Church of *Rome*.

To the which, howſoever it is lightly eſteemed here among us, the Holy Saint and Martyr, *Ireneus*, ſaith in plain words thus; *Ad hanc Eccleſiam propter potentiorem principalitatem, neceſſe eſt omnes alias Eccleſias convenire; hoc eſt omnes undiq; Fideles.* It is neceſſary (ſaith this Holy Man) who was nigh to the Apoſtles, or rather in that time, for he is called σύνχρονον Apoſtolorum) that all Churches do conform themſelves, and agree with the See or Church of *Rome*, all Churches, that is to ſay (as he declareth himſelf) all Chriſtian and Faithful Men. And he alleageth the Cauſe why it is neceſſary for all Men to agree therewith, (*propter potentiorem principalitatem*) for the greater Preeminence of the ſame, or for the mightier Principality.

From this Church, and conſequently from the whole Univerſal Church of Chriſt, we fall undoubtedly into a fearful and dangerous Schiſm, and therewith into all Incommodities of the ſame.

That in this doing, we fall from the Unity of the Church, it is more manifeſt than that we need much to ſtand upon. St. *Auguſtine*, *Contra Creſconium Grammaticum*, putting a difference between *Hereſis* and *Schiſma*,

Schiſma, ſaith, *Schiſma eſt diverſa ſequentium ſecta, Hereſis autem Schiſma inveteratum.*

To avoid this horrible Sin of Schiſm, we are commanded, by the words of St. *Paul*, ſaying, *Obſecro vos ut id ipſum dicatis omnes & non ſin in vobis Schiſmata.*

And that this changing of the Service out of the Learned Tongue, is doing contrary to the Form and Order univerſally obſerved, is plain and evident to every Man's Eye.

They are to be named *Hereticks* (ſaith he) which obſtinately think and judg in Matters of Faith, otherwiſe than the reſt of the Church doth. And thoſe are called *Schiſmaticks*, which follow not the Order and Trade of the Church, but will invent of their own Wit and Brain other Orders, contrary or diverſe to them which are already, by the Holy Ghoſt, univerſally eſtabliſh'd in the Church. And we being declin'd from God by Schiſm, note what follows; There is then no Gift of God, no Knowledg, no Juſtice, no Faith, no Works, and finally, no Vertue that could ſtand us in ſtead, though we ſhould think to glorify God by ſuffering Death, (as St. *Paul* ſaith) 1 *Cor.* 13. Yea, there is no Sacrament that availeth to Salvation, in them that willingly fall into Schiſm, that without fear ſeparate and divide themſelves from the Sacred Unity of Chriſt's Holy Spouſe, the Church, as St. *Auguſtine* plainly ſaith; *Quicunque ille eſt, qualiſcunque ille eſt, Chriſtianus non eſt qui in Eccleſia Chriſti non eſt*; that is, Whoſoever he be, whatſoever degree or condition he be of, or what qualities ſoever he hath; though he ſhould ſpeak with the Tongues of Angels, ſpeak he never ſo holily, ſhew he never ſo much Vertue, yet is he not a Chriſtian Man that is guilty of that Crime of Schiſm; and ſo no Member of that Church.

Wherefore this is an evident Argument; Every Chriſtian Man is bound, upon pain of Damnation, by the plain words of God, uttered by St. *Paul*, to avoid the horrible Sin of Schiſm.

The changing of the Service-Book out of the Learned Tongue, it being univerſally obſerv'd through the whole Church from the beginning, is a cauſe of an horrible Schiſm; wherefore every good Chriſtian Man is bound to avoid the change of the Service.

Now to confirm that we ſaid before, and to prove that to have the Common-Prayer, and Miniſtration of the Sacraments in Engliſh, or in other than is the Learned Tongue, let us behold the firſt Inſtitution of the *Weſt Church*, and the Particulars thereof.

And firſt, to begin with the Church of *France: Dyoniſius*, St. *Paul*'s Scholar, who firſt planted the Faith of Chriſt in *France: Martialis*, who (as it is ſaid) planted the Faith in *Spain:* And others which planted the ſame here in *England*, in the Time of *Elutherius:* And ſuch as planted the Faith in *Germany*, and other Countries: And St. *Auguſtine*, that converted this Realm afterwards, in the time of *Gregory*, almoſt a thouſand Years ago: It may appear that they had Interpreters, as touching the Declaration and Preaching of the Goſpel, or elſe the Gift of Tongues: But that ever, in any of theſe *Weſt Churches*, they had the Service in their own Language, or that the Sacraments, other than

than Matrimony, were miniſtred in their own Vulgar Tongue; that does not appear by any Ancient Hiſtoriographer. *Whether* ſhall they be able ever to prove that it was ſo generally, and thereby by continuance, in the Latin, the ſelf-ſame Order and Words remain ſtill; whereas all Men do conſider, and know right-well, that in all other inferiour and barbarous Tongues, great change daily is ſeen, and ſpecially in this our Engliſh Tongue, which *in quovis Seculo fere*, in every Age, or hundred Years, there appeareth a great change and alteration in this Language.

For the proof whereof, there hath remained many Books of late in this Realm, (as many do well know) which we, that be now Engliſhmen, can ſcarcely underſtand or read. And if we ſhould ſo often (as the thing may chance, and as alteration daily doth grow in our Vulgar Tongue) change the Service of the Church, what manifold Inconveniences and Errors would follow, we leave it to all Mens Judgments to conſider. So that hereby may appear another invincible Argument, which is, the Conſent of the whole Catholick Church, that cannot err in the Faith and Doctrine of our Saviour Chriſt, but is (by St. *Paul*'s ſaying) *the Pillar and Foundation of all Truth.*

Moreover, the People of *England* do not underſtand their own Tongue, better than *Eunuchus* did the *Hebrew*; of whom we read in the *Acts*, that *Philip* was commanded to teach him; and he reading there the Propheſy of *Eſay*, *Philip* (as it is written in the 8*th* Chapter of the *Acts*) enquired of him, Whether he underſtood that which he read, or no? He made anſwer, ſaying, *Et quomodo poſſum, ſi non aliquis oſtenderit mihi*; in which words are reproved the intollerable boldneſs of ſuch as will enterprize without any Teacher; yea, contemning all Doctors to unclaſp the Book, and thereby, inſtead of Eternal Food, drink up deadly Poiſon. For whereas the Scripture is miſconſtrued, and taken in a wrong ſenſe, that it is not the Scripture of God, but as St. *Hierom* ſaith, Writing upon the *Epiſtle to the Galathians*, it is the Scripture of the Devil: And we do not contend with Hereticks for the Scripture, but for the true ſenſe and meaning of the Scripture.

We read of Ceremonies in the Old Teſtament, as the Circumciſion, the Bells and Pomegranates; of *Aaron*'s Apparel, with many other, and kinds of Sacrifices; which all were, as St. *Paul* ſaith unto the *Hebrews*, *Juſtitia Carnis*; and did not inwardly juſtify the Party before God, that objected, in Proteſtation of their Faith in Chriſt to come: And although they had the knowledg of every Fact of Chriſt, which was ſignified particularly by thoſe Ceremonies. And it is evident and plain, that the High Prieſt entred into the inner part of the Temple, (named, *Sanctum Sanctorum*) whereas the People might not follow, nor was it lawful for them to ſtand, but there where they could neither ſee, nor hear, what the Prieſt either ſaid, or did, as St. *Luke* in the firſt Chapter of his Goſpel, rehearſeth in the Hiſtory of *Zachary*.

Upon Conference of theſe two Teſtaments, may be plainly gathered this Doctrine, That in the School of Chriſt, many things may be ſaid and done, the Myſtery whereof the People knoweth not, neither are they bound to know. Which things, that is, that the People did not hear

hear and underſtand the Common Prayer of the Prieſt and Miniſter, it is evident and plain, by the practice of the Ancient *Greek* Church, and that alſo that now is at *Venice*, or elſe-where.

In that *Eaſt* Church, the Prieſt ſtandeth, as it were, in a Travice, or Cloſet, hang'd round about with Curtains, or Vails, apart from the People. And after the Conſecration, when he ſheweth the Bleſſed Sacrament, the Curtains are drawn, whereof *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaketh thus; *Cum Vela videris retrahi, tunc ſuperne Cœlum aperiri cogita*; When thou ſeeſt the Vails, or Curtains drawn open, then think thou that Heaven is open from above.

It is alſo here to be noted, That there is two manners of Prayings, one Publick, another Private; for which cauſe the Church hath ſuch conſiderations of the Publick Prayer, that it deſtroyeth not, nor taketh away the Private Prayer of the People in time of Sacrifice, or other Divine Service; which thing would chance, if the People ſhould do nothing but hearken to anſwer, and ſay, *Amen*. Beſides the impoſſibility of the Matter, whereas, in a great Pariſh, every Man cannot hear what the Prieſt ſaith, though the Material Church were defaced, and he left the Altar of God, and ſtood in the midſt of the People.

Furthermore, If we ſhould confeſs that it were neceſſary to have Common-Prayer in the Vulgar Tongue, theſe two Hereſies would follow upon it; that Prayer profiteth no Man but him that underſtandeth it, and him alſo that is preſent and heareth it; and ſo, by conſequent, void was the Prayer for St. *Peter* in Priſon, by the Church abroad.

Now conſider the Practice of this Realm.

If we ſhould grant the Service to be in Engliſh, we ſhould not have that in the ſame form that it is in now, being in Latin; but be-like we ſhould have that, as it was, of late days. The Matter of which Service is taken out of the *Pſalms*, and other part of the Bible, Tranſlated into Engliſh, wherein are manifeſt Errors, and falſe Tranſlations, which all are by depravation of God's Scripture, and ſo, *verè mendacia*. Now if the Service be ſo fram'd, then may Men well ſay upon us, That we ſerve God with Lyes.

Wherefore we may not ſo travel and labour to alter the form of our Common-Prayer, that we leſe the Fruit of all Prayer, which by this barbarous contention, no doubt, we ſhall do. And the Church of God hath no ſuch cuſtom, as St. *Paul* alledgeth, in ſuch Contentions. And may not the whole World ſay unto us, as St. *Paul* ſaid unto the *Corinthians*, 1 Cor. 14. *An à vobis Verbum Dei proceſſit, aut in vos ſolos pervenit?* As though the whole Church had been ever in Error, and never had ſeen this Chapter of St. *Paul* before: And that the Holy Ghoſt had utterly forſaken his Office, in leading that into all Truth, till now of late, certain, boaſting of the Holy Ghoſt, and the ſincere Word of

of God, hath enterpriſed to correct and overthrow the whole Church.

Auguſtinus, lib. 1. contra *Julianum Pelagium*, *à Græcis pro ſuâ Hereſi profugum, querentem, ad hunc modum, reſpondit: Puto (inquit) tibi eam partem orbis debere ſufficere, in quâ primum Apoſtolorum ſuorum voluit Dominus glorioſiſſimo Martyrio Coronari. Et idem paulo poſt; Te certe (Julianum alloquitur) Occidentalis Terra generavit, Occidentalis Regeneravit Eccleſia. Quid ei quæris inferre, quod in eâ non inveniſti, quando in ejus membra veniſti? Imò, Quid ei quæris auferre, quod in eâ tu quoque accepiſti? Hæc ille.*

A number of Authorities out of the Doctors we could rehearſe, that maketh for the Unity of the Church, and for not diſturbing the quiet Government of the ſame; which all impugn this their firſt Aſſertion by way of Argument. But becauſe they have framed their Aſſertion ſo, that we be compelled to defend the *Negative*, (in the probation whereof, the Doctors uſe not directly to have many words); therefore of purpoſe we leave out a number of the Sayings of the Doctors, (which all, as I ſaid before, would prove this firſt Matter by way of Argument) leſt we ſhould be tedious, and keep you too long in a plain Matter.

And therefore now to conclude, for not changing the Divine Service, and the Miniſtration of the Sacraments from the Learned Tongue (which thing doth make a Schiſm, and a Diviſion between us and the Catholick Church of God) we have brought in the Scripture that doth forbid all ſuch Schiſm. And alſo the Conſent and Cuſtom of the whole Church, which cannot Err, and maketh us bold to ſay as we do; with other things, as ye have heard, for confirmation of the ſame. And in anſwering to the firſt Matter, we intend (God willing) to ſay much more; beſeeching Almighty God ſo to inſpire the Heart of the Queen's Majeſty, and her moſt Honourable Council, with the Nobility of this Realm, and Us that be the Paſtors of the People in theſe Cauſes, that ſo we may diſpoſe of the Service of God, as we may therein ſerve God: And that we do not, by altering the ſaid Service from the Uniform manner of Chriſt's Church, but alſo highly diſpleaſe God, and procure to Us infamy of the World, the Worm of Conſcience, and Eternal Damnation; which God forbid: and grant us Grace to acknowledg, confeſs, and maintain his Truth. *To whom be all Glory.* Amen.

Number

Number 5.

The Declaration of the Proceedings of a Conference begun at Weſtminſter, *the laſt of* March, 1559, *concerning certain Articles of Religion; and the breaking up of the ſaid Conference, by default and contempt of certain Biſhops, Parties of the ſaid Conference.*

THE Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty having heard of diverſities of Opinions in certain Matters of Religion, amongſt ſundry of her loving Subjects; and being very deſirous to have the ſame reduced to ſome Godly and Chriſtian Concord, thought it beſt, by advice of the Lords, and others of her Privy Council, as well for the ſatisfaction of Perſons doubtful, as alſo for the knowledg of the very Truth, in certain Matters of difference, to have a convenient choſen number of the beſt Learned of either Part, and to confer together their Opinions and Reaſons; and thereby to come to ſome good and charitable Agreement. And hereupon, by her Majeſty's Commandment, certain of her ſaid Privy Council, declared this purpoſe to the Arch-biſhop of *York*, being alſo one of the ſaid Privy Council, and required him, that he would impart the ſame to ſome of the Biſhops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them; and that there ſhould be the like number named of the other part; and further alſo declared to him (as then was ſuppoſed) what the Matters ſhould be: and as for the time it was thought upon; and then after certain days paſt, it was ſignified by the ſaid Arch-biſhop, that there was appointed (by ſuch of the Biſhops to whom he had imparted this Matter) eight Perſons; that is to ſay, four Biſhops, and four Doctors, who were content, at the Queen's Majeſty's Commandment, to ſhew their Opinions, and as he termed it, render account of their Faith in thoſe Matters, which were mentioned, and that ſpecially in writing. Although, he ſaid, they thought the ſame ſo determined, as there was no cauſe to diſpute upon them. It was hereupon fully reſolved, by the Queen's Majeſty, with the Advice aforeſaid, that according to their deſire, it ſhould be in writing on both Parts, for avoiding of much alteration in words. And that the ſaid Biſhops ſhould, becauſe they were in Authority of Degree Superiours, firſt declare their Minds and Opinions to the Matter, with their Reaſons, in Writing. And the other number, being alſo eight Men of good degree in Schools, (and ſome having been in Dignity in the Church of *England*) if they had any thing to ſay to the contrary, ſhould the ſame day declare their Opinions in like manner. And ſo each of them ſhould deliver their Writings to the other to be conſidered what were to be improved therein; and the ſame to declare again in Writing at ſome other convenient day; and the like Order to be kept in all the reſt of the Matters.

Ex Chartophylac. Regio.

All this was fully agreed upon with the Arch-biſhop of *York*, and

ſo alſo ſignified to both Parties; and immediately hereupon divers of the Nobility, and States of the Realm, underſtanding that ſuch a Meeting and Conference ſhould be, and that in certain Matters, thereupon the preſent Court of Parliament conſequently following, ſome Laws might be grounded, they made earneſt means to her Majeſty, that the Parties of this Conference might put and read their Aſſertions in the Engliſh Tongue, and that in the preſence of them, the Nobility, and others of her Parliament-Houſe, for the better ſatisfaction, and enabling of their own Judgments to treat and conclude of ſuch Laws, as might depend thereupon. This alſo being thought very reaſonable, was ſignified to both Parties, and ſo fully agreed upon. And the day appointed for the firſt Meeting to be the *Friday* in the Forenoon, being the laſt of *March*, at *Weſtminſter*-Church, where both for good Order, and for Honour of the Conferences by the Queen's Majeſty's Commandment; the Lords and others of the Privy-Council were preſent, and a great part of the Nobility alſo.

And notwithſtanding the former Order appointed and conſented unto by both Parties, yet the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and his Colleagues, alleadging, that they had miſtaken that their Aſſertions and Reaſons ſhould be written, and ſo only recited out of the Book, ſaid, Their Book was not then ready written, but they were ready to Argue and Diſpute, and therefore they would for that time repeat in Speech, that which they had to ſay to the firſt Propoſition.

This variation from the former Order, and ſpecially from that which themſelves had, by the ſaid Arch-biſhop, in Writing before required, (adding thereto the Reaſon of the Apoſtle, that *to contend with Words, is profitable to nothing, but to the ſubverſion of the Hearer*) ſeemed to the Queen's Majeſty ſomewhat ſtrange; and yet was it permitted, without any great reprehenſion, becauſe they excuſed themſelves with miſtaking the Order, and argued, that they would not fail, but put it in writing, and according to the former Order, deliver it to the other Part.

And ſo the ſaid Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and his Colleagues, appointed Dr. *Cole*, Dean of *Pauls*, to be their Utterer of their Minds, who partly by Speech only, and partly by reading of Authorities written; and at certain times being informed of his Colleagues what to ſay, made a declaration of their Meanings and their Reaſons to the firſt Propoſition.

Which being ended, they were asked, by the Privy Council, If any of them had any more to be ſaid? and they ſaid; No. So as then the other part was licenſed to ſhew their Minds, which they did accordingly to the firſt Order, exhibiting all that which they meant, to propound in a Book written. Which, after a Prayer, and Invocation made moſt humbly to Almighty God, for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a Proteſtation alſo to ſtand to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, builded upon the Scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, was diſtinctly read by one *Robert Horn*, Batchelor in Divinity, late Dean of *Dureſm*. And the ſame being ended, (with ſome likelyhood, as it ſeemed, that the ſame was much allowable to the Audience) certain of the Biſhops began

to

to ſay contrary to their former Anſwer, that they had now much more to ſay to this Matter; wherein, although they might have been well reprehended for ſuch manner of cavillation, yet for avoiding any more miſtaking of Orders in this Colloquie, or Conference, and for that they ſhould utter all that which they had to ſay, it was both ordered, and thus openly agreed upon of both Parts, in the full Audience, that upon the *Monday* following, the Biſhops ſhould bring their Minds and Reaſons in Writing, to the ſecond Aſſertion, and the laſt alſo, if they could, and firſt read the ſame; and that done, the other Part ſhould bring likewiſe theirs to the ſame; and being read, each of them ſhould deliver to other the ſame Writings. And in the mean time the Biſhops ſhould put in writing, not only all that which Dr. *Cole* had that day uttered, but all ſuch other Matters, as they any otherwiſe could think of for the ſame; and as ſoon as might poſſible, to ſend the ſame Book, touching the firſt Aſſertion to the other part; and they ſhould receive of them that Writing which Maſter *Horn* had there read that day; and upon *Monday* it ſhould be agreed, what day they ſhould exhibit their Anſwer touching the firſt Propoſition.

Thus both Parts aſſented thereto, and the Aſſembly was quietly diſmiſſed. And therefore upon *Monday* the like Aſſembly began again at the Place and Hour appointed; and there, upon what ſiniſter or diſordered meaning, is not yet fully known, (though in ſome part it be underſtanded) the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and his Colleagues, and ſpecially *Lincoln*, refuſed to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious Order on *Friday*, that which they had prepared for the ſecond Aſſertion; and thereupon, by the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, they being firſt gently and favourably required, to keep the Order appointed, and that taking no place, being ſecondly, as it behoved, preſſed with the more earneſt requeſt, they neither regarding the Authority of that Place, nor their own Reputation, nor the Credit of the Cauſe, utterly refuſed that to do.

And finally, being again particularly every one of them apart, diſtinctly by Name required to underſtand their Opinions therein; they all (ſaving one, which was the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, having ſome more conſideration of Order, and his Duty of Obedience, than the other) utterly and plainly denied to have their Book read, ſome of them as more earneſtly than other ſome, ſo alſo ſome others more indiſcreetly and irreverently than others.

Whereupon giving ſuch Example of Diſorders, Stubbornneſs, and Self-will, as hath not been ſeen and ſuffered in ſuch an Honourable Aſſembly, being of the two Eſtates of this Realm, the Nobilities and Commons, beſides the Perſons of the Queen's Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, the ſame Aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the Godly, and moſt Chriſtian Purpoſe of the Queen's Majeſty made fruſtrate: And afterwards, for the contempt ſo notoriouſly made, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Lincoln*, who have moſt obſtinately diſobeyed, both Common Authority, and varied manifeſtly from their own Order; ſpecially *Lincoln*, who ſhewed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the *Tower* of *London*; and the reſt, ſaving the Abbot

of *Weſtminſter*, ſtand bound to make daily their perſonal appearance before the Council, and not to depart the City of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, until further Order be taken with them for their Diſobedience and Contempt.

N. Bacon, Cuſt. Sigill.
F. Shrewsbury. *F. Bedford.* *Pembrook.* *E. Clynton.*
G. Rogers. *F. Knollys.* *W. Cecill.* *A. Cave.*

Number 6.

An Addreſs made by ſome Biſhops and Divines, to Queen Elizabeth, *againſt the Uſe of Images.*

To the Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

WE knowing your gracious Clemency, and conſidering the neceſſity of the Matter that we have to move, the one doth encourage us, and the other compel us (as before) to make our humble Petition unto your Highneſs, and to renew our former Suit, not in any reſpect of ſelf-will, ſtoutneſs, or ſtriving againſt your Majeſty, (God we take to Witneſs) for with *David*, we confeſs that we are but as *Canes mortui, aut Pulices*, in compariſon. But we do it only for that fear and reverence which we bear to the Majeſty of Almighty God, in whoſe Hands to fall, 'tis terrible; for it lieth in his Power to deſtroy for ever, and to caſt both Body and Soul into Hell Fire. And leſt in giving juſt offence to the little Ones, in ſetting a Trap of Errors for the Ignorant, and digging a Pit for the Blind to fall into, we ſhould not only be guilty of the Blood of our Brethren, and deſerve the wrathful *Væ*, and Vengeance of God, but alſo procure, to our reclaiming Conſciences, the biting Worm, that never dieth, for our endleſs confuſion. For in what thing ſoever we may ſerve your Excellent Majeſty, not offending the Divine Majeſty of God, we ſhall, with all humble Obedience, be moſt ready thereunto, if it be even to the loſs of our Life; for ſo God commandeth of us, Duty requireth of us, and we with all conformity have put in proof. And as God, through your gracious Government, hath delivered unto us innumerable Benefits, which we moſt humbly acknowledg, and with due Reverence daily give him Thanks. So we doubt not, but that of his Mercy He will happily finiſh in your Majeſty that good Work, which of His free Favour He hath moſt graciouſly begun; that following the Examples of the Godly Princes which have gone before, you may clearly purge the polluted Church, and remove all occaſions of Evil. And for ſo much as we have heretofore, at ſundry times, made Petition to your Majeſty concerning the Matter of Images, but at no time exhibited any Reaſons for the removing of the ſame. Now, leſt we ſhould ſeem to ſay much, and prove little, to alleage Conſciences without the Warrant

rant of God, and unreasonably require that, for the which we can give no Reason, we have at this time put in writing, and do most humbly exhibit to your gracious Consideration, those Authorities of the Scriptures, Reasons, and pithy Persuasions, which as they have moved all such our Brethren, as now bear the Office of Bishops, to think and affirm Images not expedient for the Church of Christ; so will they not suffer us, without the great offending of God, and grievous wounding of our own Consciences, (which God deliver us from) to consent to the erecting or retaining of the same in the place of Worshipping; and we trust, and most earnestly ask it of God, that they may also persuade your Majesty, by your Regal Authority, and in the Zeal of God, utterly to remove this Offensive Evil out of the Church of *England*, to God's great Glory, and our great Comfort.

Here follow the Reasons against them, of which I have given a full Abstract in the History, and therefore do not set them down here, for they are very large. The Address concludes in these words.

Having thus declared unto your Highness a few Causes of many, which do move our Consciences in this Matter, we beseech your Highness, most humbly, not to strain us any further, but to consider that God's Word doth threaten a terrible Judgment unto us, if we being Pastors and Ministers in His Church, should assent unto the thing, which in our Learning and Conscience, we are persuaded doth tend to the confirmation of Error, Superstition, and Idolatry; and finally, to the ruine of the Souls committed to our Charge, for the which we must give an account to the Prince of Pastors at the last Day. We pray your Majesty also, not to be offended with this our Plainness and Liberty, which all good and Christian Princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of Godly Bishops. *Heb.* 13. 1 *Pet.* 5.

St. *Ambrose*, writing to *Theodosius* the Emperor, useth these words; *Sed neque Imperiale est libertatem dicendi negare, neque Sacerdotale quod sentiat non dicere.* *Epist. lib.* 5. *Epist.* 29.

And again; *In causa vero Dei quem audies, si Sacerdotem non audies, cujus Majore peccatur periculo? Quis tibi verum audebit dicere, si Sacerdos non audeat?* *Ibidem.*

These, and such-like Speeches of St. *Ambrose*, *Theodosius*, and *Valentinianus*, the Emperors did take in good part; and we doubt not, but your Grace will do the like, of whose, not only Clemency, but also Beneficence, we have largely tasted.

We beseech your Majesty also, in these and such-like Controversies of Religion, to refer the discusement, and deciding of them, to a Synod of the Bishops, and other Godly Learned Men, according to the Example of *Constantinus Magnus*, and other Christian Emperors, that the Reasons of both Parties being examined by them, the Judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful Matters.

And to return to this present Matter; We most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, That besides weighty Causes in Policy, which we leave to the Wisdom of the Honourable Counsellors, the establishing of Images by your Authority, shall not only utterly discredit our Ministeries, as builders of the thing which we have destroyed, but also blemish

blemiſh the Fame of your moſt Godly Brother, and ſuch notable Fathers as have given their Lives for the Teſtimony of God's Truth, who by publick Law removed all Images.

The Almighty and Everliving God, plentifully endue your Majeſty with His Spirit and Heavenly Wiſdom; and long preſerve your moſt gracious Reign, and proſperous Government over us, to the advancement of his Glory, to the overthrow of Superſtition, and to the Benefit and Comfort of all your Highneſſes loving Subjects. Amen.

Number 7.

The Queen's Commiſſions to the Viſitors that were ſent to the Northern Parts.

ELizabetha Dei Gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, Fidei Defenſor, &c. Chariſſimis, Conſanguineis & Conſiliariis noſtris Franciſco Comiti Salop. Domino Præſidenti Conſilii noſtri in partibus Borealibus, & Edwardo Comiti de Darbia, ac chariſſimo Conſanguineo noſtro Thomæ Comiti Northumb. Domino Guardiano ſive cuſtodi Marchiarum noſtrarum de Le Eaſt March, & middle March verſus Scotiam, ac perdilecto & fideli noſtro Willielmo Domino Evers, ac etiam dilectis & fidelibus noſtris Henrico Piercy, Thomæ Gargrave, Jacobo Crofts & Henrico Gates Militibus, necnon dilectis nobis Edwino Sandys Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſori, Henrico Harvy Legum Doctori, Richardo Bowes, Georgio Brown, Chriſtophero Eſtcot, & Richardo Kingſmell Armigeris, Salutem. Quoniam Deus Populum ſuum Anglicanum imperio noſtro ſubjecit, cujus regalis ſuſcepti muneris rationem perfecte reddere non poſſumus, niſi veram religionem & ſincerum numinis divini cultum in omnibus Regni noſtri partibus propagaverimus: Nos igitur regalis & abſolutæ poteſtatis noſtræ, nobis in hoc Regno noſtro commiſſæ, reſpectu, quoniam utrumq; Regni noſtri ſtatum, tam Eccleſiaſticum, quam Laicum viſitare, & certas pietatis ac virtutis regulas illis præſcribere conſtituimus, præfatum Franciſcum Comitem Salop. Edwardum Comitem de Darbia, Thomam Comitem Northumb. Willielmum Dominum Evers, Henricum Piercy, Thomam Gargrave, Jacobum Crofts, Henricum Gates, Milites; Edwinum Sandys, Henricum Harvy, Georgium Brown, Chriſtophorum Eſtcot, Richardum Bowes, & Richardum Kingſmell Armigeros, ad infraſcriptum vice, nomine, & Authoritate noſtris exequendum, vos quatuor, tres aut duo veſtrum ad minimum deputavimus, & ſubſtituimus ad viſitandum igitur, tam in capite, quam in membris Eccleſias Cathædrales, Civitates & Diocæſes Eboracen. Ceſtrenſ. Dunelmen. & Carlionen. necnon quaſcunque alias Collegiatas, Parochiales & Præbendales Eccleſias, ac loca alia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunque, tam exempta, quam non exempta in & per eaſdem Civitates & Diocæſes viſabiliter conſtitutas, Clerumq; & Populum earundem in eiſdem degentes ſive reſidentes; Deque ſtatu Eccleſiarum & locorum hujuſmodi, necnon vita, moribus & converſatione, ac etiam qualitatibus perſonarum in Eccleſiis & locis prædictis degentium, ſive

ſive commorantium modis omnibus, quibus id melius aut efficacius poteritis inquirendum & inveſtigandum: criminoſos, ac ſuſceptæ Religioni ſubſcribere obſtinate & peremptorie recuſantes, vel quocunque alio modo delinquentes; Atq; culpabiles condignis pœnis, etiam uſq; ad beneficiorum, dignitatum, ſive officiorum ſuorum privationem, fructuum vel reddituum, & proventionem Eccleſiarum & Locorum, quibus præſunt, ſequeſtrationem, vel quamcunque aliam congruam & competentem coercionem incluſive puniendam & corrigendam; Atq; ad probatiores vivendi mores modis omnibus, quibus ad melius & efficacius poteritis, reducendum; Teſtamenta quorumcunq; defunctorum infra loca prædicta decedentium probanda, approbanda & informanda, adminiſtrationeſq; bonorum eorundem Executorum in eiſdem teſtamentis nominatis committendum, adminiſtrationeſq; inſuper ac ſequeſtrationes bonorum ab inteſtatis ſive per viam inteſtatorum, etiam deſcendentes in debita juris forma expediendum & concedendum, ac committendum; Computas quoq; tam executorum, quam adminiſtratorum, & ſequeſtratorum quorumcunq; recipiendum, examinandum, admittendum, terminandum: ac inſuper eoſdem executores, adminiſtratores, & ſequeſtratores, omnes & ſingulas acquietandum, relaxandum & finaliter dimittendum, Cauſaſq; quaſcunq; examinandum, audiendum & finaliter terminandum. Contumaces autem, & rebelles, cujuſcunq; conditionis ſive ſtatus fuerint, ſi quos inveneritis, tam per cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas, quam perſonarum apprehenſionem & incarcerationem, ac recognitionem, acceptionem ac quæcunq; alia juris Regni noſtri remedia compeſcendum, necnon injunctiones preſentibus annexas perſonis in eiſdem nominatis nomine noſtro tradendum, aliaſq; injunctiones congruas & competentes vice & authoritate noſtris eis indicendum, dandum & aſſignandum, pœnaſque convenientes in earum violatores infligendum, & irrogandum; Eccleſiis etiam, & alia loca dimiſſorum, vacantia & pro vacantibus habenda fore decernendum & declarandum, penſioneſq; legitimas, congruas & competentes cedentibus vel reſignandis hujuſmodi aſſignandum & limitandum, præſentatoſq; ad beneficia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunq; infra civitates, Eccleſias aut Diocæſes prædictas conſtituta, durante viſitatione noſtra hujuſmodi, ſi habiles fuerint & idonei, ad eadem admittendum, ac de & in eiſdem inſtituendum & inveſtiendum, cum ſuis juribus, & pertinentibus univerſis, eoſq; in realem, actualem & corporalem poſſeſſionem earundem inducendum, & induci faciendum, atque mandandum, necnon clericorum & beneficiatorum quorumcunq; tam pro ordinibus, quam beneficiis per eos adeptis, literas & munimenta exigendum & recipiendum, eaq; diligenter examinandum, & diſcutiendum, & quos non ſufficienter munitos in ea parte comperitis, ab officio dimittendum, & ſic jure munitis declarandum, & pronunciandum. Synodos quoq; & capitula, tam generalia quam ſpecialia, cleri & populi hujuſmodi per executionem premiſſorum aut reformationem quamcunq; faciendum & convocandum: Procurationes quoq; Synodalia ratione noſtræ hujus viſitationis debite petendum, exigendum, & levandum, ac etiam non ſolventes aut ſolvere recuſantes per cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas compellendum, coercendum & cogendum; necnon concionandi poteſtatem hujuſmodi perſonis concedendum, quas ad hoc divinum munus ſuſcipiendum aptas eſſe judicaveritis: Incarceratos quoque, & vinculis commiſſos ob religionis cauſam antea licet condemnatos, cauſis incarcerationis

carcerationis & condemnationis hujuſmodi prius examinatis, & plenarie diſcuſſis,examinandum,diſcutiendum ac in integrum,juſtitia id poſcente, reſtituendum; deliberandum & extra priſonam dimittendum, necnon cauſas deprivationum examinandum, ac contra ſtatuta & ordinationes hujus Regni noſtri Angliæ, vel juris Eccleſiaſtici ordinem deprivatos reſtituendum, ac omnia & ſingula alia, quæ circa hujuſmodi viſitationis ſeu reformationis negotia neceſſaria fuerint,ſeu quomodolibet opportuna, etiamſi verba magis ſpecialia de ſe exigunt & requirunt, faciendum, & expediendum. Vobis quatuor, tribus aut duobus veſtrum, ut præfertur de quorum eminenti doctrina morumque,& Concilii gravitate, ac in rebus gerendis fide & induſtria plurimum confidimus, vices noſtras committimus ac plenam in dicto tenore præſentium concedimus facultatem, cum cujuſlibet congruæ & legitimæ coercionis poteſtate. Et præterea certos viros prudentes, ac pios aſſignandum, & nominandum, per quos de ſtatu rerum inſtruemini & quorum opera preſentes utemini, in omnibus cauſis ad hanc viſitationem noſtram ſpectantibus, quantum vobis convenire videbitur. Iidem viri a vobis Commiſſariis aſſignati plenam poteſtatem habebunt, etiam poſt Commiſſariorum deceſſum, & poſt finitum etiam viſitationis tempus, de omnibus articulis, ordinibus & inſtitutis ejuſdem viſitationis inquirendi, et violatores eorum, cujuſcunq; conditionis fuerint, conveniendi & examinandi ; Et omnes quærelas, quatenus ullum impedimentum aut offenſionem noſtræ viſitationis continebunt,accipiendi & audiendi,& hujuſmodi perſonas, offenſiones, & quærelas Cõmiſſariis noſtris Londini reſidentibus, & ad Eccleſiaſticarum rerum reformationem Delegatis, præſentabunt, & exhibebunt illis viis & modis,quibus hoc convenientiſſime videbunt fieri poſſe. Mandantes omnibus, & ſingulis Majoribus, Vice-comitibus, Juſticiariis ac quibuſcunque aliis officiariis,miniſtris & ſubditis noſtris, quatenus nobis in & circa præmiſſorum executionem effectualiter aſſiſtant,auxilientur, & ſuffragentur, ut inſuper ſagacitatis, diligentiæ, factorumq; veſtrorum omnium evidens & perpetuum ſpecimen nobis, poſteriſq; noſtris remaneat, inventaq; & invenienda pro recordatorum defectu debitam reformationem correctionemve non ſubterfugiant, aut a memoria prolabantur. Nos ſuprema ac regali authoritate noſtra prædicta dilectos, & fideles ſubditos noſtros Thomam Peircy, & Joanem Hoges, & eorum deputatos per Commiſſarios noſtros approbandos, notarios præcipuos per antea legitime exiſtentes, actorum, inſtrumentorum, decretorum, ſummarum, judiciorum, cenſurarum, cæterorumq; omnium, & ſingulorum, quæ per vos, veſtrumve Aliquem in Viſitatione hac noſtra Regia peragentur,judicabuntur, decernentur,fient, ferentur,& pronunciabuntur, Scribas, Regiſtrarios noſtros præcipuos, & principales conjunctim & diviſim ordinamus,nominamus & conſtituimus ; eiſq; officium,& officia Regiſtri Scribat noſtri preſenti, cum omnibus officia prædicta tangentia, eorumq; deputatis per Commiſſarios noſtros approbandis conjunctim & diviſim damus, deputamus, aſſignamus, & decernimus per preſentes. In cujus rei teſtimonium has Literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teſte meipſa apud Weſtmonaſt. 24 die Junii, Anno Regni noſtri primo.

Number

Number 8.

Ten Letters written to, and by Dr. Parker, *concerning his Promotion to the See of* Canterbury.

An Original.

AFter my right-hearty Commendations, these are to signify unto you, That for certain Matters touching your self, which I trust shall turn you to good, I would wish that you should repair hither to *London*, with as convenient speed as you can, where you shall find me at *Burgeny* House in *Pater-Noster Row*, if it be not over-long e're you come. And if it chance that I be returned into *Suffolk* before your coming, then I would you should make your repair unto my Brother-in-Law, Sir *William Cecil*, the Queen's Secretary, declaring unto him, that I appointed you to wait upon him to know his Pleasure touching such Matters as he and I did talk of concerning you. Thus wishing you well to do, I bid you heartily farewel. Ex M. SS. Reverendiſ. D. D. *Gul.* Arch. *Cant.*

Written the 9*th* of *December*, 1558. By,

Yours assuredly,

N. Bacon.

Dr. Parker's *Answer to the former Letter.*

A Copy.

RIght Worshipful, with my thankful Duty of Commendations, hearing of your sickness still to occupy you, I was right-heartily sorry that I molested you with so long a Letter, into which fault, for that I will not fall again at this present, I shall use the fewer words. Sir, If I may know at what time I might, in your return down, wait on your Worship at *Burgeny*, or at *New-Market*, I will, by God's Grace, so appoint my self to be there first, the rather for that I would not give occasion to have your Journey either protracted, or yet diverted out of the right Line thereof. In the mean time I shall beseech God to restore your strength, that ye may the sooner be restored to the Common-Wealth, which in this apparent necessity of worthy Persons, I fear, feeleth God's Hand in this his Visitation to be burdenous. I would wish ye were not much stirring abroad in the distemperance of the Air, so contrarious to the state of Mens Bodies, once pierced with this insolent *Quartane*, as Experience sheweth. I think the Spring-time, as in natural respects, must be expected, though Almighty God be bound to no time. Thus I heartily commend you to his gracious protection, this 20*th* of *December*.

Your most bounden assuredly to command, *M. P.*

A Letter written to him by Secretary Cecil.

An Original.

AFter my hearty Commendations. The Queen's Highneſs minding preſently to uſe your Service in certain Matters of Importance, hath willed me ſo to ſignify unto you, to the end you ſhould forthwith, upon the ſight hereof, put your ſelf in order to make your undelaied repair hither unto *London*; at which your coming up, I ſhall declare unto you her Majeſty's further Pleaſure, and the occaſion why you are ſent for; and hereof praying you therefore in no wiſe to fail, I bid you well to fare.

From *Weſtminſter*, the 30*th* of *December*, 1558.

Your Loving Friend,

W. Cecil.

Another Letter of the Lord Keepers to him.

An Original.

AFter hearty Commendations, theſe are to ſignify unto you, That ye may aſſure your ſelf, that you ſhall have any thing that I can do for you touching the requeſt of your Letters, or any other Matter being in my Power: I do think that ye have received, e're this, a Letter from Mr. Secretary, willing you to come up immediately, if your Health will ſuffer, for certain weighty Matters touching the Queen's Service; ſo as I truſt, by your preſence, all things to your own contentation ſhall come the better to paſs. If this Letter be not come to your Hands, and therewith you be not able to come, it ſhall be behoveful for you to ſignify ſo much, becauſe I have been willed alſo to haſte your coming up. Thus right-heartily fare ye well. Written the 4*th* of *January*, 1558. By,

Yours aſſuredly,

N. Bacon.

Number

Dr. Parker's *Anſwer.*

A Copy.

Right Worſhipful;

AFter my Duty of Commendations. Where of late I received your Letters to this effect, That I ſhould repair up unto you at *London*, upon occaſion, as ye wrote, which may turn me to good, ſo judged by a late Conference with the Right Worſhipful Sir *William Cecil*, Secretary to the Queen's Majeſty, of long time my ſpecial good Friend and Maſter, ye ſhall underſtand that my *Quartane* hath ſo much diſtempered the ſtate of my Health, that without apparent danger, I cannot as yet commit my ſelf to the adventure of the Air, as by divers eſſays I hrve attempted of late, to my greater pain, and further hinderance; whereupon, if your opportunity might ſo ſerve, I would moſt heartily pray your Worſhip to ſignify ſo much. And further, yet in confidence of your old good Heart to me, I would be a Suiter to you, as I was once to Sir *John Cheek*, my entire good Friend, and Patron, to the ſaid Sir *William Cecil*, that where he was deſirous, by his mediation, to do me good, (as here you uſe to call it) even as I was then framed in mind, ſo am I at this day. I would be inwardly heavy and ſorry that his favourable Affection ſhould procure me any thing above the reach of mine Ability, whereby I ſhould both diſhoneſt my ſelf, and diſappoint the expectation of ſuch as may think that in me, which I know is not; but ſpecially I might clog and cumber by Conſcience to Godward, before whom I look every day to appear to make mine Anſwer, which I think, and as I truſt, is not far off: Notwithſtanding though I would moſt fain wear out the reſt of my Life in private ſtate, yet concerning that very ſmall Talent credited unto me, I would not ſo unthankfully to God enſue my quiet, that I could not be content to beſtow it, ſo it were there, whether my Heart and Conſcience afore this time, and daily yet doth incline me: I mean, to be no further abled, but by the Revenue of ſome Prebend, (without charge of Cure, or of Government) to occupy my ſelf to diſpenſe God's Word amongſt the ſimple ſtrayed Sheep of God's Fold, in poor deſtitute Pariſhes and Cures, more meet for my decayed Voice, and ſmall Quality, than in Theatrical and great Audience: which walk, and wiſh I would to be near their Quarters, where we both were born, by occaſion whereof I might have opportunity to wait other-while on you at *Redgrave*, whither I have vowed my firſt Journey, immediately upon my ſtrength recovered, by the occaſion of your friendly Requeſt of your Letters ye ſent me. And if I might be yet bolder with you, as I was with the ſaid Sir *John Cheek*, to diſcloſe my deſire of all Places in *England*, I would wiſh to beſtow moſt my time in the Univerſity, the ſtate whereof is miſerable at this preſent, as I have had intelligence from time to time thereof. And if in any reſpect I could do Service, as a weak Member of the Common-Wealth, I think I might do it with them, having long Acquaintance, and ſome Experience in the Doings thereof; which Judgment had the ſaid Sir *John Cheek* towards me:

And therefore to ſet me on work, had once, by the favour of the ſaid Mr. Secretary, procured to have me named to the Maſterſhip of Trinity College, which yet chanced not to that effect, God otherwiſe determining the Matter in his Providence. But to tell you my Heart, I had rather have ſuch a thing as *Bennet-College* is in *Cambridg*, a Living of twenty Nobles by the Year at the moſt, than to dwell in the Deanry of *Lincoln*, which is 200 at the leaſt. Now Sir, ye may ſee herein, yet my Ambition in writing thus much, but I ſhall pray you to accept the Circumſtances, which ye may better inſinuate to Mr. Secretary, than I dare be bold, by my rude Letters, to moleſt his favourable goodneſs, or yet preſcribe to your, or his Worſhip, Wiſdom and Prudence. In concluſion, at the Reverence of God, I pray you, either help that I be quite forgotten, or elſe ſo appointed, that I be not entangled now of new, with the concourſe of the World, in any reſpect of publick ſtate of living, whereby I ſhall have an unfeigned ſignification of your very good Will to me indeed, and be bound to pray for you during my Life.

Some of your Scholars at *Cambridg*, enjoying the benefit of your liberal Exhibition, have ſent your Worſhip now their Letters, ſome be ſick and abſent.

Thus repriſing the quiet of my Mind, and having good hope in your friendlineſs to the conſideration aforeſaid, I wiſh you a full recovery of your Health, and a continuance in God's Grace and Favour, with all your Family.

Your Beadſman to command,

M. P.

A long Letter of Dr. Parker's, *excuſing himſelf from the Offer of the Arch-biſhoprick of* Canterbury.

An Original.

RIght Honourable, my Duty preſuppoſed. It is an old ſaid Proverb, *Ubi quis dolet ibidem & manum frequenter habet*, beſeeching you, for God's ſake, the rather to bear the importunity of this my hand-writing, ſuppoſing that this may be one of the laſt Solicitations that I ſhall moleſt you with.

Sir, Your ſignification uttered to me at my firſt coming to you at *London*, concerning a certain Office ye named to me, did hold me in ſuch carefulneſs all my time of being there, with the recurring of a dull Diſtemperance, ſet in my Head by the Dregs of my *Quartane*, and as yet not remedied, whereby I had no diſpoſition to my Book; beſide ſome other diſpleaſant Cogitations concerning the ſtate of this Time, made me have ſo little joy of my being at *London*, as I had never leſs in my Life: moſt glad when my Back was turned thereunto. But to come near to my intent of writing, I ſhall pray to God, yea, beſtow

beſtow that Office well, ye ſhall need care the leſs for the reſidue. God grant it chanceth neither on an arrogant Man, neither on a faint-hearted Man, nor on a covetous Man; The firſt ſhall both ſit in his own light, and ſhall diſcourage his Fellows to join with him in Unity of Doctrine, which muſt be their whole ſtrength; for if any heart-burning be betwixt them, if private Quarrels ſtirred abroad be brought home, and ſo ſhall ſhiver them aſunder, it may chance to have that ſucceſs which I fear in the concluſion will follow. The ſecond Man ſhould be too weak to commune with the Adverſaries, who would be the ſtouter upon his puſillanimity. The third Man not worth his Bread, profitable for no Eſtate in any Chriſtian Common-Wealth, to ſerve it rightly.

For my part, I pray God I never fall into his Indignation and Wiſdom; it were not for a Subject to deſerve his Prince's Diſpleaſure, and ſorry would I be to diſcontent Mr. Secretary, and you, for whoſe worſhipful Favours, I count my ſelf more bound to pray to God, and to wiſh well to them for all the Men in the Realm beſide. I ſpeak it ſincerely, without flattery; for though I have little Wit, yet I can diſcern betwixt Men, who delight to be flattered, and who not, though I would not conſider how diſhoneſt it were for me to uſe it. But, Sir, except ye both moderate and reſtrain your over-much good Will in the former reſpect to me-ward, I fear, in the end, I ſhall diſlike you both, and that your Benevolencies ſhould, by occaſion of my obſtinate untowardneſs, jeopard me into Priſon; yet there ſhall I bear you my good Heart, which I had rather ſuffer in a quiet Conſcience, than to be intruded into ſuch Room and Vocation, wherein I ſhould not be able to anſwer the Charge to God, nor to the World, wherein I ſhould not ſerve the Queen's Honour, which I wiſh moſt heartily advanced in all her wiſe and godly Proceedings; nor yet ſhould I live to the Honour of the Realm, and ſo finally ſhould but work a further diſpleaſant contemplation to my good Friends who preferred me.

This, this is the Thing that makes me afraid, my Lord, though I paſſed not on mine own ſhame and rebuke; and therefore, by God's Favour, and your good Helps, I never intend to be of that Order, better or worſe, higher nor lower; *Non omnia poſſumus omnes; & tutiſſimum eſt ut quiſque hanc artem exerceat in qua educatus, & ad quam natura homines formavit.* And as for other Furniſhments, I am too far behind. When I came firſt up to *London*, I had thirty pounds in my Purſe, not ten ſhillings more, whereof I have waſted a good part; and if I were placed, as ſome of my Friends wiſh to me, what would that do to begin, or to furniſh my Houſhold. And I hear how the Citizens of *Norwich* pray for the Soul of their laſt Biſhop, for when upon his departure they ſeized his Goods, to anſwer his Debts to them, ſtraight-way came the Queen's Officers and diſcharged them all, which yet were not able, for all his ſpare Hoſpitality, to pay half that he owed.

Furthermore, to come to another Conſideration, of a further Imperfection, which I would have diſſembled to you and others, but it cannot be, but I muſt open it to you, my aſſured good Maſter and Friend,

Friend, in ſecrecy, whoſe old good Will maketh me the leſs abaſhed, to be ſo homely with you at this time. In one of my Letters, I made a little ſignification of it, but peradventure ye did not mark it. Sir, I am ſo in Body hurt and decayed, *coram Deo non mentior*, that whatſoever my Ability were, either of worldly Furniture, or inward Quality; and though my Heart would right-feign ſerve my Soveraign Lady, the Queen's Majeſty, in more reſpects than of my Allegiance, not forgetting what words her Grace's Mother ſaid to me of her, not ſix days before her apprehenſion, yet this my painful Infirmity, will not ſuffer it in all manner of Services. Flying in a Night, for ſuch as ſought for me, to my peril, I fell off my Horſe ſo dangerouſly, that I ſhall never recover it; and by my late Journey up, and my being there at *London*, not well ſetled, it is increaſed to my greater pain. I am fain ſometime to be idle, when I would be occupied; and alſo to keep my Bed, when my Heart is not ſick.

This was one cauſe why I was importune to you for that room, whereof I made mention in my former Letters, by the which I might be abled, by the portion of that Stipend, in this my Impoveriſhment, to wear out my Life tolerably, and ſhould not by that be occaſioned to come up to any Convocations, as having no Voice in that Houſe; and peradventure being there, I might be a mean for the fewer Matters of diſturbance, to come up to Mr. Secretary, now Chancellor there, to moleſt him, more than ſhould need, whoſe gentle affability might provoke ſome inconſiderate Men not to regard his other greater Affairs. And yet though I were ſo placed, I would not forſwear *London*, or the Court either, at times, as could ſtand with my Ability and Health of Body, if my Service could be any ways acceptable, and were agreeable to the provortion of my Capacity.

Sir, Becauſe I may not diſſemble with you, I have told you all now, do with me what ye will, I might be aſhamed to ſpend ſo many words in a Cauſe private of my ſelf; but yet becauſe ye muſt be Partner of ſome lack, if I anſwered not the expectation, I could no leſs do, but make you privy before-hand. I pray you think not that the Prognoſtication of Mr. *Michael Noſtre Dame* reigneth in my Head. I eſteem that fantaſtical Hotch-potch not ſo well, as I credit *Lucianus* Book, *De veris Narrationibus*; nor yet all other vain Propheſies of *Sands*, more than I regard Sir *Thomas Moor*'s Book of Fortunes Anſwers upon the chance of three Dice caſting. I would I ſaw no more cauſe to fear the likelyhood of God's Wrath deſerved, for diſolute Life, to fall upon the Realm, by the evidence of his true Word, and by God's old practices: and yet no Man conſidereth his ire already begun, *Dum non ſinit viros doloſos dimidiare dies ſuos.* I ſhall pray to God to defend you and your Family, and that ye may revolve in Mind Chriſt's ſerious Admonition, *Quid proderit homini, ſi totum mundum lucretur, ſi animæ ſuæ detrimentum patiatur. Et non in abundantia cujuſquam, eſt vita hominis ex his quæ poſſidet.*

Mat. 16. *Luc.* 11.

Sir, My Duty of Heart maketh me bold with you, not otherwiſe meaning before God, but thanking him many times that Mr. Secretary and you may have the doing of things in this greedy World, and that ye

ye have ſo good credit, and ready acceſs to the Queen's Majeſty, to comfort her good Inclination, whom I beſeech the God of Heaven to preſerve with her Council, yea, and with the Seniority of her Spiritual Miniſters alſo, againſt whom I ſee a great Charge ſet before them, to overcome that, muſt ſpecially go through their hands by diligent watching, upon the unruly Flock of the Engliſh People, if they were not ſo much acloyed with Worldly Collections, Temporal Commiſſions, and Worldly Proviſions. I ſpeak this the rather in this reſpect, which I thought good to put to your underſtanding; At my laſt being at *London*, I heard and ſaw Books printed, which be ſpread abroad, whoſe Authors be Miniſters of good eſtimation; the Doctrine of the one, is to prove, That a Lady Woman cannot be, by God's Word, a Governor in a Chriſtian Realm. And in another Book going abroad, is Matter ſet out to prove, That it is lawful for every private Subject to kill his Sovereign, *ferro, veneno, quocunque modo*, if he think him to be a Tyrant in his Conſcience, yea, and worthy to have his Reward for his Attempt: *Exhorrui cum iſta legerem.* If ſuch Principles be ſpread into Mens Heads, as now they be framed and referred to the Judgment of the Subject, of the Tenant, and of the Servant, to diſcuſs what is Tyranny, and to diſcern whether his Prince, his Landlord, his Maſter, is a Tyrant, by his own fancy, and collection ſuppoſed, What Lord of the Council ſhall ride quietly-minded in the Streets, among deſperate Beaſts? What Maſter ſhall be ſure in his Bed-chamber? It is the ſureſt way for every Man to ſerve God truly in his Vocation, to deſerve the rather his protection: and then both the Devil and Man, Foreign and Inteſtine, ſhall have their Malices retorted upon themſelves again. But thus goeth the Devil about to dull the heretical Stomachs of Princely Men, to do good in their turn of Time, to ſerve God and the Common-Wealth. They ſay that the Realm is full of *Anabaptiſts*, *Arrians*, *Libertines*, *Free-will Men*, &c. againſt whom only I thought Miniſters ſhould have needed to fight in Unity of Doctrine. As for the Romiſh Adverſaries, their Mouths may be ſtopped with their own Books, and Confeſſions of late days; I never dreamed that Miniſters ſhould be compelled to impugn Miniſters; the Adverſaries have good ſport betwixt themſelves, to prognoſtick the likelyhood. Some *Proteſtants* peradventure, perceiving how Men nip them to diſable them, to keep any Learned Men in Houſe to confer with, and to beat down theſe Seditious Sects, if any inconvenience, for want of preaching, ſhall fall, they may chance to ſay a Verſe of *David*'s Pſalter, *Lætabitque juſtus, cum viderit vindictam, & manus ſuas lavabit in ſanguine peccatoris*, as not caring for their Aſſurances, who abaſe them ſo low: and ſome peradventure have caſt already their ſtarting ſhifts, and make Proviſion againſt all Adventures. Well, I pray God all be Conſcience to God, that is ſometimes ſo pretended: Men be Men, yea, after the School of Affliction, Men be Men. Hypocriſie is a privy Thief, both in the Clergy and in the Laity. To make an end of ſuch Conference, which I would gladly have told you preſently, but I could not wait ſo much leiſure in you, and opportunity; and loth I was to have begun my Tale, and not to have ended it, by reaſon of interruption by others. But as for the principal occaſion of my writing, howſoever it may diſlike you, yet ſhall I ever-more acknowledg my Duty to you, yea, though now

ye

ye give me quite up: I reverence you ſo much, that I had rather ye diſliked me utterly by times, with your leſs repentance, rather than ye and other of my loving Friends ſhould bear any envy; or any diſpleaſant unthankfulneſs, and ſo too late to repent for your commending of me, (if a perſwaſion in an appearance, is not ſurely grounded to be ſeen) when Experience ſhould have ſhewed the Trial. And therefore I write it to you in time again, after the ſignification of my very firſt Letters to prevent you, for I know ye may, with a few words, remedy all the towardneſs yet concluded.

And think not, I pray your Honour, that I ſeek mine privat Gain, or my idle eaſe, put me where ye will elſe; and if, as far as my power of Knowledg, and of Health of Body will extend, I do not apply my ſelf to diſcharge my Duty, let me be thruſt out again like a Thief. I thank God my Conſcience condemneth me not, that I have been aforetime any great Gatherer; and now, for the upholding of two or three Years more of Life, to heap unproportionably, I count it madneſs; and more than this purpoſe, by God's Grace, I dare promiſe nothing: And as for ſuch few Folks which I may leave behind me, they ſhall not ſay by me, I truſt, That happy be theſe Children whoſe Fathers go to the Devil for their ſake. Your Lordſhip knoweth with what Patrimony I began the World with, and yet have hitherto lived with enough, yea, when all my Livings were taken from me, yet God, I thank him, miniſtred to me ſufficiently, above the capacity of my underſtanding, or foreſeeing. And thus commending your good Lordſhip to that merciful Governance, I pray your Honourable Wiſdom to put this ſcribling out of the Way, from every Man's ſight and intelligence.

Right Honourable, after my duty of Commendations to your Lordſhip, I am bold now to ſend you a Fancy of my Head, expreſſed in theſe few Leaves; which if I had compact in a Letter, it would have ſeemed over-long, and being compriſed in Leaves, may appear to be but a very little Book of one Sheet of Paper, which yet I ſo deviſed, upon conſideration of your Buſineſs, which will not ſuffer you to be long detained in Matters impertinent, and therefore ye may turn in the Leaf and read it at divers leaſures, if your Lordſhip ſhall vouchſafe the reading. And thus wiſhing you joy of Heart, which I feel to be a great Treaſure in this World, as the want, a grievous torment; I pray God preſerve your Honourable Goodneſs, with my good Lady your Wife. If ye ſee ought in my Quire worth reformation, ye know I am diſciplinable, and have read, *quod meliora ſunt vulnera diligentis, quam fraudulenta oſcula odentis:* Wherefore, reſerving mine unreaſonable determination, as you ſhall know, I ſhall yield my ſelf wholly conformable to your Honour, *ubi, quomodo, quando, aliquid, vel tandem nihil.* Of an Occaſion lately miniſtred, I have ſent my Letters to Mr. Secretary concerning another Matter, *primo Martii.*

Your aſſured Orator.

M. P.

Number

A Letter written to him by the Lord Keeper concerning it.

An Original.

THat before this time I have not ſent you Anſwer to your laſt Letters; the cauſe hath been, for that I could by no mean underſtand to what end the Matter mentioned in thoſe Letters would grow unto; but perceiving this day, by a Reſolution made in the Queen's Highneſs preſence, that your Friends ſhall very hardly deliver you of the Charge written of in the ſame Letters, I thought it good to make you privy thereunto; and therewith to adviſe you, to commit to the Judgment of your Friends, your Ability and Diſability to ſerve, where and when you ſhall be called. If I knew a Man to whom the deſcription made, in the beginning of your Letter, might more juſtly be referred, than to your ſelf, I would prefer him before you; but knowing none ſo meet indeed, I take it to be my duty to prefer you before all others, and the rather alſo, becauſe otherwiſe I ſhould not follow the Advice of your own Letter. The reſt, which is much, I defer until our next meeting. It is like, that e're it be long, you ſhall receive Letters ſubſcribed by me and others jointly. Thus right-heartily farewel. From the Court the 17*th* of *May*, 1559.

Yours aſſuredly,

N. Bacon.

An Order ſent to him, requiring him to come up to London.

AFter our hearty Commendations. Theſe be to ſignify unto you, that for certain Cauſes, wherein the Queen's Majeſty intendeth to uſe your Service, her Pleaſure is, That you ſhould repair up hither with ſuch ſpeed, as you conveniently may; and at your coming up, you ſhall underſtand the reſt. Thus right-heartily fare ye well.

From the Court, the 19*th* of *May*, 1559.

Your loving Friends,

N. Bacon.

W. Cecil.

A ſecond Order to the ſame Effect.

An Original.

AFter our hearty Commendations. Where before this time we directed our Letters unto you, declaring thereby, that for certain Cauſes, wherein the Queen's Majeſty intendeth to uſe your Service, you ſhould repair hither with all convenient ſpeed, whereof we have as yet received none Anſwer. And therefore, doubting leſt by the default of the Meſſenger, the Letter be not come to your hands, we have thought good again to write unto you, to the intent you ſhould underſtand her Hignneſs Pleaſure is, That you ſhould make your repair hither with all ſpeed poſſible. Thus right-heartily farewel. From the Court, the 28*th* day of *May*, 1559.

Your loving Friends,

N. Bacon, C. S.

W. Cecill.

Dr. Parker's *Letter to the Queen, excuſing himſelf.*

An Original.

PLeaſeth it your moſt Honourable Majeſty to be gracious Lady to my poor Suit, which at this time extream neceſſity compelleth me to make, both in reſpect of my conſtrained Conſcience to Almighty God, as alſo in the regard of my Duty which I owe to your noble Eſtate, and moſt high Authority. So it is, moſt gracious and ſoveraign Lady, where I have underſtanding of your moſt favourable Opinion toward me, Your Grace's moſt ſimple Subject, concerning the Arch-biſhoprick of *Canterbury*; In conſideration whereof, I ought, and do acknowledg my moſt bounden Duty to be a faithful Orator for your Grace during my Life. Yet calling to examination my great unworthineſs for ſo high a Function, which mine diſability I might alledge at length in particularity, but for moleſting your Graces moſt weighty Affairs, I am bold thus, by my writing, to approach to your Honour to diſcharge me of that ſo high and chargeable an Office, which doth require a Man of ſo much Wit, Learning, Vertue, and Experience than I ſee, and perfectly know can be performed of me worthily, to occupy it to God's Pleaſure, to Your Grace's Honour, and to the Wealth of your loving Subjects beſide. Many other imperfections in me, as well for temporal Ability for the furniſhing thereof, as were ſeemly to the Honour of the Realm; as alſo of infirmity of Body, which will not ſuffer me to attend on ſo difficult a Cure, to the diſcharge thereof, in any reaſonable expectation. And where, moſt gracious Lady,

Lady, beſide my humble Duty of Allegiance to your Princely Dignity, I am otherwiſe, for the great Benefits which ſometime I received at Your Grace's honourable Mother's Benevolence (whoſe Soul I doubt not but is in bliſsful felicity with God) moſt ſingularly obliged, above many other, to be Your moſt faithful Beadſman, both in thanking Almighty God for his Fatherly Protection hitherto over Your noble Perſon, And alſo furthermore to pray for the continuance of your fortunate Reign in all godly Proſperity. So I am right ſorry, and do lament within my ſelf, that I am ſo baſely qualified inwardly in Knowledg, and outwardly in externe Sufficiencies, to do Your Grace any meet Service, as I would wiſh could be acceptable, and to Your Graces expectation: aſſuring Your noble Eſtate, that in any other ſmaller Vocation, under the degree of ſuch chargeable Offices, and more agreeable to my Infirmity, if it ſhall be ſo ſeem, to Your high Wiſdom, and merciful Liberality, I ſhall endeavour my ſelf to attend thereon; referring yet my ſelf wholly to Your Grace's Pleaſure, rather than by juſt allegation of my unworthineſs, the loyal Duty of my faithful Heart ſhould be any ways ſuſpected to Your reverend Majeſty.

Your Grace's poor Subject,
Matthew Parker.

Number 9.

The Inſtrument of Dr. *Parker's* Conſecration; with ſome Atteſtations of the Authenticalneſs of it.

Rituum atque Ceremoniarum Ordo, in Conſecrando Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patre, Mattheo Parker, Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, in Sacello ſuo apud Manerium ſuum de Lambeth, die Dominico 17. *viz. die Menſis Decembris, Anno Dom.* 1559. *habit.*

PRincipio, Sacellum Tapetibus ad Orientem adornabatur, ſolum vero panno rubro inſternebatur, Menſa quoq; Sacris peragendis neceſſaria, tapeto pulvinariq; ornata ad Orientem ſita erat. Ex MS. Col. C. C. *Cantab.*

Quatuor preterea Cathedræ, quatuor Epiſcopis, quibus munus conſecrandi Archiepiſcopi delegabatur, ad auſtrum Orientalis Sacelli partis erant poſitæ.

Scamnum preterea tapeto pulvinaribuſq; inſtratum, cui Epiſcopi genubus flexis inniterentur, ante Cathedras ponebatur.

Pari quoq; modo Cathedra, ſcamnumq; tapeto pulvinariq; ornatum, Archiepiſcopo, ad Borealem Orientalis ejuſdem Sacelli partis plagam poſita erant.

Hiis rebus ita ordine ſuo inſtructis, Mane circiter quintam aut ſextam per Occidentalem portam ingreditur Sacellum Archiepiſcopus, toga talari coccinea caputioq; indutus, quatuor precedentibus funalibus, & quatuor comitatus Epiſcopis, qui ejus conſecrationi inſervirent (verbi gratia) Gui-

helmo Barlow olim Bathon. & Wellen. Epiſcopo, nunc vero ad Ciceſtren. Epiſcopatum electo, Johanne Scory olim Ciceſtriæ Epiſcopo & nunc ad Herefordenſem vocato, Milone Coverdallo olim Exonienſe Epiſcopo, & Johanne Hodgskinne Bedfordiæ Suffraganeo. Qui omnes poſtquam ſedes ſibi paratas ordine ſinguli ſuo occupaſſent, Preces continuo matutinæ per Andream Pierſon Archiepiſcopi Capellanum clara voce recitabantur; quibus peractis, Johannes Scory (de quo ſupra diximus) ſuggeſtum conſcendit, atque inde aſſumpto ſibi, in themà, *Seniores ergo* qui in vobis ſunt obſecro conſenior, &c. non ineleganter concionabatur.

Finita concione, egrediuntur ſimul Archiepiſcopus reliquique quatuor Epiſcopi Sacellum, ſe ad ſacram communionem paraturi, neque mora confeſtim per borealem portam in veſtiarum ad hunc modum veſtiti redeunt. Archiepiſcopus nimirum linteo ſuperpelliceo (quod vocant) induebatur. Ciceſtrenſis electus, capa ſerica ad ſacra peragenda paratus utebatur. Cui miniſtrabant operamq; ſuam prebebant duo Archiepiſcopi Capellani, Nicholaus, viz. Bullingham Lincolniæ Archidiaconus, & Edmundus Geſt Cantuarienſis quoq; Archidiaconus, capis ſericis ſimiliter veſtiti. Hereford electus & Bedford Suffraganeus, linteis ſuperpelliceis induebantur.

Milo vero Coverdallus non niſi toga lanea talari utebatur.

Atque hunc in modum veſtiti & inſtructi ad communionem celebrandam perrexerunt, Archiepiſcopo genubus flexis ad infimum Sacelli gradum ſedente.

Finito tandem Evangelio, Hereforden. Electus, Bedfordiæ Suffraganeus & Milo Coverdallus (de quibus ſupra) Archiepiſcopum coram Ciceſtren. electo apud menſam in Cathedra ſedenti hiis verbis adduxerunt; Reverende in Deo Pater, hunc virum pium pariter atq; doctum tibi offerimus atq; preſentamus, ut Archiepiſcopus conſecretur. Poſtque hæc dixiſſent, proferebatur illico Reginæ diploma ſive mandatum pro conſecratione Archiepiſcopi, quo per Reverendum Thomam Yale Legum Doctorem perlecto, Sacramentum de Regio Primatu ſive ſuprema ejus authoritate tuenda juxta Statuta 1. An. Regni Sereniſſimæ Reginæ noſtræ Elizabeth. promulgata ab eodem Archiepiſcopo exigebatur, quod cum ille ſolemniter tactis corporaliter ſacris Evangeliis conceptis verbis preſtitiſſet, Ciceſtrenſ. electus quædam præfatus atque populum ad orationem hortatus, ad Litanias decantandas Choro reſpondente ſe accinxit. Quibus finitis, poſt quæſtiones aliquot Archiepiſcopo per Ciceſtrien. electum propoſitas, & poſt orationes & ſuffragia quædam juxta formam Libri antedicti Parliamenti editi, apud Deum habita, Ciceſtrienſis, Herefordienſis, Suffraganeus Bedfordienſis & Milo Coverdallus, manibus Archiepiſcopo impoſitis. Accipe (inquiunt *Anglicè*) Spiritum Sanctum, & gratiam Dei quæ jam per impoſitionis manuum in te eſt excitare memento. Non enim timoris, ſed virtutis, dilectionis & ſobrietatis ſpiritum dedit nobis Deus. His ita dictis, Biblia Sacra illi in manibus tradiderunt hujuſmodi apud eum verba habentes; In legendo, hortando, & docendo vide diligens ſis, atque ea meditare aſſidue quæ in hiſce Libris ſcripta ſunt, noli in his ſegnis eſſe quo incrementum inde proveniens omnibus innoteſcat & palam fiat. Cura quæ ad te & ad docendi munus ſpectant diligenter. Hoc enim modo non teipſum ſolum, ſed & reliquos Auditores tuos per Jeſum Chriſtum Dominum

Dominum noſtrum ſalvabis. Poſtquam hæc dixiſſent, ad reliqua communionis ſolennia pergit Ciceſtrenſis, nullum Archiepiſcopo tradens paſtorale baculum : cum quo communicabant una Archiepiſcopus, & illi Epiſcopi ſupra nominati cum aliis etiam nonnullis.

Finitis tandem peratiſque ſacris, egreditur per borealem orientis Sacelli partis portam Archiepiſcopus quatuor illis comitatus Epiſcopis qui eum conſecraverant, & confeſtim iiſdem ipſis ſtipatus Epiſcopis per eandem revertitur portam albo Epiſcopali ſuperpelliceo, crimeraque (ut vocant) ex nigro ſerico indutus, circa collum vero collare quoddam ex pretioſis pellibus ſabellinis (vulgo *Sables* vocant) conſutum geſtabat. Pari quoque modo Ciceſtrenſis & Herefordenſis, ſuis Epiſcopalibus amictibus, ſuperpelliceo ſcilicet & crimera uterque induebatur. D. Coverdallus vero & Bedfordiæ Suffraganeus togis ſolummodo talaribus utebantur. Pergens deinde Occidentalem portam verſus Archiepiſcopus Thomæ Doyle Economo, Johanni Baker Theſaurario, & Johanni Marche computo Rotulario, ſingulis ſingulos Albos dedit Baculos, hoc ſcilicet modo eis muneribus & officiis ſuis ornans.

Hiis itaque hunc ad modum ordine ſuo, ut jam ante dictum eſt, peractis, per occidentalem portam Sacellum egreditur Archiepiſcopus generoſioribus quibuſque ſanguine ex ejus familia eum precedentibus, reliquis vero eum a tergo ſequentibus.

Acta geſtaque hæc erunt omnia in præſentia Reverendorum Epiſcoporum, Edmundi Gryndall Londinenſis Epiſcopi electi, Richardi Cockes Elienſis electi, Edwini Sandes Wigornienſis electi, Anthonii Huſe Armigeri, Principalis & Primarii Regiſtrarii dicti Archiepiſcopali, Thomæ Argal Armigeri Regrarii Ciceſtriæ Prerogativæ Cantuarienſis, Thomæ Willet, & Johannis Incent Notariorum publicorum, & aliorum quoque nonnullorum.

Concordat cum Originali in Bibliotheca Collegii Corp. Chriſti apud Cantabrigienſ.
Ita teſtor Matth. Whinn Notarius Public. & Acad. Cantabr. Regiſtrarius Principalis.

Jan. 8. 1674.

Cambridg, Jan. 11. 1674.

WE whoſe Names are hereunto ſubſcribed, having ſeen the Original, whereof this Writing is a perfect Copy, and conſidered the Hand, and other Circumſtances thereof, are fully perſuaded that it is a true and genuine Record, of the Rites and Ceremonies of Arch-Biſhop *Parker*'s Conſecration, and as ancient as the Date it bears. In Witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſet our Hands, the Day and Year above written.

Hen. Paman Orat. Publicus.
Hen. More D. D.
Ra. Widdrington S. T. D. & D. Marg. P.

C. C. C. C.

WE the Maſter and Fellows of *Corpus Chriſti* College, in the Univerſity of *Cambridg*, do hereby declare and certify, That this Writing, being a Narrative of Arch-biſhop *Parker*'s Conſecration, in *Lambeth* Chappel, is faithfully tranſcribed from the Original Record in our College Library: and that we are fully ſatisfied that the ſaid Record is as ancient as the Date it bears, and the occaſion to which it doth refer. Nor can we doubt, but the plain and evident Tokens of Antiquity which it carries, will as much ſatisfy any ingenuous Perſons who ſhall have a ſight thereof: Which therefore we ſhall readily afford to thoſe who ſhall repair to the College for that purpoſe.

John Spencer, D. D. Maſter of the Coll.
John Peckover, B. D.
Eraſmus Lanc, B. D.
Ri. Sheldrake, B. D.
Sam. Beck, B. D.
Hen. Goſtling, B. D.
Will. Briggs, M. A.
John Richer, M. A.

Number 10.

An Order ſet down for the Tranſlating of the Bible, by King *James*.

Ex MS. D. *Borlace.*

The Places and Perſons agreed upon for the Hebrew, *with the particular Books by them undertaken.*

Weſtminſter.	Mr. Dean of *Weſtminſter*. Mr. Dean of *Pauls*. Mr. Doctor *Saravia*. Mr. Doctor *Clark*. Mr. Doctor *Leifield*. Mr. Doctor *Teigh*. Mr. *Burleigh*. Mr. *King*. Mr. *Tompſon*. Mr. *Beadwell*.	*Penteteuchon*. The Story from *Joſhua* to the firſt Book of *Chronicles*, excluſive.

Cambridg.

Cambridg.	Mr. *Lively.* Mr. *Richardſon.* Mr. *Chatterton.* Mr. *Dillingham.* Mr. *Harriſon.* Mr. *Andrews.* Mr. *Spalding.* Mr. *Burge.*	From the firſt of the *Chronicles*, with the reſt of the Story, and the *Hagiographi*, viz. *Job*, *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Canticles*, *Eccleſiaſtes.*
Oxford.	Doctor *Harding.* Dr. *Reynolds.* Dr. *Holland.* Dr. *Kilbye.* Mr. *Smith.* Mr. *Brett.* Mr. *Fairclough.*	The four, or greater Prophets, with the *Lamentations*, and the twelve leſſer Prophets.
Cambridg.	Doctor *Dewport.* Dr. *Branthwait.* Dr. *Radclife.* Mr. *Warde*, Eman. Mr. *Downes.* Mr. *Boyes.* Mr. *Warde*, Reg.	The Prayer of *Manaſſes*, and the reſt of the *Apochrypha.*

The Places and Perſons agreed upon for the Greek, *with the particular Books by them undertaken.*

Oxford.	Mr. Dean of *Chriſt-Church.* Mr. Dean of *Wincheſter.* Mr. Dean of *Worceſter.* Mr. Dean of *Windſor.* Mr. *Savile.* Dr. *Perne.* Dr. *Ravens.* Mr. *Havinet.*	The four Goſpels. *Acts of the Apoſtles.* *Apocalyps.*
Weſtminſter.	Dean of *Cheſter.* Dr. *Hutchinſon.* Dr. *Spencer.* Mr. *Fenton.* Mr. *Rabbet.* Mr. *Sanderſon.* Mr. *Dakins.*	The Epiſtles of St. *Paul.* The Canonical Epiſtles.

The

C. C. C. C.

WE the Maſter and Fellows of *Corpus Chriſti* College, in the Univerſity of *Cambridg*, do hereby declare and certify, That this Writing, being a Narrative of Arch-biſhop *Parker*'s Conſecration, in *Lambeth* Chappel, is faithfully tranſcribed from the Original Record in our College Library: and that we are fully ſatisfied that the ſaid Record is as ancient as the Date it bears, and the occaſion to which it doth refer. Nor can we doubt, but the plain and evident Tokens of Antiquity which it carries, will as much ſatisfy any ingenuous Perſons who ſhall have a ſight thereof: Which therefore we ſhall readily afford to thoſe who ſhall repair to the College for that purpoſe.

John Spencer, D. D. Maſter of the Coll.
John Peckover, B. D.
Eraſmus Lanc, B. D.
Ri. Sheldrake, B. D.
Sam. Beck, B. D.
Hen. Goſtling, B. D.
Will. Briggs, M. A.
John Richer, M. A.

Number 10.

An Order ſet down for the Tranſlating of the Bible, by King *James*.

Ex MS. D. *Borlace.*

The Places and Perſons agreed upon for the Hebrew, *with the particular Books by them undertaken.*

Weſtminſter.	Mr. Dean of *Weſtminſter*. Mr. Dean of *Pauls*. Mr. Doctor *Saravia*. Mr. Doctor *Clark*. Mr. Doctor *Leifield*. Mr. Doctor *Teigh*. Mr. *Burleigh*. Mr. *King*. Mr. *Tompſon*. Mr. *Beadwell*.	*Penteteuchon.* The Story from *Joſhua* to the firſt Book of *Chronicles*, excluſive.

Cambridg.

Cambridg.	Mr. *Lively.*	From the first of the *Chronicles*, with the rest of the Story, and the *Hagiographi*, viz. *Job*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Canticles*, *Ecclesiastes*.
	Mr. *Richardson.*	
	Mr. *Chatterton.*	
	Mr. *Dillingham.*	
	Mr. *Harrison.*	
	Mr. *Andrews.*	
	Mr. *Spalding.*	
	Mr. *Burge.*	
Oxford.	Doctor *Harding.*	The four, or greater Prophets, with the *Lamentations*, and the twelve lesser Prophets.
	Dr. *Reynolds.*	
	Dr. *Holland.*	
	Dr. *Kilbye.*	
	Mr. *Smith.*	
	Mr. *Brett.*	
	Mr. *Fairclough.*	
Cambridg.	Doctor *Dewport.*	The Prayer of *Manasses*, and the rest of the *Apochrypha*.
	Dr. *Branthwait.*	
	Dr. *Radcliffe.*	
	Mr. *Warde*, Eman.	
	Mr. *Downes.*	
	Mr. *Boyes.*	
	Mr. *Warde*, Reg.	

The Places and Persons agreed upon for the Greek, *with the particular Books by them undertaken.*

Oxford.	Mr. Dean of *Christ-Church.*	The four Gospels. *Acts of the Apostles.* *Apocalyps.*
	Mr. Dean of *Winchester.*	
	Mr. Dean of *Worcester.*	
	Mr. Dean of *Windsor.*	
	Mr. *Savile.*	
	Dr. *Perne.*	
	Dr. *Ravens.*	
	Mr. *Harriner.*	
Westminster.	Dean of *Chester.*	The Epistles of St. *Paul.* The Canonical Epistles.
	Dr. *Hutchinson.*	
	Dr. *Spencer.*	
	Mr. *Fenton.*	
	Mr. *Rabbet.*	
	Mr. *Sanderson.*	
	Mr. *Dakins.*	

The

The Rules to be obſerved in Tranſlation of the Bible.

1. THe ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the *Biſhops Bible*, to be followed, and as little altered, as the Truth of the Original will permit.

2. The Names of the Prophets, and the Holy Writers, with the other Names of the Text, to be retained, as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly uſed.

3. The old Eccleſiaſtical Words to be kept, *viz.* the word *Church* not to be tranſlated *Congregation*, &c.

4. When a Word hath divers ſignifications, that to be kept which hath been moſt commonly uſed by the moſt of the Ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the Propriety of the Place, and the Analogy of the Faith.

5. The diviſion of the Chapters to be altered, either not at all, or as little as may be, if neceſſity ſo require.

6. No Marginal Notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* words, which cannot, without ſome circumlocution, ſo briefly and fitly be expreſt in the Text.

7. Such Quotations of Places to be marginally ſet down, as ſhall ſerve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.

8. Every particular Man of each Company, to take the ſame Chapter, or Chapters, and having tranſlated, or amended them ſeverally by himſelf, where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what ſhall ſtand.

9. As any one Company hath diſpatched any one Book in this manner, they ſhall ſend it to the reſt, to be conſidered of ſeriouſly and judiciouſly, for his Majeſty is very careful in this Point.

10. If any Company, upon the review of the Book ſo ſent, doubt or differ upon any Place, to ſend them word thereof; note the Place, and withal ſend the Reaſons; to which if they conſent not, the difference to be compounded at the General Meeting, which is to be of the chief Perſons of each Company at the end of the Work.

11. When any Place of ſpecial obſcurity is douted of, Letters to be directed, by Authority, to ſend to any Learned Man in the Land, for his judgment of ſuch a Place.

12. Letters to be ſent from every Biſhop, to the reſt of his Clergy, admoniſhing them of this Tranſlation in hand; and to move and charge, as many as being skilful in the Tongues; and having taken pains in that kind, to ſend his particular Obſervations to the Company, either at *Weſtminſter*, *Cambridg*, or *Oxford*.

13. The Directors in each Company, to be the Deans of *Weſtminſter* and *Cheſter* for that Place; and the King's Profeſſors in the *Hebrew* or *Greek* in either Univerſity.

14. Theſe Tranſlantions to be uſed, when they agree better with the Text than the Biſhops Bible, *viz.* *Tindoll's.* *Matthews.* *Coverdale's.* *Whitchurch's.* *Geneva.*

15. Beſides

15. Beſides the ſaid Directors before mentioned, three or four of the moſt Ancient and Grave Divines, in either of the Univerſities, not employed in Tranſlating, to be aſſigned by the Vice-Chancellor, upon conference with reſt of the Heads, to be Overſeers of the Tranſlations, as well *Hebrew* as *Greek*; for the better obſervation of the 4*th* Rule above ſpecified.

Number 11.

A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion, ſet out by the Order of both Arch-biſhops, Metropolitans, and the reſt of the Biſhops, for the Unity of Doctrine to be taught and holden of all Parſons, Vicars, and Curats, as well in teſtification of their common Conſent in the ſaid Doctrine, to the ſtopping of the mouths of them that go about to ſlander the Miniſters of the Church, for diverſity of Judgment: as neceſſary for the inſtruction of their People, to be read by the ſaid Parſons, Vicars, and Curats, at their Poſſeſſion-taking, or firſt entry into their Cures. And alſo after that, yearly, at two ſeveral times; that is to ſay, the Sundays *next following* Eaſter-*day, and* St. Michael *the Arch-Angel, or on ſome other* Sunday, *within one month after thoſe Feaſts, immediately after the Goſpel.*

FOraſmuch as it appertaineth to all Chriſtian Men, but eſpecially to the Miniſters and the Paſtors of the Church, being Teachers and Inſtructers of others, to be ready to give a Reaſon of their Faith, when they ſhall be thereunto required: I for my part now appointed your Parſon, Vicar, or Curat, having before my Eyes the Fear of God, and the Teſtimony of my Conſcience, do acknowledg for my ſelf, and require you to aſſent to the ſame.

I.

Firſt; That there is but one living and true God, of infinite Power, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs; the maker and preſerver of all Things. And that in Unity of this God-head, there be three Perſons of one Subſtance, of equal Power and Eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

II.

I believe alſo whatſoever is contained in the Holy Canonical Scriptures. In the which Scriptures are contained all things neceſſary to Salvation; by the which alſo, all Errors and Hereſies may ſufficiently

be reproved and convicted; and all Doctrine and Articles, neceſſary to Salvation, eſtabliſhed. I do alſo moſt firmly believe and confeſs all the Articles contained in the Three Creeds; The *Nicene* Creed, *Athanaſius* Creed, and our common Creed, called, the *Apoſtles Creed*; for theſe do briefly contain the principal Articles of our Faith, which are at large ſet forth in the Holy Scriptures.

III.

I do acknowledg alſo that Church to be the Spouſe of Chriſt, wherein the Word of God is truly taught, the Sacraments orderly miniſtred, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution, and the Authority of the Keys duly uſed. And that every ſuch particular Church, hath authority to inſtitute, to change, clean to put away Ceremonies, and other Eccleſiaſtical Rites, as they be ſuperfluous, or be abuſed; and to conſtitute other, making more to ſeemlineſs, to Order, or Edification.

IV.

Moreover, I confeſs, That it is not lawful for any Man to take upon him any Office or Miniſtry, either Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, but ſuch only as are lawfully thereunto called by their High Authorities, according to the Ordinances of this Realm.

V.

Furthermore, I do acknowledg the Queen's Majeſty's Prerogative and Superiority of Government of all Eſtates, and in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal, within this Realm, and other her Dominions and Countries, to be agreeable to God's Word, and of right to appertain to her Highneſs, in ſuch ſort as is in the late Act of Parliament expreſſed, and ſithence by her Majeſty's Injunctions declared and expounded.

VI.

Moreover, touching the Biſhop of *Rome*, I do acknowledg and confeſs, that by the Scriptures, and Word of God, he hath no more Authority than other Biſhops have in their Provinces and Dioceſſes: And therefore the Power which he now challengeth, that is, to be the Supream Head of the Univerſal Church of Chriſt, and ſo to be above all Emperors, Kings, and Princes, is an uſurped Power, contrary to the Scriptures and Word of God, and contrary to the Example of the Primitive Church; and therefore is, for moſt juſt Cauſes, taken away and aboliſhed in this Realm.

VII.

Furthermore, I do grant and confeſs, That the Book of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Holy Sacraments, ſet forth by the Authority

Authority of Parliament, is agreeable to the Scriptures, and that it is Catholick, Apoſtolick, and moſt for the advancing of God's Glory, and the edifying of God's People; both for that it is in a Tongue that may be underſtanded of the People, and alſo for the Doctrine and Form of Adminiſtration contained in the ſame.

VIII.

And although, in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, there is neither Exorciſm, Oil, Salt, Spittle, or hallowing of the Water now uſed; and for that they were of late Years abuſed, and eſteemed neceſſary. Where they pertain not to the ſubſtance and neceſſity of the Sacrament, they be reaſonably aboliſhed, and yet the Sacrament full and perfectly miniſtred, to all Intents and Purpoſes, agreeable to the Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt.

IX.

Moreover, I do not only acknowledg, that Private Maſſes were never uſed amongſt the Fathers of the Primitive Church; I mean, publick Miniſtration, and receiving of the Sacrament by the Prieſt alone, without a juſt number of Communicants, according to Chriſt's ſaying, *Take ye, and eat ye*, &c. But alſo that the Doctrine that maintaineth the Maſs to be a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead, and a mean to deliver Souls out of Purgatory, is neither agreeable to Chriſt's Ordinance, nor grounded upon Doctrine Apoſtolick. But contrary-wiſe, moſt ungodly and moſt injurious to the precious Redemption of our Saviour Chriſt, and his only-ſufficient Sacrifice offered once for ever, upon the Altar of the Croſs.

X.

I am of that mind alſo, That the Holy Communion, or Sacrament, of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, for the due obedience to Chriſt's Inſtitution, and to expreſs the virtue of the ſame, ought to be miniſtred unto the People under both kinds. And that it is avouched by certain Fathers of the Church, to be a plain Sacrilege to rob them of the Myſtical Cup, for whom Chriſt hath ſhed his moſt precious Blood, ſeeing he himſelf hath ſaid, *Drink ye all of this.* Conſidering alſo, That in the time of the Ancient Doctors of the Church, as *Cyprian*, *Hierom*, *Auguſtine*, *Gelaſius*, and others, ſix hundred Years after Chriſt, and more, both the Parts of the Sacrament were miniſtred to the People.

Laſt of all.

As I do utterly diſallow the extolling of Images, Reliques, and feigned Miracles; and alſo all kind of expreſſing God Inviſible, in the form of an Old Man, or the Holy Ghoſt in form of a Dove; and all other vain worſhipping of God, deviſed by Man's fantaſy; beſides, or contrary

contrary to the Scriptures; As wandring on Pilgrimages, ſetting up of Candles, praying upon Beads, and ſuch-like Superſtition; which kind of Works, have no promiſe of Reward in Scripture, but contrary-wiſe, Threatnings and Maledictions: So I do exhort all Men to the Obedience of God's Law, and to the Works of Faith, as Charity, Mercy, Pity, Alms, devout and fervent Prayer, with the affection of the Heart, and not with the Mouth only; Godly Abſtinence and Faſting, Chaſtity, Obedience to the Rulers and Superior Powers, with ſuch-like Works, and Godlineſs of Life commanded by God in his Word; which, as St. *Paul* ſaith, *hath Promiſes both of this Life, and of the Life to come; and are Works only acceptable in God's ſight.*

Theſe things, above-rehearſed, though they be appointed by common Order, yet do I, without all compulſion, with freedom of Mind and Conſcience, from the bottom of my Heart, and upon moſt ſure perſuaſion, acknowledg to be true and agreeable to God's Word. And therefore I exhort you all, of whom I have Cure, heartily and obediently to embrace and receive the ſame; That we all joining together in unity of Spirit, Faith, and Charity, may alſo at length be joined together in the Kingdom of God, and that through the Merits and Death of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all Glory and Empire, now and for ever. *Amen.*

Imprinted at *London*, in *Paul*'s Church-Yard, by *Richard Jugge*, Printer to the Queen's Majeſty.

Cum Privilegio Regiæ Majeſtatis.

Number

*Number 12.

Sir *Walter Mildmay*'s Opinion, concerning the keeping of the Queen of Scots (*October* 26. 1569.) at *Windſor* Caſtle.

An Original.

The Queſtion to be conſidered on, is, Whether it be leſs perilous to the Queen's Majeſty, and the Realm, to retain the Queen of Scots in England, *or to return her home into* Scotland?

IN which Queſtion, theſe things are to be conſidered. On the one ſide, What Dangers are like to follow if ſhe be retained here; and thereupon, if ſo avoiding of them, it ſhall be thought good to return her, then what Cautions and Proviſions are neceſſary to be had.

On the other ſide, are to be weighed the Dangers like to follow if ſhe be returned home; and thereupon, if for eſchewing of them, it ſhall be thought good to retain her here, then what Cautions and Proviſions are in that Caſe neceſſary.

Dangers in retaining the Queen of Scots.

Her unquiet and aſpiring Mind, never ceaſing to practiſe with the Queen's Subjects. Her late practice of Marriage between the Duke of *Norfolk* and her, without the Queen's knowledg. The Faction of the Papiſts, and other Ambitious Folks, being ready and fit Inſtruments for her to work upon. The Commiſeration that ever followeth ſuch as be in miſery, though their Deſerts be never ſo great. Her cunning and ſugred entertainment of all Men that come to her, whereby ſhe gets both Credit and Intelligence. Her practice with the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, being more near to her in *England*, than if ſhe were in *Scotland*; and their continual ſollicitation of the Queen for her delivery, the denial whereof may breed War. The danger in her eſcaping out of Guard, whereof it is like enough ſhe will give the Attempt. So as remaining here, ſhe hath time and opportunity to practiſe and nouriſh Factions, by which ſhe may work Confederacy, and thereof may follow Sedition and Tumult, which may bring peril to the Queen's Majeſty and the State. Finally, it is ſaid, That the Queen's Majeſty, of her own diſpoſition, hath no mind to retain her, but is much unquieted therewith, which is a thing greatly to be weighed.

Cautions if ſhe be returned.

To deliver her into the Hands of the Regent, and the Lords now governing in *Scotland*, to be ſafely kept. That ſhe meddle not with the State, nor make any alteration in the Government, or in Religion. That by ſufficient Hoſtages it may be provided, that neither any Violence be uſed to her Perſon, nor that ſhe be ſuffered to govern again, but live privately, with ſuch honourable Entertainment as is meet for the King of *Scots* Mother. That the League Offenſive and Defenſive, between *France* and *Scotland*, be never renewed. That a new and perpetual League be made between *England* and *Scotland*, whereby the Queen's Majeſty may ſhew an open Maintenance and Allowance of the King's Authority and Eſtate, and of the preſent Government, ſo as the *Scots* may wholly depend on her. That the Regent, and the Lords of *Scotland*, do make no compoſition with the *Scots* Queen, neither ſuffer her to marry, without conſent of the Queen's Majeſty. That the Faults whereof ſhe hath been accuſed, and her declining and delaying to Anſwer that Accuſation, may be publiſhed to the World, the better to diſcourage her Factious Party, both here and in *Scotland*.

Dangers in returning Her.

The manner how to deliver her Home, with the Queen's Majeſty's Honour and Safety, is very doubtful. For if ſhe be delivered in Guard, that came hither free, and at liberty, how will that ſtand with the Queen's Honour, and with the Requeſts of the French and Spaniſh Kings, that have continually ſollicited her free delivery, either into *Scotland* or *France*; or if ſhe die in Guard, either violently or naturally, her Majeſty ſhall hardly eſcape ſlander. If, again, ſhe be delivered home at Liberty, or if being in Guard ſhe ſhould eſcape, then theſe Perils may follow.

The ſuppreſſing of the preſent Government in *Scotland*, now depending upon the Queen's Majeſty, and advancing of the contrary Faction depending upon the French. The alteration of Religion in *Scotland*. The renewing of the League, Offenſive and Defenſive, between *France* and *Scotland*, that hath ſo much troubled *England*. The renewing of her pretended Claim to the Crown of this Realm. The likelyhood of War to enſue between *France*, *Scotland*, and Us, and the bringing in of Strangers into that Realm to our annoyance, and great charge, as late Experience hath ſhewed. The ſupportation that ſhe is like to have of the French and Spaniſh Kings. And though Peace ſhould continue between *England* and *Scotland*, yet infinite injuries will be offered by the Scots Queen's Miniſters upon the Borders, which will turn to the great hurt of the Queen's Majeſty's Subjects, or elſe to her greater Charges to redreſs them; for the change of the Government in *Scotland*, will change the Juſtice which now is had, unto all Injury and Unjuſtice. The likelyhood ſhe will revoke the Earl *Bothwell*, now her Huſband, though unlawful, as it is ſaid, a Man of moſt

moſt evil and cruel Affection to this Realm, and to his own Countrymen: Or, if ſhe ſhould marry another that were a-like Enemy, the Peril muſt needs be great on either ſide.

And albeit to theſe Dangers may be generally ſaid, That ſuch Proviſion ſhall be made, by Capitulations with her, and by Hoſtages from the Regent, and the Lords of *Scotland*, as all theſe Perils ſhall be prevented.

To that may be anſwered.

That no Fact which ſhe ſhall do here in *England* will hold, for ſhe will alleage the ſame to be done in a Foreign Country, being reſtrained of Liberty. That there is great likelyhood of eſcape, whereſoever ſhe be kept in *Scotland*; for her late eſcape there, ſheweth, how ſhe will leave no way unſought to atchieve it; and the Country being, as it is, greatly divided, and of nature marvellouſly Factious, ſhe is the more like to bring it to paſs. Or if the Regent, by any practice, ſhould yield to a compoſition, or finding his Party weak, ſhould give over his Regiment, Then what aſſurance have we, either of Amity or Religion. That the Regent may be induced to do this, appeareth by his late ſecret Treaty with the Duke of *Norfolk*, for her Marriage, without the Queen's Majeſty's knowledg. And though the Regent ſhould perſevere conſtant, yet if he ſhould be taken away directly, or indirectly, (the like whereof is ſaid, hath been attempted againſt him) then is all at large, and the Queen of Scots moſt like to be reſtored to her Eſtate, the Factions being ſo great in *Scotland*, as they are; ſo as the Caſe is very tickle and dangerous to hang upon ſo ſmall a Thread, as the Life of one Man, by whom it appeareth the whole at this preſent is contained.

And touching the Hoſtages, though that Aſſurance might be good to preſerve her from Violence in *Scotland*, yet it may be doubted how the ſame will be ſufficient to keep her from eſcaping or governing again, ſeeing, for her part, ſhe will make little Conſcience of the Hoſtages if ſhe may prevail; and the puniſhing of the Hoſtages, will be a ſmall ſatisfaction to the Queen's Majeſty for the Troubles that may enſue. And for the doubt of her eſcape, or of Rebellion within this Realm, it may be ſaid, That if ſhe ſhould not be well guarded, but ſhould be left open to practiſe, then her Eſcape, and the other Perils, might be doubted of; but if the Queen's Majeſty hold a ſtricter hand over her, and put her under the Care of a faſt and circumſpect Man, all practice ſhall be cut from her, and the Queen's Majeſty free from that Peril. And more ſafe it is for the Queen to keep the Bridle in her own Hand, to reſtrain the Scotiſh Queen, than in returning her home, to commit that truſt to others, which by Death, Compoſition, or abuſing of one Perſon, may be diſappointed.

And if ſhe ſhould by any means recover her Eſtate, the doubt of Rebellion there, is not taken away, but rather to be feared, if ſhe have ability to her Will. And if ſhe find ſtrength, by her own or Foreign Friends, ſhe is not far off to give Aid, upon a main Land, to ſuch as will ſtir for her; which, ſo long as ſhe is here, they will for-

bear, leſt it might bring moſt Peril to her ſelf, being in the Queen's Hands. The like reſpect, no Doubt will move Foreign Princes to become Requeſters, and no Threatners, for her delivery.

And where it is ſaid, That the Queen's Majeſty cannot be quiet ſo long as ſhe is here, but it may breed danger to her Majeſty's Health. That is a Matter greatly to be weighed, for it were better to adventure all, than her Majeſty ſhould inwardly conceive any thing to the danger of her Health. But as that is only known to ſuch as have more inward Acquaintance with her Majeſty's diſpoſition, than is fit for ſome other to have. So again, it is to be thought, that her Majeſty being wiſe, if the Perils like to follow, in returning her Home, were laid before her; and if ſhe find them greater than the other, ſhe will be induced eaſily to change her Opinion, and thereby may follow to her Majeſty's great ſatisfaction and quietneſs.

Cautions if ſhe be retained.

To remove her ſomewhat nearer the Court, at the leaſt within one days Journey of *London*, whereby it ſhall be the more eaſy to underſtand of her Doings.

To deliver her in cuſtody to ſuch as be thought moſt ſound in Religion, and moſt void of Practice.

To diminiſh her number, being now about forty Perſons, to the one half, to make thereby the Queen's Charges the leſs, and to give her the fewer means of Intelligence.

To cut from her all Acceſs, Letters and Meſſages, other than ſuch as he that ſhall have the Charge ſhall think fit.

To ſignify to all Princes, the occaſion of this ſtreight Guard upon her, to be her late practice with the Duke of *Norfolk*, which hath given the Queen cauſe to doubt: further aſſuring them, that ſhe ſhall be uſed honourably, but kept ſafely from troubling the Queen's Majeſty, or this State.

That ſhe be retained here, until the Eſtate of *Scotland* be more ſetled, and the Eſtate of other Countries now in garboil, be quieted, the Iſſue whereof is like to be ſeen in a Year or two.

Number

Number 12.

A Letter written by the Earl of Leiceſter, *to the Earl of* Suſſex, *concerning the Queen of* Scots; *taken from the firſt Draught of it, written with his own hand.*

MY good Lord, I received your Letter in the anſwer of mine; and though I have not written ſooner again to your Lordſhip, both according to your deſire, and the neceſſity of our Caſes at this time; yet I doubt not but you are fully advertiſed of her Majeſty's Pleaſure otherwiſe. For my own part, I am glad your Lordſhip hath proſpered ſo well in your Journey, and have anſwered, in all Points, the good Opinion conceived of you. Ex M. SS. Nob. D. *Evilin.*

And touching her Majeſty's further Reſolution, for theſe Cauſes, my Lord, I aſſure you, I know not well what to write. Firſt, I ſee her Majeſty willing and deſirous, as Reaſon is, to work her own Security, and the quietneſs of her State, during her time, which I truſt in God ſhall be far longer than we ſhall live to ſee end of. And herein, my Lord, there be ſundry Minds, and among our ſelves, I muſt confeſs to your Lordſhip, we are not fully agreed which way is beſt to take. And to your Lordſhip, I know I may be bold, beſide the Friendſhip I owe you, the Place you hold preſently, doth require all the underſtanding that may be, to the furtherance of her Majeſty's good Eſtate; wherefore I ſhall be the bolder even to let you know as much as I do, and how we reſt among us.

Your Lordſhip doth conſider, for the State of *Scotland*, her Majeſty hath thoſe two Perons, being divided, to deal with, the Queen of *Scotland*, lately by her Subjects deprived, and the young King her Son Crown'd and ſet up in her Place. Her Majeſty, of theſe two, is to chuſe, and of neceſſity muſt chuſe which of them ſhe will allow and accept, as the Perſon ſufficient to hold the principal Place. And here groweth the Queſtion in our Council to her Majeſty, Which of theſe two are moſt fit for her to maintain and join in Amity with? To be plain with your Lordſhip, The moſt in number do altogether conceive her Majeſty's beſt and ſureſt way is, to maintain and continue the young King in this his Eſtate, and thereby to make her whole Party in *Scotland*, which by the ſetling of him, with the cauſe of Religion, is thought moſt eaſieſt, moſt ſafeſt, and moſt probable for the perpetual quieting and benefit to her own Eſtate, and great aſſurance made of ſuch a Party, and ſo ſmall Charges thereby, as her Majeſty may make account to have the like Authority, and aſſured Amity in *Scotland*, as heretofore ſhe had in the time of the late Regent.

The Reaſons againſt the other, are theſe ſhortly.

The Title that the Queen claimeth to this Crown: The overthrow of Religion in that Country: The impoſſibility of any aſſurance for the obſerving of any Pact or Agreement made between our Soveraign and

and her. Theſe be Cauſes your Lordſhip ſees ſufficient to diſſuade all Men from the contrary Opinion. And yet, my Lord, it cannot be denied, upon indifferent looking into the Matter on both ſides, but the cleareſt is full enough of Difficulties. And then, my Lord, is the Matter diſputable; and yet I think verily, not for Argument-ſake, but even for Duty and Conſcience-ſake, to find out Truth, and ſafeſt means for our Soveraign's beſt doing. And thus we differ. The firſt you have heard touching the young King.

On the other ſide, this it is thought, and of theſe I muſt confeſs my ſelf to your Lordſhip to be one: And God is my Judg, whether it be for any other reſpect in this World, but that I ſuppoſe, and verily believe it may prove beſt for her Majeſty's own quietneſs during her time.

And here I muſt before open to your Lordſhip indeed her Majeſty's true State ſhe preſently ſtands in; which, though it may be granted the former Advice the better way, yet how hardly it layeth in her Power to go thorow withal, you ſhall eaſily judg. For it muſt be confeſſed, That by the taking into her protection the King and the Faction, ſhe muſt enter into a War for it: And as the leaſt War being admitted, cannot be maintained without great Charge: ſo ſuch a War may grow, *France* or *Spain* ſetting in foot, as may cauſe it to be an intollerable War. Then being a War, it muſt be Treaſure that muſt maintain it. That ſhe hath Treaſure to continue any time in War, ſurely, my Lord, I cannot ſee it: And as your Lordſhip doth ſee the preſent Relief for Mony we truſt upon, which either failing us, or it riſing no more than I ſee it like to be, not able long to laſt; Where is there further hope of help hereafter? For my own part I ſee none. If it be ſo, then, my Lord, that her Majeſty's preſent eſtate is ſuch as I tell you, which I am ſure is true; How ſhall this Counſel ſtand with ſecurity, by taking a Party to enter into a War, when we are no way able to maintain it; for if we enter into it once, and be driven, either for Lack, or any other way, to ſhrink, what is like to follow of the Matter, your Lordſhip can well conſider; the beſt is, we muſt be ſorry for that we have done, and per-chance ſeek to make a-mends, where we neither would nor ſhould. This is touching the preſent State we ſtand in. Beſides we are to remember what already we have done; how many ways, even now together, the Realm hath been univerſally burdened.

Firſt, For the keeping of new Bands, after the furniſhing of Armour; and therein how continually the Charge ſooner hath grown, than Subſidies paid.

And laſtly, the marvellous Charge in moſt Countries againſt the late Rebellion, with this Loan of Mony now on the neck of it. Whether this State doth require further cauſe of impoſition, or no, I refer to your Lordſhip? And whether entring into a further Charge than her Majeſty hath preſently wherewithal to bear, it will force ſuch a Matter or no, I refer to wiſer to judg.

And now, my Lord, I will ſhew you ſuch Reaſons as move me to think as I do. In Worldly Cauſes, Men muſt be governed by Worldly Policies; and yet ſo to frame them, as God, the Author of all, be chiefly regarded. For him we have received Laws, under which all Mens Policies and Devices ought to be ſubject; and through his Ordinance,

Ordinance, the Princes on the Earth have Authority to give Laws; by which alſo, all Princes have the Obedience of the People. And though in ſome Points, I ſhall deal like a Worldly Man for my Prince, yet I hope I ſhall not forget that I am a Chriſtian, nor my Duty to God.

Our Queſtion is this; Whether it be meeter for our Soveraign to maintain the young King of *Scotland*, and his Authority; or upon Compoſition, reſtore the Queen of *Scots* into her Kingdom again? To reſtore her ſimply, we are not of Opinion, for ſo I muſt confeſs a great over-ſight, and doubt no better Succeſs, than thoſe that do Object moſt Perils thereby to enſue. But if there be any Aſſurances in this World to be given, or any Proviſion by Worldly Policy to be had, then, my Lord, I do not ſee but Ways and Means may be uſed with the Queen of *Scots*, whereby her Majeſty may be at quiet, and yet delivered of her preſent great Charge. It is granted and feared of all ſides, that the cauſe of any trouble or danger to her Majeſty, is the Title the Queen of *Scotland* pretends to the Crown of this Realm. The Danger we fear ſhould happen by her, is not for that ſhe is Queen of *Scotland*, but that other, the great Princes of Chriſtendom do favour her ſo much, as in reſpect of her Religion, they will in all Cauſes aſſiſt her; and ſpecially, by the colour of her Title, ſeem juſtly to aid and relieve her, and the more lawfully take her and her Cauſes into their Protection. Then is the Title granted to be the chief Cauſe of Danger to our Soveraign. If it be ſo, Whether doth the ſetting up the Son in the Mothers Place, from whence his Title muſt be claimed, take away her Title in the Opinion of thoſe Princes, or no, notwithſtanding ſhe remain Priſoner? It appeareth plainly, No; for there is continual Labour and Means made, from the greateſt Princes, our Neighbours, to the Queen's Majeſty, for reſtoring the Queen of *Scotland* to her Eſtate and Government, otherwiſe they proteſt open Relief and Aid for her. Then though her Majeſty do maintain the young King in his preſent Eſtate, yet it appears that other Princes will do the contrary: And having any advantage, how far they will proceed, Men may ſuſpect. And ſo we muſt conceive, that as long as this Difference ſhall continue, by the maintaining of theſe two, ſo long ſhall the ſame Cauſe remain, to the trouble and danger of the Queen's Majeſty. And now to avoid this whilſt ſhe lives, What better Mean is there to take this Cauſe away, but by her own conſent, to renounce and releaſe all ſuch Intereſt or Title as ſhe claimeth, either preſently or hereafter, during the Life of her Majeſty, and the Heirs of her Body. Albeit, here may two Queſtions be moved.

Firſt, Whether the *Scots* Queen will renounce her Title, or no?

Secondly, If ſhe will do ſo, What Aſſurance may ſhe give for the performance thereof?

To the firſt, It is moſt certain ſhe hath, and preſently doth offer, wholly and frankly, to releaſe and renounce all manner of Claims and Titles, whatſoever they be, to the Crown of this Realm, during her Majeſty's Life, and the Heirs of her Body.

And for the ſecond; She doth likewiſe offer all manner of Security and Aſſurances that her Majeſty can deviſe, and is in that Queen's poſſible Power to do, ſhe excepteth none.

Then

Then muſt we conſider what may be Aſſurances, for here is the difficulty. For that Objections be that Princes never hold promiſes longer than for their own Commodity; and what Security ſoever they put in, they may break if they will. All this may be granted; but yet that we muſt grant alſo, that Princes do daily Treat and deal one with another; and of neceſſity are forced to truſt to ſuch Bonds and Aſſurances as they contract by. And as there is no ſuch Surety to be had in Worldly Matters, but all are ſubject to many Caſualties; yet we ſee ſuch Devices made, even among Princes, as doth tie them to perform that, which if they might conveniently chuſe, they would not. And in this Matter of the Queen of *Scotland*, ſince ſhe doth offer both to leave the Cauſe of the Difference that is between the Queen's Majeſty and her; and alſo to give all Surety that may be by our ſelves deviſed to obſerve the ſame; I do not ſee but ſuch means may be deviſed to tie her ſo ſtrongly, as though ſhe would break, yet I cannot find what advantage ſhe ſhall get by it. For beſide, that I would have her own ſimple Renunciation to be made by the moſt ſubſtantial Inſtrument that could be deviſed. The aſſent of ſome others ſhould confirm the ſame alſo. Her own Parliaments at home ſhould do the like with the full Authority of the whole Eſtates. They ſhould deliver her Son, and ſuch other principal Noblemen of her Realm for Hoſtages, as the Queen's Majeſty ſhould name. She ſhould alſo put into her Majeſty's Hands, ſome one piece or two of her Realm, and for ſuch a time as ſhould be thought meet by her Majeſty, except *Edinburgh*. The Queen's Majeſty might alſo, by ratifying this by a Parliament here, make a Forfeiture, if the Queen of *Scotland* ſhould any way, directly or indirectly, go about to infringe this agreement of all ſuch Titles and Claims that did remain in the Queen of *Scotland*, after her Majeſty and her Iſſue, never to be capable of any Authority or Soveraignty within this Realm. Theſe I would think to be ſufficient Bonds to bind any Prince, ſpecially no mightier than ſhe is. And this much more would I have, that even as ſhe ſhall be thus bound, for the relief of her Title to the Queen's Majeſty and her Iſſue; So ſhall ſhe ſuffer the Religion received and eſtabliſhed in *Scotland* already, to be confirmed, and not altered. In like ſort, the Amity between theſe two Realms, to be ſuch, and ſo frankly united, as no other League with any Foreign Prince, ſhould ſtand in force to break it. For I think verily, as the firſt is chiefeſt touching her Majeſty's own Perſon, ſo do I judg the latter, I mean, the continuation of the Religion already there received, to be one of the aſſuredſt and likelieſt means to hold her Majeſty a ſtrong and continual Party in *Scotland*. The trial hereof hath been already ſufficient, when her Majeſty had none other Intereſt at all, but only the maintenance of the True Religion, the ſame Cauſe remaining ſtill the ſame Affection in the ſame Perſons that do profeſs it, I truſt, and it is like, will not change. And though the *Scots* Queen ſhould now be ſetled in her Kingdom again, yet is ſhe not like to be greater or better eſteemed now than heretofore, when both her Authority was greater, and her good will ready to alter this Religion, but could not bring it to paſs. No more is it like theſe further Proviſions being taken, ſhe ſhall do it now. And the laſt Cauſe alſo is not without great hope of ſome good Succeſs; for as the oppreſſion of Strangers heretofore had utterly

wearied

wearied them of that Yoke, ſo hath this peaceable time, between them and us, made them know the Liberty of their own, and the Commodity of us their Neighbours.

This, my Lord, doth lead me to lean to this Opinion, finding thereby rather both more ſurety, and more quietneſs, for my Sovereign's preſent time, having, by the contrary, many occaſions of trouble cut off, and the intolerable Charge eſchewed, which I cannot find by any poſſible means, her Majeſty able to ſuſtain for any long time.

Thus haſtily I am driven to end my long cumberſome Letter to your Lordſhip, though very deſirous to impart my mind herein to your Lordſhip.

Number 13.

The Bull of Pope *Pius* the Fifth, Depoſing Queen *Elizabeth*; abſolving her Subjects from the Oaths of Allegiance, and Anathematiſing ſuch as continued in their Obedience.

Pius Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad futurum rei memoriam.

REgnans in Excelſis, cui data eſt omnis in Cœlo, & in Terra Poteſtas, unam Sanctam, Catholicam, & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, extra quam nulla eſt Salus, uni ſoli in Terris, videlicet Apoſtolorum Principi Petro, Petriq; Succeſſori Romano Pontifici in poteſtatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum ſuper omnes gentes, & omnia Regna Principem conſtituit, qui evellat, deſtruat, diſperdat, plantet & edificet: ut fidelem populum mutuæ charitatis nexu conſtrictum, in unitate Spiritus contineat, ſalvumq; & incolumem ſuo exhibeat Salvatori. Quo quidem in munere obeundo nos ad prædictæ Eccleſiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni opere contendentes, ut ipſa Unitas & Catholica Religio (quam illius autor ad probandum ſuorum fidem, & correctionem noſtram, tantis procellis conflictare permiſit) integra conſervetur. Poteſtas Petri.

Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluit, ut nullus jam in Orbe locus ſit relictus, quem illi peſſimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint, adnitente inter cæteros flagitiorum Serva Elizabetha prætenſa Angliæ Regina, ad quam, veluti ad aſylum, omnium infeſtiſſimi profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem Regno occupato, Supremi Eccleſiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, ejuſq; præcipuam autoritatem atq; Juriſdictionem monſtroſe ſibi uſurpans, Regnum ipſum jam tum ad fidem Catholicam & bonam frugem reductum, rurſus in miſerum exitium revocavit. Uſu namq; veræ Religionis, quam ab illius deſertore Henrico Octavo olim everſam, claræ memoriæ Maria Regina legitima, hujus ſedis præſidio reparaverat, potenti manu inhibito, Secutiſq; & amplexis Hæreticorum Elizabethæ Flagitia.

erroribus, Regium Conſilium ex Anglica Nobilitate confectum diremit, illudq; obſcuris hominibus Hereticis complevit; Catholicæ Fidei cultores oppreſſit, improbos Concionatores, atq; impietatum adminiſtros repoſuit; Miſſæ Sacrificium, Preces, Jejunia, Ciborum delectum, Cœlibatum, Rituſq; Catholicos abolevit: libros manifeſtam Hæreſim continentes, toto Regno proponi, impia myſteria, & inſtituta ad Calvini præſcriptum a ſe ſuſcepta, & obſervata, etiam a ſubditis ſervari mandavit: Epiſcopos, Eccleſiarum Rectores, & alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, ſuis Eccleſiis & Beneficiis ejicere, ac de illis, & aliis rebus Eccleſiaſticis, in Hæreticos homines diſponere, deque Eccleſiæ cauſis decernere auſa, Prelatis, Clero & Populo, ne Romanam Eccleſiam agnoſcerent, neve ejus præceptis Sanctionibuſque Canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit; pleroſque in nefarias leges ſuas venire, & Romani Pontificii autoritatem, atque obedientiam abjurare, ſeque ſolam in Temporalibus & Spiritualibus Dominam agnoſcere, jurejurando coegit: pœnas & ſupplicia eis, qui dicto non eſſent audientes, impoſuit, caſdemq; ab iis, qui in unitate fidei & predicta obedientia perſeverarunt, exegit: Catholicos Antiſtites & Eccleſiarum Rectores in vincula conjecit; ubi multi diuturno languore & triſtitia confecti, extremum Vitæ diem miſere finierunt.

Neceſſitas Pontificem ad judicium impellens.

Quæ omnia cum apud omnes Nationes perſpicua & notoria ſint, & graviſſimo quamplurimorum teſtimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excuſationis, defenſionis, aut tergiverſationis relinquatur: Nos multiplicatis aliis atque aliis ſuper alias impietatibus & facinoribus, & præterea fidelium perſecutione, religioniſque afflictione, impulſu & opera dictæ Elizabethæ, quotidie magis ingraveſcente; quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus, ut non modo pias Catholicorum Principum, de ſanitate & converſatione preces, monitioneſque contempſerit, ſed ne hujus quidem ſedis ad ipſam hac de Cauſa Nuncios in Angliam trajicere permiſerit; ad arma juſtitiæ contra eam de neceſſitate converſi, dolorem lenire non poſſumus, quod adducamur in illam animadvertere, cujus majores de Rep. Chriſtiana tantopere meruere.

Illius itaq; autoritate ſuffulti, qui nos in hoc ſupremo Juſtitiæ Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, declaramus prædictam Elizabetham Hæreticam, & Hæreticorum fautricem, eique adherentes in predictis, anathematis ſententiam incurriſſe, eſſeque a Chriſti Corporis unitate præſciſos: Quin etiam ipſam prætenſo Regni prædicti jure, necnon omni & quorumque Dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam: Et item proceres, ſubditos & populos dicti Regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt a Juramento hujuſmodi, ac omni prorſus dominii, fidelitatis, & obſequii debito, perpetuo abſolutos, prout nos illos præſentium authoritate abſolvimus, & privamus eandem Elizabetham prætenſo jure Regni, aliiſque omnibus ſupradictis. Præcipimuſque & interdicimus Univerſis & ſingulis Proceribus, Subditis, Populis & aliis prædictis; ne illi, ejuſve monitis, mandatis, & legibus audeant obedire: Qui ſecus egerint, eos ſimili Anathematis ſententia innodamus. Quia vero difficile nimis eſſet preſentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre; Volumus ut earum exempla, Notarii Publici manu, & Prelati Eccleſiaſtici, ejuſve Curiæ

Sententiæ Declaratio.

Curiæ Sigillo obſignata, eandem illam prorſus fidem in judicio & extra illud ubique gentium faciant, quam ipſæ preſentes facerent, ſi eſſent exhibitæ, vel oſtenſæ.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ Milleſimo quingenteſimo Sexageſimo Nono. Quinta Kalend. Martii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno Quinto.

Cæ. Glorierius.

H. Humyn.

A N

APPENDIX

Concerning ſome of the

Errors and Falſhoods

I N

SANDER's Book

OF THE

Engliſh Schiſm.

APPENDIX

AN APPENDIX.

IT has been obſerved of Theeves, that by a long practice in that ill courſe of Life, they grow ſo in love with it, that when there is no Advantage to be made by Stealing, yet they muſt keep their Hand in uſe, and continue their addreſs and dexterity in it: ſo alſo Lyars, by a frequent Cuſtom, grow to ſuch a habit, that in the commoneſt things, they cannot ſpeak Truth, even though it might conduce to their Ends more than their Lyes do. *Sanders* had ſo given himſelf up to vent Reproaches and Lyes, that he often does it for nothing, without any End, but to carry on a Trade, that had been ſo long driven by him, that he knew not how to lay it down. He wrote our Hiſtory, meerly upon the Reports that were brought him, without any care or information about the moſt publick and moſt indifferent Things: but not content to ſet down thoſe Tattles, he ſhews his Wit in refining about them, and makes up ſuch Politicks and Schemes of Government, as might ſuit with thoſe Reports, and agree with his own Malice. His Work is all of a piece, and as it was made out in the former Volume, how ignorantly and diſingeniouſly he writ concerning King *Henry* the Eighth's Reign; ſo I ſhall add a further Diſcovery of the remaining parts of his Book, which will ſufficiently convince, even the moſt partial Readers, of the impudence of that Author; who ſeems to have had no other deſign in writing, but to impoſe on the credulity and weakneſs of thoſe, who he knew were inclined to believe every thing that might caſt blemiſhes on a Work, againſt which they were ſo ſtrongly prejudiced, as the Reformation of this Church: ſince a Field which they ſo often reaped, and with whoſe Spoils their Court was ſo enriched, was no more at their Devotion. So they are ever ſince concerned in Intereſt to uſe all the ways they can think on, to diſgrace a Change that was ſo fatal to them. But as the Reformation of this Church has hitherto ſtood, notwithſtanding all their Deſigns againſt it; ſo it is to be hoped, that the Hiſtory of it will be hereafter better underſtood, notwithſtanding all the Libels and Calumnies by which they have endeavoured to repreſent it, in ſuch black and odious Colours to the World.

Sanders ſays, 'King *Edward* was in the *9th* Year of his Age when he 'came to the Crown. *Page* 176.

This is of no great conſequence, but it ſhews how little this Author conſidered what he writ, when in ſo publick a thing as the King's Age, he miſreckons a Year, for he was born the *12th* of *October* 1537; ſo in *January* 1547, he was in the *10th* Year of his Age.

2. He ſays, 'King *Edward* was not only declared King of *England*, 'and *Ireland*, but made *Supream Head of the Church*; and upon that 'runs *Ibid.*

'runs out, to ſhew how uncapable a Child was of that Power.

This is ſet down in ſuch terms, as if there had been ſome ſpecial Act made for his being *Supream Head of the Church*, diſtinct from his being proclaimed King, whereas there was no ſuch thing; for the Supremacy being annexed to the Crown, the one went with the other: and it being but a Civil Power, might be as well exerciſed by the King's Governors, before he came to be of Age, as the other Rights of the Crown were.

Pag. 177. 3. He ſays, 'The Earl of *Hartford* was made by himſelf Duke of '*Somerſet*.

This was done by order of the whole Council, in purſuance of King *Henry*'s Deſign, proved by thoſe Witneſſes that were beyond exception: and that King having by his Will charged his Executors to fulfil thoſe things which he intended to do, this was found to be one of them.

Pag. 178. 4. He ſays, 'The Duke of *Somerſet* made himſelf the only Gover-'nor of the King, and Protector; none daring to oppoſe it openly, 'but *Wriotheſley*, whom King *Henry*, when he was dying, had made 'Lord Chancellor.

The Protector was advanced to that Dignity, by the unanimous conſent of the whole Council; to which the Lord Chancellor conſented, and ſigned the Order about it, the Original whereof is yet extant; for though he argued againſt it before it was done, yet he joined with the reſt in doing it: Nor was he made Chancellor by King *Henry* at his Death, but two Years before.

Ibid. 5. He ſays, 'On the 27*th* of *February*, two days before the King 'was crowned, the Protector perſuaded the King to create many 'new Peers; who were all Hereticks, except *Dudley* Earl of *War-'wick*.

Our Author, by this ſhew of Exactneſs, would perſuade the Reader, that he had conſidered Dates, and the ſmalleſt particulars, with the care that became an Hiſtorian: But he little thought that any would come after him, and examine what he ſaid. By this Account the King muſt have been crowned the firſt of *March*, but it was done *Feb.* 20. and the Peers were created on the 16*th* of *February*, four days before. They were not all Hereticks, for he forgot that *Wriotheſley* was at the ſame time made Earl of *Southampton*, which he afterwards inſinuates was done upon another account. But all thoſe Creations, were in perſuance of King *Henry*'s Deſigns, and in obedience to his latter Will.

Ibid. 6. He ſays, 'They forced *Wriotheſley* to reſign his Office, and turned 'both him, and the Earl of *Arundel*, out of the Council, becauſe they 'were Catholicks.

Wriotheſley was turned out upon no account of Religion, but for putting the Great Seal to a Commiſſion, that was againſt Law, (according to the Opinion which the Judges declared under their hands) without any Warrant from the Council; himſelf acknowledging the juſtice of the Sentence. The Earl of *Arundel* was not turned out of the

the Council; on the contrary, in the Patent by which the Protector held his Office, that paſſed after the Chancellor was removed, he is named to be one of the Privy-Council.

7. He ſays, 'The Protector would needs force all the Clergy to ſub- *Pag.* 179.
'mit in every thing to the King's Orders; and ſets down the Form in
'which the King writ to Arch-biſhop *Cranmer*.

In this nothing was done, but what was begun by King *Henry*, and to which all the Clergy, even his beloved *Bonner* not excepted, had formerly ſubmitted. So this was no new thing ſet up by the Protector, it being only the renewing the Biſhops Patents in the new King's Name: And this was no part of the Reformation, for it was done only to awe the Popiſh Biſhops, but was ſoon after laid aſide. What he ſets down as a Letter of King *Edward*'s to *Cranmer*, is the Preamble of the Patent he took out. So little did this Writer know the things that truly make to the advantage of the Cauſe, which he deſigned to aſſert.

8. He ſays, 'The New Protector, among the firſt things he did, re- *Page* 180.
'ſtrained all Preaching, and ſilenced all the Biſhops and Paſtors: ſo
'that none were licenſed to preach, but the *Lutherans* and *Zuing-*
'*lians*.

The firſt Injunctions ſet out in the King's Name, required all Biſhops to preach at leaſt four times a Year, in their Dioceſſes; and to keep Learned Chaplains who might be able to preach, and ſhould be often much employed in it. And thus Matters ſtood the firſt Year of this Reign: In the beginning of the ſecond Year, upon complaints made of the raſhneſs of ſome Preachers, a Proclamation was put out, that none ſhould preach without a Licenſe from the King, or the Arch-biſhops, or the Biſhop of the Dioceſs; except Incumbents in their own Pariſhes. Afterwards there was, for ſome little time, a total prohibition of Preaching, but that was to laſt for a ſhort while, till the Book of Common-Prayer, which was then a preparing, ſhould be finiſhed. This was equally made on both hands; for the Prohibition was univerſal, without exception: ſo falſly has our Author ſtated this Matter; which one would think he ignorantly drew from what Queen *Mary* did, applying it to this Reign; for ſhe, upon her coming to the Crown, did prohibit all Preaching, excepting only ſuch as were licenſed to it by *Gardiner*, under the Great Seal.

9. He ſays, '*Latimer* was turned out of the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, *Pag.* 181.
'by King *Henry*, upon ſuſpicion of Hereſy.

Latimer did freely reſign his Biſhoprick, upon the paſſing of the Act of the ſix Articles, with which he could not comply with a good Conſcience.

10. He ſays, 'The Protector put *Cox* and *Cheek* about the King, *Pag.* 182.
'that they might corrupt his Mind with Heretical Doctrines.

Theſe were put about him three Years before, by King *Henry*'s Order; as that young King himſelf informs us in his Journal.

Pag. 184. 11. He ſays, 'The Heads of the Colleges were turned out, and the 'Catholick Doctors vvere forbid to preach.

I do not find one Head of a College in either Univerſity was turned out; for though they generally loved the Old Superſtition, yet they loved their Places much better. And indeed the whole Clergy did ſo readily conform themſelves to every Change that was made, that it was not eaſy to find Colours for turning out *Bonner* and *Gardiner*. All Preachers had the liberty of their own Pulpits, except for a very little while.

Ibid. 12. He ſays, 'They decried the School-Divinity, and the Works of '*Lombard*, *Aquinas*, and *Scotus*, and ſo threw all Learning out of the 'Schools.

They could not do that more, than Sir *Thomas More*, *Eraſmus*, and other Popiſh Writers had done before them; who had expreſſed their ſcorn of that way of treating Divine Matters, ſo copiouſly, that it was no wonder it was much deſpiſed. Thoſe Writers had, by a ſet of dark and barbarous Maxims and Terms, ſo intangled all the Articles of Faith, and impoſed on the World, by an appearance of ſaying ſomewhat, when really they ſaid nothing: and pretending to explain Religion, they had ſo expoſed it, that their way of Divinity was become equally nauſeous and ridiculous.

Pag. 186. 13. He ſays, '*Bucer* and *Peter Martyr*, being brought out of *Ger*-'*many*, did corrupt the Univerſities; and entertained the Youth with 'Diſcourſes of Predeſtination, Reprobation, and a fatal neceſſity of 'Things.

This was ſo far from being much taught, that on the contrary, in one of the Articles of Religion, the curious Enquiries into thoſe abſtruſe Points, was by Publick Authority forbid. *Bucer* and *Martyr* read for moſt part in the Chairs, upon the Maſs, and the other Corruptions of the Popiſh Worſhip. They alſo declared St. *Auſtin's* Doctrine about Grace, but I do not find they ever medled with Reprobation.

Pag. 190. 14. After a long Invective, which is to paſs as a piece of his Wit and Poetry, he ſays, '*Bucer* was inclined to become a Jew, and was 'deſcended from Jewiſh Parents; and that the Lord *Paget* had heard him 'ſay, That the Corporal Preſence was ſo clear in the Scripture, that 'no Man could deny it, who believed the Goſpel; but for his part, he 'did not believe all that was ſaid in the New Teſtament concerning 'our Saviour.

This is as ſuitable to our Author's Honeſty as can be: *Bucer* was never accuſed of this by any of his Enemies, as long as he lived. No Man in that Age writ with a greater ſenſe of the Kingdom of Chriſt than he did. And for the Story of the Lord *Paget*, we have nothing for it but the Author's word; and Poets muſt make Circumſtances, as well as more ſignal Contrivances, to ſet off their Fables. But there was no occaſion for *Bucer's* ſaying this, ſince he never declared againſt the Coporeal Preſence; but was for taking up that Controverſy in ſome general

general Expreſſions. So it was not ſuitable to his Opinion in that Matter, for him to talk ſo looſely of the Scriptures. And is it credible that a Story of this nature, ſhould not have been publiſhed in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and been made uſe of, when he was condemned for an Heretick, and his Body raiſed and burnt. But our Author, perhaps, did not think of that.

15. He ſays, 'P. *Martyr* was a while in ſuſpence concerning the 'Euchariſt, and ſtayed till he ſhould ſee what the Parliament ſhould 'appoint in that Matter. *Pag.* 191.

P. *Martyr* argued and read in the Chair againſt the Corporal Preſence, four Years before the Parliament medled with it: For the ſecond Common-Prayer Book, which contained the firſt publick Declaration that the Parliament made in this Matter, was enacted in the fifth Year of King *Edward*; and *Peter Martyr*, from his firſt coming to *England*, had appeared againſt it.

16. He ſaid, 'The firſt Parliament under King *Edward*, appointed a 'new Form to be uſed in ordaining Prieſts and Biſhops; who till that 'time had been Ordained according to the Old Rites, ſave only, that 'they did not ſwear Obedience to the Pope. *Pag.* 193.

This is a further Evidence of our Author's care in ſearching the printed Statutes; ſince what was done in the Fifth Year of this Reign, he repreſents as done in the Firſt. His Deſign in this was clear; he had a mind to poſſeſs all his own Party with an Opinion, that the Orders given in this Church were of no force, and therefore he thought it a decent piece of his Poem, to ſet down this Change as done ſo early: ſince if he had mentioned it in its proper place, he knew not how to deny the validity of the Orders that were given the firſt four Years of this Reign, which continued to be conferred according to the old Forms.

17. He ſaid, 'The Parliament did alſo at the ſame time, confirm a 'new Book of Common-Prayer, and of the Adminiſtration of the Sa- 'craments. *Ibid.*

This is of a piece with the former; for the Act confirming the Common-Prayer Book, which is alſo among the Printed Statutes, paſſed not in this Seſſion of Parliament, but in a ſecond Seſſion, a Year after this. Theſe are Indications ſufficient to ſhew what an Hiſtorian *Sanders* was, that did not ſo much as read the Publick Acts of the Time concerning which he writ.

18. He ſays, 'They ordered all Images to be removed, and ſent 'ſome lewd Men over *England* for that effect; who either brake or 'burnt the Images of our Saviour, the Bleſſed Virgin, and the Saints; 'therein declaring againſt whom they made War; and they ordered 'the King's Arms, three Leopards, and three Lillies, with the Suppor- 'ters, a Dog and a Serpent, to be ſet in the place where the Croſs of 'Chriſt ſtood: thereby owing that they were no longer to worſhip 'Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe Images they broke, but the King, whoſe Arms 'they ſet up in the room of thoſe Images. *Ibid.*

In this Period there is an equal mixture of Falſhood and Malice. 1. The Parliament did not order the removal of Images; it was done by the King's Viſitors, before the Parliament ſat. 2. The total removal of Images was not done the firſt Year, only thoſe Images that were abuſed to Superſtition, were taken down, and a Year after the total removal followed. 3. They took care that this ſhould be done regularly, not by the Viſitors, who only carried the King's Injunctions about it, but by the Curats themſelves. 4. They did not order the King's Arms to be put in the place where the Croſs had ſtood. It grew indeed to be a cuſtom to ſet them up in all Churches, thereby expreſſing, that they acknowledged the King's Authority reached even to their Churches; but there was no Order made about it. 5. I leave him to the correction of the Heraulds, for ſaying, the King's Arms are Three Leopards, when every Body knows they are three Lions, and a Lion, not a Dog, is one Supporter, and the other is a Dragon, not a Serpent. 6. By their ſetting up the King's Arms, and not his Picture, it is plain they had no thought of worſhipping their King, but did only acknowledg his Authority. 7. It was no leſs clear, that they had no deſign againſt the Worſhip due to Jeſus Chriſt, nor that inferior reſpect due to the Bleſſed Virgin and Saints; but intended only to wean the People from that, which at beſt was but Pageantry: but as it was practiſed, was manifeſt Idolatry. And the painting on the Walls of the Churches the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, with many other paſſages of Scripture that were of moſt general uſe, ſhewed, they intended only to cleanſe their Churches from thoſe mixtures of Heatheniſm, that had been brought into the Chriſtian Religion.

Pag. 193. 19. He ſays, 'They took away the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood 'of Chriſt, that they might thereby give ſome colour to the convert-'ing of the Sacred Veſſels to the King's uſe.

They took away no part of the Inſtitution of Chriſt, for they ſet it down in the Act paſt about it; and recited all the words of the firſt Inſtitution of the Sacrament; they only condemned private Maſſes, as contrary to Chriſt's Inſtitution. They did not convert the Holy Veſſels to the King's uſe, nor were they taken out of the Churches till five Years after this; that the Neceſſities of the Government, either real or pretended, were alleged to excuſe the taking away the ſuperfluous Plate that was in Churches: But this was not done by Act of Parliament, but by Commiſſioners empowred by the King, who were ordered to leave in every Church, ſuch Veſſels as were neceſſary for the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

Ibid. 20. He ſays, 'The Parliament ordered the Prayers to be in the 'Vulgar Tongue'; and upon that he infers, that the *Iriſh*, the *Welch*, 'and the *Corniſh*-men, were now in a much worſe condition than be-'fore; ſince they underſtood no Engliſh, ſo that the Worſhip was to 'them in a Tongue more unknown than it had formerly been.

The Parliament made no ſuch Order at this Time: the Book of Common-Prayer was ſet out firſt by the King's Authority, and ratified by the ſubſequent Seſſion of Parliament. There was alſo a Deſign, which

which though it was then accompliſhed, yet it was done afterwards, of tranſlating the Liturgy into theſe Tongues: but ſtill the Engliſh was much more underſtood by all ſorts of Men among them, than the Latin had been.

21. He ſays, 'The Office of the Communion, appointed by this 'Parliament, differed very little from the Maſs, ſave that it was in 'Engliſh. *Pag.* 194.

The Error of the Parliaments appointing the new Offices, runs through all he ſays on this Subject. But in the new Office of the Communion, the Idolatry of worſhipping, carrying about, or expoſing the Sacrament, was laid aſide. The trade of particular Maſſes for private Occaſions, the Prayers to the Saints, the denying the People the Chalice, with a great many of the Rites and Geſticulations formerly uſed, were all laid aſide; ſo that there were great Changes made. Every thing was not done at once, but they began with the Abuſes that did moſt require a Reformation, and went on afterwards to the changing of leſſer things.

22. He ſays, 'Sir *Ralph Sadler* took the Wife of one *Matthew Bar-* *Ibid.* '*low*; ſo upon pretence of his being dead, his Wife married *Sadler*: 'but her firſt Huſband coming home, he ſought to have his Wife again. 'It was brought into the Parliament in King *Henry*'s Time, and now it 'was enacted, that ſhe ſhould be *Sadler*'s Wife; he being the richer 'and greater Man. So againſt the Laws of the Goſpel, a Wife while 'her Huſband was yet alive, was adjudged to a ſecond Huſband.

This is, as far as I can learn, a Forgery from the beginning to the end: and it ſeems *Sadler*, that was a Privy Counſellor in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, did ſomewhat that ſo provoked *Sanders*, that he reſolved to be revenged of him and his Family, by caſting ſuch an aſperſion on him. I find no Foot-ſteps of any ſuch Story; ſure I am, there is nothing concerning it in the Records of this Parliament. And for the Buſineſs of the Diſſolution of Marriages for Adultery, Abſence, or any other Cauſe, there was ſo great, and ſo ſtrict an enquiry made into it, after the Parliament was ended, in the Caſe of the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, that it is clear it was the firſt of that ſort that was examined; and might perhaps, after it was confirmed in Parliament, in the 5*th* Year of this Reign, have been made a Precedent for other Caſes; but this of *Sadler*, in the firſt Parliament, is a Contrivance of our Authors. It is not improbable, that when afterwards it was judged, that the Marriage-Bond was diſſolved by Adultery, they might likewiſe declare it diſſolved, upon voluntary and long abſence, ſince St. *Paul* had ſaid, That *a Brother or a Siſter were not under Bondage in ſuch Caſes.*

23. He ſays, '*Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonſtal*, *Heath*, and *Day*, were *Pag.* 196. 'much grieved at the Changes that were made: yet they complied in 'many things, till being required to deliver ſome Blaſphemous Do- 'ctrines in their Sermons, they refuſing to give Obedience in that, 'were deprived; but were afterwards condemned to perpetual Impri- 'ſonment under Queen *Elizabeth*; all which were the Effects of God's 'Diſpleaſure on them, for complying with K. *Henry* in his Schiſm.

I

I ſhall grow tedious, if I inſiſt on all the Falſities that do occur in this Period. Firſt, Only *Gardiner* and *Bonner* were queſtioned and deprived for their Sermons: *Tonſtall* was deprived for Miſpriſion of Treaſon; *Heath* and *Day* were judged by Lay-Delegates; ſo it is like, their Offences were alſo againſt the State. 2. There was nothing enjoined *Bonner* or *Gardiner* to preach, upon which they were cenſured, but that the King's Authority was the ſame when he was under Age, that it was afterwards; which is a Point that belongs only to the Laws and Conſtitutions of this Government: and ſo there was juſt reaſon to impute their Silence in that particular, when they were commanded to touch upon it in their Sermons, to an ill Deſign againſt the State. 3. Three of theſe Biſhops did concur in all the Changes that were made the firſt four Years of this King's Reign, and both preached and wrote for them; and even *Bonner* and *Gardiner* did not only give Obedience to every Law or Injunction that came out, but recommended them much in their Sermons. 4. Theſe did not ſuffer perpetual Impriſonment under Queen *Elizabeth*; *Gardiner* and *Day* died before ſhe reigned, and ſo were not impriſoned by her. *Heath* was never put in Priſon by her, but lived at his own Country Houſe; and *Tonſtal* lived at *Lambeth* in as much eaſe, and was treated with as much reſpect, as if it had been his own Houſe: ſo that *Bonner* was the only Man that was kept in Priſon; but that was believed to be done in kindneſs to him, to preſerve him from the Affronts which otherwiſe he might have met with, from the Friends of thoſe he had butchered.

Pag. 197. 24. He ſays, 'The Lady *Mary* never departed from her Mothers 'Faith and Conſtancy.

It appears, by many of her Letters, that ſhe complyed with every thing that had been done by her Father; ſo it ſeems ſhe was diſpenſed with from *Rome*, to diſſemble in his time; for otherwiſe her conſtancy had very likely been fatal to her, but ſhe preſumed on the mildneſs of her Brother's Government, to be more refractory afterwards.

Pag. 198. 25. He ſays, 'The King was ſorry, when he underſtood how hardly 'his Siſter had been uſed by the Council.

It was ſo far otherwiſe, that when the Council being much preſſed by the Emperor to connive at her having Maſs, were reſolved to give way to it; the King himſelf was ſo averſe to it, thinking it a ſin in him to conſent to the practice of Idolatry, that the Council employed the Biſhops to work on him, and they could hardly induce him to tolerate it.

Pag. 200. 26. He ſays, 'The Viſitors carried with them over *England*, Bibles 'of a moſt corrupt Tranſlation, which they ordered to be ſet up in all 'the Churches of *England*.

In King *Henry*'s Time, it had been ordered, that there ſhould be a Bible in every Church; ſo this was not done by the Viſitors in this Reign, as may appear by the Injunctions that were given them, which have been often printed.

27. He

27. He ſays, 'The Viſitors did every-where enquire, Whether all 'the Images were broken down; and if the Altars were taken away, 'and Communion Tables were put in their rooms; and if all the old 'Offices were deſtroyed. *Ibid.*

Here he confounds in one Period, what was done in ſeveral Years. In the firſt Year, the Images that had been abuſed by Pilgrimages, were ordered to be removed. In the ſecond Year, all Images were taken down without exception. In the third Year, the old Books of the former Offices were ordered to be deſtroyed. And in the fourth Year, the Altars were turned to Communion-Tables; ſo ignorantly did this Author write of our Affairs.

28. He ſays, 'The Viſitors did every where encourage the Prieſts to 'Marry, and looked on ſuch as did no Marry, as inclined to Popery. *Pag.* 201.

The Marriage of the Clergy was not ſo much as permitted till near the beginning of the third Year of this Reign; and then it was declared, that an unmarried State was more honourable and decent; ſo that it was recommended, and the other was only tolerated; and ſo far were they from ſuſpecting Men to be firm to the Reformation that were married, that *Ridley* and *Latimer*, the moſt eſteemed next to *Cranmer*, were never married: nor was any ever vexed for his not being married, as he falſly inſinuates.

28. He ſays, 'The Protector bore great hatred to *Gardiner* and '*Tonſtal*, both becauſe they oppoſed the Hereticks, and becauſe they 'had been made equals to him, if not preferred before him by King '*Henry*'s Will, in the Government during the King's being under Age. *Pag.* 202.

This is another of our Author's Figures. *Gardiner* was not mentioned in King *Henry*'s Will, neither as an Executor, nor ſo much as a Counſellor; and by it none were preferred to another, all being made equal. And for *Tonſtal*, he continued ſtill in a firm friendſhip with the Protector, and was ſo well ſatisfied with the firſt Changes that were made, that he was complained of as well as *Cranmer*, by *Gardiner*, in the Letters which he writ to the Protector.

29. He ſays, 'The Protector made a Speech about Religion before 'the King; and therefore he put, firſt *Gardiner*, then *Tonſtall*, and at 'another time, the Biſhops of *London*, *Chicheſter*, and *Worceſter*, in 'Priſon. *Ibid.*

Gardiner and *Bonner* were indeed impriſoned ſome time, during the Protector's Government; the latter was alſo deprived while he was Protector. But *Tonſtal* was not put in Priſon till two Years after, and it was at the time of the Duke of *Somerſet*'s total fall, and by the ſame Perſons means that wrought his Ruin: From which it appears, he was always a firm Friend to the Duke of *Somerſet*. The Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter* were alſo brought in trouble, long after the Government was taken out of the Protector's Hands.

30. He ſays, 'They were all depoſed from their Degree. *Ibid.*

They were not depoſed from their Degree, but deprived of their Biſhopricks;

Biſhopricks; for they having accepted Commiſſions, by which they held their Sees, only during the King's Pleaſure, they might well be deprived by a Sentence of the Delegates. But had they been to be depoſed, and thruſt from their Order, it muſt have been done by a Synod of Biſhops. They were deprived, as many Biſhops were under the Chriſtian Emperors, by ſelected Synods that ſat in the Court, and judged of all Complaints that were brought before the Emperors.

Pag. 204. 31. 'He reckons up the Judgments of God upon the Hereticks; and 'ſays, the Protector made kill his Brother, and *Dudley* took him away.

This is a way of writing familiar enough to our Author, to repreſent things in ſuch a manner, as might fill the Reader with horror; as if theſe Perſons had been ſecretly murdered, whereas the one was condemned in Parliament, the other by a Judgment of his Peers.

Ibid. 32. He ſays, 'King *Edward* died not without ſuſpition of being poi-'ſoned by *Dudley*, and the Duke of *Suffolk*, who aſpired to the Crown.

It was never ſuſpected that the Duke of *Suffolk* had any hand in poiſoning the King, nor could I ever ſee any reaſon to conclude that he was poiſoned: but neither of theſe Dukes aſpired to the Crown; the one reſigned any Pretenſion he could ever have, to his Daughter; and the other intended only that his fourth Son ſhould reign.

Pag. 205. 34. He ſaid, 'The Protector's Lady claimed the precedence of the 'Queen Dowager; and upon the denial of it, conſpired the ruin of 'the Admiral.

All this is a contrivance of the Enemies of that Family; for as it had been abſurd for the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* to have diſputed Precedence with the Queen Dowager; ſo in that whole Matter it is plain the Admiral began with his Brother, and conſpired his ruin: and the Protector was often reconciled to him, and forgave him many Faults, till it appeared that his Ambition was incurable.

Ibid. 34. He ſays, 'There being no ground of any Accuſation againſt 'him, the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* got *Latimer* to accuſe him of Treaſon 'in a Sermon.

The Articles upon which he was condemned, ſhew what Matter there was againſt him. *Latimer* did never accuſe him of Treaſon, but being a Man of great plainneſs of Speech, he reflected on him as Ambitious, and not ſincere in the Profeſſion of Religion: And when it was ſuſpected that the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* had ſet him on to make theſe Reflections, he did vindicate her in a moſt ſolemn manner. Nor is there any reaſon to think, that how indiſcreet ſoever he might be in preaching in ſuch a ſort, that he did it to flatter or to aſpire by ſuch means, for he refuſed to accept of any Preferment, though the Houſe of Commons interpoſed to have him repoſſeſſed of the See of *Worceſter*.

Ibid. 35. He ſays, 'At the ſame time that he was Beheaded, the Queen 'Dowager died.

She died in *Septemb.* 1548, and he was beheaded in *March* following: and one of the Articles againſt him was, That after her Death, he intended

tended to have married the King's Siſter *Elizabeth*; and it was ſuſpected, that to make for that, he had poiſoned her.

36. He ſays, 'The Men of *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal* did, with one 'conſent, take up Arms for *the Faith*. *Pag.* 206.

In one thing he ſays true, that this Rebellion was ſet on by the Prieſts, and made on the account of Religion; but the brutal Cruelty of thoſe Rebels, ſhewed it was not for *the Faith*, but in compliance to their Prieſts and Leaders, that they roſe.

37. He ſays, 'The Clergy finding that their being Married was gene- *Pag.* 209.
'rally an ingrateful thing, procured an Act of Parliament, declaring that 'there was no humane Law againſt their Marriages; and this was all 'they were concerned in, for they cared little for the Law of God.

This is a genuine piece of our Author's Wit. If the Parliament meddles in declaring what is the Law of God, he accuſes them for medling in things without their Sphere: And if they only declare what is the Law of the Land, he ſays, they have no regard to the Law of God: So he is reſolved, do what they will, they ſhall not eſcape his Cenſure. But in this he ſhews his Ignorance, as well as his Malice. The lawfulneſs of the Marriage of the Clergy was enquired into with ſuch exactneſs, that ſcarce any thing can be added ſince, to what was then written on that Argument. It was made out, that there was no Law of God againſt it: It was alſo proved, that there was no general Law made by the Primitive Church about it; but that it was a part of the Yoke that the Popes laid on the Clergy, to engage them more zealouſly in their Concerns. It was at firſt carried in the Convocation, that they might lawfully Marry; then an Act of Parliament paſſed permitting it; of all which our Author takes no notice. Then three Years after, ſome that were ill affected to them, taking advantage from the words of the Statute, as if the Permiſſion had only been ſuch a conniving at it, as had been formerly to the Stews, a ſecond Act paſſed confirming thoſe Marriages, and the Iſſue by them.

38. He ſays, 'The Catholick Doctors in the Univerſities, grew more *Pag.* 210.
'couragious in the Defence of the Faith; and ſo deſired a publick Di-'ſpute concerning the Corporal Preſence.

They were ſo couragious, that as ſoon as any Change was made, they all complied moſt obſequiouſly to it; as will appear both by *Oglethorp* and *Smith*'s Submiſſions. But while the Changes were under conſultation, they ſeeing it could bring them into no trouble, were very ſtout; but as ſoon as they were to loſe or ſuffer any thing for their Conſciences, then they grew as tractable as could be. In ſuch a Zeal, let him glory as much as he will.

39. He ſays, 'Smith did often challenge *Peter Martyr* to a publick *Ibid.*
'Diſpute at *Oxford*; but he declined it, till Dr. *Cox*, a Man of a lewd 'Life, was ſent to moderate in the Diſpute; and till Dr. *Smith* was 'baniſhed the Univerſity.

Smith did once challenge *Peter Martyr* to a Diſpute, to which he preſently conſented: upon two Conditions; the one was, that a Licenſe ſhould firſt be obtained of the King and Council, and Delegates be

appointed by them to make a juſt Report of the Diſpute: the other was, That it ſhould be managed in the Terms of Scripture, and not in the School Terms: They were both more proper for Matters of Divinity, and more eaſily underſtood by all People. Upon this, the Council ſent down Delegates: and then *Smith*, who intended only to raiſe a tumult in the Schools, withdrew himſelf, and fled beyond Sea; but was never baniſhed. His calling Dr. *Cox* a Man of a *lewd Life*, is one of the Flowers he ſtuck in to adorn the reſt. All the Writers of that Age make honourable mention of him; He was firſt ſet about this King by his Father, and continued with him in all the turns of Affairs, and did ſo faithfully diſcharge that high Truſt, that it appears he muſt have been a very extraordinary Man. This was ſo well known to the whole Nation, that in the beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, he met with more than ordinary Favour. This, conſidering the hatred which the Popiſh Party bore him, is a clear evidence of his great Worth; and that they were afraid to be ſevere to a Man ſo univerſally eſteemed.

Ibid. 40. He ſays, 'Cox ſaw he was ſo much preſſed by the Doctors that 'diſputed with him, and the Hearers did ſo hiſs him down, that he 'broke off the Diſpute, giving *Peter Martyr* a high commendation for 'his Learning, and exhorting the reſt to live peaceably. *Peter Martyr* 'afterwards printed the Diſputation falſly; but by the Judgment of 'the Univerſity he was doubly baffled; both that he refuſed to diſpute 'with *Smith*, and that he did acquit himſelf ſo ill with thoſe Doctors 'that diſputed with him.

It is probable the Hearers might have been ſet on to hiſs, but the printed Diſputation will decide this Matter, and ſhew who argued both more nervouſly, and more ingenuouſly. We have no reaſon to believe it was falſly printed, unleſs we will take it on this Author's word: for I do not find the Popiſh Doctors did, either at this Time, or afterwards in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, when the Preſſes were all in their hands, publiſh any thing to the contrary of what *P. Martyr* printed; ſo that he neither refuſed to diſpute with *Smith*, nor was he baffled by thoſe that undertook it. *Smith* fled, and the reſt were clearly worſted. And for the Univerſity, there was no Judgment paſſed by them, unleſs he means the Rudeneſs and Clamours of ſome that might be ſet on to it.

Pag. 211. 41. He ſays, 'The Diſpute with *Bucer* at *Cambridg*, had the ſame 'effect.

It had ſo indeed, the printed Relation ſhews the weakneſs and diſingenuity of the Popiſh Diſputants, and that was never contradicted.

Ibid. 42. 'He gives account of many other Diſputes, and of *Gardiner*'s 'Book, under the name of *Marcus Conſtantius*; which he ſays was a 'full confutation of all the Books then written for the contrary Opi-'nion. He alſo mentions the Sermons and Impriſonment of *Criſpine*, '*Moreman*, *Cole*, *Seaton*, and *Watſon*.

Theſe other Diſputes could be no more than private Conferences; but I can give no account of theſe, having met with them in none of the

the Writters of that Time. As for *Gardiner*'s Book, ſuch as will compare it with *Cranmer*'s Book, which it pretends to anſwer, will ſoon ſee in it the difference between plain ſimple Reaſoning on the one ſide, and ſophiſtical Cavilling on the other. But for the Sufferings of that Party, there is no great reaſon to boaſt of them; for they univerſally complied with every thing that was commanded: even the Lady *Mary*'s Chaplains did it, in the Churches where they were benefied. Nor do I find any one Man turned out of his Cure for refuſing to Conform; but it was found, ſome of theſe did privately ſay Maſs, either in the Lady *Mary*'s Chappel, or in private Houſes; and did ſecretly act againſt what they openly profeſſed: and it was no wonder if ſuch Diſſemblers were more ſeverely handled. But there was no Blood ſhed in the Quarrel; ſo that if the Popiſh Party made ſuch reſiſtance, as our Author pretends they did, it very much commends the gentleneſs of the Government at that Time, ſince they were ſo mercifully handled. It was far otherwiſe in Queen *Mary*'s Time.

43. 'He runs out in a Diſcourſe of the Sufferings of his Party, of 'their Zeal and Conſtancy: and particularly mentions *Story*, who, he 'ſays, ſuffered Martyrdom under Queen *Elizabeth*. He had ſaid in 'the Parliament, *Wo to thee, O Land, whoſe King is a Child*; and this 'drew ſo much hatred on him, that he was forced to fly out of *Eng*-'*land*. *Pag.* 212.

What the Zeal and Conſtancy of the Party was, may be gathered from what has been already ſaid. This *Story* did ſay theſe words in the Houſe of Commons, and was, by Order of the Houſe, ſent to the *Tower*: for though it was a Text of Scripture that he cited, yet the Application carried with it ſo high a reflection on the Government, that it well deſerved ſuch a cenſure: but upon his Submiſſion, the Houſe of Commons ſent an Addreſs to the Protector, that he and the Council would forgive him, which was done, aud he was again admitted to the Houſe: ſo that he was not forced on this Account to fly out of *England*. And for his Martyrdom under Queen *Elizabeth*, the Record of his Trial ſhews the ground of that Sentence: He had endeavoured all he could, to ſet on many in Queen *Mary*'s Time to adviſe the cutting off Queen *Elizabeth*: His ordinary Phraſe was, **It was a fooliſh thing to cut off the Branches of Hereſy, and not to pluck it up by the Root.** He knowing how faulty he had been, fled over to *Flanders* in the beginning of her Reign: and when the Duke of *Alva* was Governor there, he preſſed him much to invade *England*; and gave him a Map of ſome of the Roads and Harbours, with a Scheme of the way of conquering the Nation. He had alſo conſulted with Magicians concerning the Queen's Life; and uſed always to curſe the Queen when he ſaid Grace after Meat. Theſe things being known in *England*, ſome got him to go a-board a Ship in *Flanders*, on another pretence, and preſently ſet ſail for *England*; where yet the Government was ſo gentle, that two Years paſt before he was brought to his Tryal: and then the Defence he made, was, That he was not accountable for what he had done in *Flanders*, it not being in the Queen's Dominsons; and that he was not her Subject, having ſworn Allegiance to the King of *Spain*. But this being contrary to his natural

Allegiance, which he could never ſhake off, he was found guilty of Treaſon, and was there executed. Theſe are our Author's *Martyrs*, and are of a piece with his *Faith*.

Pag. 216. 44. 'In the room of the Biſhops that were turned out, he ſays, 'there were put ſome Apoſtate and Luſtful (that is, as he explains it, '*married*) Monks, *Scory*, *Bird*, *Holgate*, *Barlow*, *Harley*, *Coverdale*, 'and *Ridley*; on whom he beſtows many ſuch Epithetes, as may be ex-'pected from him.

This is ſuch a piece of Hiſtory, as one can hardly meet with any thing like it. 1. *Bird* was made Biſhop of *Cheſter* by King *Henry*, and was the firſt that ſat in that See, it being of that King's Foundation. 2. *Holgate* was put in the See of *York* by King *Henry*, when it was void by *Lee*'s Death. 3. *Barlow* was alſo put in *Bath* and *Wells*, by the ſame King, it being likewiſe void by the Death of *Knight*. 4. *Coverdale* was put in the See of *Exeter*, upon *Veyſey*'s free Reſignation, he being then extream old. 5. *Harley* was alſo put in *Hereford*, upon the former Biſhop's Death. 6. *Ridley* and *Harley* were never married, nor *Coverdale*, for ought I can find; ſo exact is our Author in delivering the Hiſtory of that Time.

Ibid. 45. He ſays, '*Poinet*, that was made Biſhop of *Wincheſter* in *Gar-'diner*'s Room, beſides one Wife to whom he was married, took a 'Butchers Wife from him; but the Butcher ſued for his Wife, and reco-'vered her out of his hands: and to make this paſs the better, he adds 'a Jeſt of *Gardiner*'s about it, that he had ſaid, Why might not he hope 'to be reſtored to his Biſhoprick, as well as the Butcher was to his 'Wife?

The falſeneſs of this Story, is clearly evinced, by the Anſwer that Dr. *Martin* ſet out in the beginning of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, to a Book that *Poinet* had writ in the defence of the married Clergy. *Martin*'s Anſwer is writ with ſo much ſpite, and ſo many indecent Reflections, that though it is not reaſonable to believe all he ſays, yet it is almoſt a certain Argument, that this Story concerning *Poinet* is a Forgery; ſince if it was a thing ſo publick, as our Author makes it, *Martin* muſt have heard of it, eſpecially living in *Gardiner*'s Houſe: and it is not to be imagined, that if he did know it, he would have concealed it: So this, and the Jeſt that hangs upon it, muſt paſs as one of the flouriſhes of our Author's Pen.

Pag. 217. 46. He ſays, '*Hooper*, that uſed formerly to rail at the Luxury of 'the Catholick Biſhops, being made a Superintendent himſelf, for ſo 'the *Zuinglians* called their Biſhops, enjoyed at once two Biſhopricks, '*Worceſter* and *Gloceſter*.

The *Zuinglians* had no Superintendents, for ought I can find; nor was *Hooper* ever called *Superintendent*, but *Biſhop*. He was made Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, which had been before King *Henry* the Eighth's Time, a part of the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*. And now theſe Sees came to be united; ſo that *Hooper* had not two Biſhopricks, but one that had been for ſome Years divided into two: He only enjoyed the Revenue of *Gloceſter*, for *Worceſter* was entirely ſuppreſſed.

47. He

47. He ſays, 'On the 9th of *July*, the Mony was cried down one 'fourth part; and forty days after another fourth part: ſo that the 'whole Nation was thereby robbed of the half of their Stock. *Pag.* 219.

This King's Counſellors found the Coin embaſed; and they were either to let it continue in that State, to the great prejudice of the ſtate of the Nation, or to reduce it to a juſt Standard: ſo our Author condemns them for correcting what they found amiſs. But no wonder, he that quarrels with them ſo much for reforming of Religion, ſhould be likewiſe offended with them for reforming the Coin.

48. He ſays, 'The Duke of *Somerſet* was condemned, becauſe he 'had come into the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Chamber, with intention 'to have killed him, and was thereupon beheaded. *Pag.* 222.

This was indeed ſaid to be the cauſe of his Death; but it is not mentioned in the Record, in which it is only ſaid, that he intended to have ſeized on the Duke of *Northumberland*, without adding, that he deſigned to have killed him.

49. He ſays, 'The two younger Siſters of Lady *Jane Gray*, were 'married to the eldeſt Sons of the Earls of *Pembrook* and *Hungting-* 'ton. *Pag.* 223.

This Error is of no great conſequence, but it ſhews how much our Author was a ſtranger, even to the moſt publick Actions: for the youngeſt Siſter to the Lady *Jane*, was married to one *Keys* that was Groom-Porter. The Earl of *Huntington*'s Son married the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Daughter.

50. He ſays, 'Soon after the Marriages, the King began to ſicken, 'and to fall in decay. *Ibid.*

The King had been ill four months before theſe Marriages were made: and it is probable, his ſickneſs made them be the more haſtned.

51. He ſays, '*Dudley* was very deſirous to have the Lady *Mary* in 'his power, not being much concerned about the Lady *Elizabeth*, for 'ſhe being deſcended of *Ann Boleyn*, he did not much conſider 'her. *Ibid.*

It was natural for *Dudley* to deſire rather to have the elder Siſter in his power, than the younger; who could not claim to the Crown, but after the other: but it appeared, by the ſubmiſſion of the whole Nation to Queen *Elizabeth*, though ſtill profeſſing Popery, that ſhe was every whit as much conſidered, as her Siſter had been formerly.

52. He ſays, 'Lady *Mary* having been ſent for by *Dudley*'s Order, 'underſtood, when ſhe was not far from *London*, that the King was 'expiring; and that ſhe would be in great danger, if ſhe came in 'Court; upon which ſhe turned back. *Pag.* 224.

Queen *Mary* had not been ſent for by *Dudley*'s Order, the Council had writ to her, that the King being ill, deſired her Company: The News ſent her from Court was, That the King was dead; ſo ſhe was

was desired to stir no further: and upon that, retired to her House in the Country.

Ibid. 53. He says, 'Twenty days after that, she heard the King was dead; 'whereupon she made proclaim her self Queen.

The discovery of the former Error clears this; for she immediately gathered the People of *Suffolk* about her, and gave them her Royal Word, that they should enjoy their Religion, as it had been established in King *Edward*'s Time: But though they were the first that proclaimed her Queen, and came about her to defend her Right, they were among the first that felt the Severities of her Reign.

Pag. 225. 54. He says, '*Mary* Queen of *Scots*, was married to the Dolphin of '*France*.

She was then but a little past ten Years old, and was not married to the Dolphin, till five Years after this.

Pag. 229. 55. He says, 'Queen *Mary*, as soon as she came to the Crown, with-'out staying for an Act of Parliament concerning it, laid aside the pro-'phane Title of being *Head of the Church*.

We may expect as true a History of this Reign, as we had of the former; when in the first Period of it, there is so notorious a Falsehood. She held two Parliaments before she laid aside that Title; for in the Writ of Summons for both, she was stiled *Supream Head of the Church*; and all the Reformed Bishops were turned out by virtue of Commissions which she issued out as *Supream Head*. There was also a Visitation made over *England* by her Authority; and none were suffered to preach, but upon Licenses obtained under her great Seal; so that she both retained the Title and Power of *Supream Head*, a Year after she came to the Crown.

Ibid. 56. He says, 'She discharged the Prisoners she found in the *Tower*; 'recalled the Sentence against Cardinal *Pool*, and discharged a Tax due 'to her by the Subjects.

The Queen did free the Prisoners of the *Tower* at her coming to the Crown, and discharged the Tax at her Coronation: but for recalling the Sentence against Cardinal *Pool*, that being an Act of Parliament, she could not recal it; nor was it done, till almost a Year and an half after her coming to the Crown.

Ibid. 57. He says, 'She took care of the Coin, that her Subjects might 'suffer no more by the embasing it; so that they all saw the difference 'between a Catholick and Heretical Prince.

I do not find any care was taken of the Coin all her Reign; and the bringing that to a just Standard, is universally ascribed to Queen *Elizabeth*. If there was a publick joy upon her coming to the Crown, it did not last long; and there was a far greater when she died. This Observation is much more proper to the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, who began and continued to Reign with so great and so uninterrupted a Felicity, that none but a Writer like our Author, would have made such a Remarque on the beginnings of this Reign.

58. He

58. He ſays, 'She overcame *Wiat*'s Rebellion, rather by her own 'Faith, than by any Force ſhe had about her. *Pag.* 230.

This is to make the Reader think, ſhe defeated *Wiat*, as *Gideon* did the *Amalekites*; but *Wiat* brought up not above 3000 Men, and ſhe had thrice that number about her. It was a deſperate Attempt, and that which was rather the effect of a precipitated Deſign, than of prudent Counſel.

59. He ſays, 'She put her Siſter in the *Tower*, when it had appeared 'to the Senate (which in his ſtyle is the Parliament) that ſhe had been 'engaged in *Wiat*'s Conſpiracy. *Ibid.*

This is ſaid, to cover her barbarous Cruelty towards her Siſter; the Matter never came before the Parliament, and there was no ground ever given to juſtify the Suſpicion. It is true, *Wiat* hoping to have ſaved his Life, by ſo foul a Calumny, accuſed her: but when he ſaw he muſt die, he vindicated her openly on the Scaffold. It is certain, if they could have found any Colours to have excuſed ſevere proceedings againſt her, both the Queen and the Clergy who governed her, were much enclined to have made uſe of them.

60. He ſays, 'The Queen was more ready to pardon Crimes againſt 'her ſelf, than Offences againſt Chriſt and Religion. *Pag.* 231.

The more ſhame for thoſe who governed her Conſcience, that made her ſo implacable to all whom ſhe eſteemed Hereticks; ſince the Chriſtian Religion came not into the World, as the Author of it ſays of himſelf, *to deſtroy Mens Lives, but to ſave them:* Yet ſhe was not ſo merciful as he would repreſent her, witneſs her Severities againſt her Siſter, and againſt *Cranmer*, even after he had ſigned the Recantation of his former Opinions.

61. He ſays, 'Though ſome of the Biſhops were guilty of Treaſon, 'yet ſhe would not have them to be tried by the Temporal Laws, and 'referred, even *Cranmer* himſelf, to the Spiritual Juriſdiction. *Ibid.*

Cranmer was tried for Treaſon, by virtue of a Commiſſion iſſued out by the Queen; and all the other Reformed Biſhops were turned out by Delegates, empowred for that end by the Queen's Commiſſions.

62. He ſays, '*Cranmer* was condemned of Treaſon in the Parlia- 'ment. *Ibid.*

He was found Guilty of Treaſon by a Jury of Commiſſioners, and thereupon condemned by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; and not by the Parliament. It is true, the Parliament did afterwards confirm the Sentence.

63. He ſays, 'Before he was Condemned, he feigned himſelf a Ca- 'tholick, and ſigned his Retractation ſeventeen times with his own 'hand: But the Biſhops diſcovering his Hypocriſy, degraded him 'and delivered him to the Secular Arm, upon which he was burnt at '*Oxford*. *Ibid.*

The

The Popiſh Party have but too great Advantages againſt *Cranmer*, in this laſt part of his Life; ſo it was needleſs for our Author to have mixed ſo much falſhood with this Account: but he muſt go on in his ordinary method, even though it is not neceſſary for any of the Ends he had ſet before himſelf. *Cranmer* ſtood out above two Years and an half, in all which time he expreſſed great conſtancy of mind, and a readineſs to die for that Faith, which he had before taught: nor would he fly beyond Sea, though he had many opportunities to do it, and had reaſon enough to apprehend he could not eſcape at home. Upon his conſtant adhering to his former Doctrines, he was Condemned, Degraded, and appointed to be burnt; and then the fears of Death wrought that effect on him, that he did recant, which he ſigned thrice: but the Queen being ſet on Revenge, would needs have him burnt after all that: ſo there was no diſcovery made of his Hypocriſy, nor was there a Sentence paſt upon it; but he, for all his Recantation, was led out to be burnt: and then he returned back to his former Doctrines, and expreſſed his Repentance for his Apoſtacy, with all the ſerioufneſs and horror that was poſſible.

Ibid. 64. He ſays, 'The Laws for burning Hereticks were again revived, 'and by them not only *Cranmer*, but ſome hundreds of the falſe Teachers 'were burnt.

A Man's Inclinations do generally appear in the Lyes he makes: ſo it ſeems our Author wiſhed it had been, as he relates it was; but ſo far it was from this number, that there was not above a quarter of an hundred of the Miniſters burnt, (there were ſome hundreds of others burnt) ſo ignorant was he of our Affairs.

Pag. 232. 65. He ſays, 'The Queen did at firſt command all the Strangers that 'were Hereticks, to leave the Kingdom; upon which above 30000, as 'was reckoned, went out of *England*.

The greateſt number of the Strangers, were the *Germans*, and of theſe not above 200 went away, as themſelves publiſhed it; but our Author was generous and free-hearted, ſo that he would make the Exiles to bear ſome proportion to the Miniſters that were burnt; and as he made ſome hundreds of the one, ſo 30000 was but a moderate number to be exiled, 200 would have ſounded pitifully in ſuch an Heroical Work.

Ibid. 66. He ſays, 'It was brought under debate, whether *Peter Martyr* 'ſhould be burnt; but becauſe he came into *England* upon the Publick 'Faith, he was let go; yet his Wives Body was raiſed out of the 'Church-yard, and caſt into a Dunghil; and *Bucer* and *Fagius*'s Bo-'dies were burnt.

It could not be debated whether *Peter Martyr* ſhould be burnt; for the Laws of Burning were not made till a Year after he went out of *England*: and the raiſing his Wives Body, and the burning the other Bodies, was done almoſt four Years after this; though our Author relates it as done at the ſame time.

67. He

67. He ſays, 'The Queen at firſt could not repeal the Laws then in 'force for Hereſy; but ſhe ſuſpended them all, and exhorted her Sub- 'jects to return to the Catholick Rites, upon which the People did 'univerſally return to them. *Ibid.*

The Queen could neither repeal nor ſuſpend the Laws then in force; and ſhe did neither. When ſhe was in *Suffolk*, ſhe promiſed the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law ſhould not be changed: When ſhe came to *London*, ſhe declared ſhe would force no Conſciences; but ſoon after ſhe added a Limitation to this, *Till the Parliament ſhould order it.* After that, all People were encouraged to ſet up the Maſs every-where, and it did ſpread into moſt parts of the Kingdom: but this was done both againſt Law, and the Queen's Royal Word.

68. He ſays, 'All Pulpits were opened to Catholick Preachers, and 'the Hereticks were not ſuffered to preach. *Ibid.*

This he relates, as if it had been the effect of the Peoples Zeal; but it flowed from a Proclamation of the Queen's, that none ſhould preach unleſs he obtained a Licenſe under the Great Seal, which was as high an Act of Supremacy as ever her Father did.

69. He ſays, 'She made firſt of all Funeral Rites to be performed 'for her Brother, after the form of the Catholicks, though he had died 'in Hereſy: and intended to have had ſuch Rites from her Father, but 'being better inſtructed, ſhe found it could not be done, for him that 'had been the chief Author of the Schiſm, and of all the Evil that fol- 'lowed it. *Ibid.*

King *Edward* was buried according to the Rites of the Engliſh Liturgy; ſo that the Funeral Rites were not according to the old Forms. It is true, the Queen had in her own Chappel ſuch Rites for him. As for her Father, ſome of the Writers of that Time ſay, it was much preſſed, to have his Body at leaſt raiſed and carried out of the Conſecrated Ground, if not burnt: and in this ſhe is ſaid to have ſtood upon the Dignity of a Crowned Head, and the decency of a Daughters Duty to her Fathers Aſhes; ſo that ſhe would not conſent to ſo barbarous a thing.

70. 'He condemns thoſe, who having been defiled with Hereſy, and 'thereby under Cenſures, did, notwithſtanding that, adminiſter the 'Sacraments, and do the other Offices of Prieſthood, before they were 'reconciled to the See of *Rome*. This, he ſays, was ſuch a Sin, that 'it may be reckoned one of the Cauſes of that Queen's dying ſo ſoon, 'and he ſets down as a Caution for the future, that if we ſhould come 'to be again reconciled to that See, we might not relapſe into the like 'Error. *Pag.* 233.

This was indeed Cardinal *Pool*'s Advice, that the whole Kingdom ought to have been put under an Interdict, and that all Holy Offices were to ceaſe, till they were reconciled to the See of *Rome:* but the whole Clergy, not only many, as he ſays, being involved in thoſe Cenſures, if they had ſtaied for officiating, till they had been reconciled to the See of *Rome*, perhaps it had not been done at all.

Ibid. 71. He ſays, 'The Queen, partly by her Authority, partly by the 'concurrence of the Parliament, got the ancient way of the Service to 'be again reſtored, the Hereticks not daring to oppoſe it much.

All that was done in the firſt Parliament, was the reſtoring things to the ſame ſtate they had been in when King *Henry* died; which was indeed the ſetting up that they called *Schiſm* by Law. It was no wonder thoſe he calls *Hereticks* could not oppoſe it much; when ſo many of their Biſhops had been turned out and impriſoned; others were violently thruſt out of the Houſe of Lords, and the Elections of the Members of Parliament had been ſo managed, that in many places Force was uſed, aud falſe Returns were made in other Places.

Pag. 234. 72. He ſays, 'Only one that was bolder than the reſt, threw a Dag-'ger at him who preached the firſt Catholick Sermon at St. *Pauls*: 'and another diſcharged a Piſtol at another, preaching in the ſame 'place.

This, one would think by his Relation, was done after the Parliament had ſet up the Maſs again; whereas it was ſoon after the Queen came to the Crown, long before the Parliament; and that of the Piſtol was ſome months after the Parliament. But if he had deſigned to deliver a true Hiſtory to the World, he ſhould have added, that upon the Tumult that was raiſed againſt the Preacher, he prayed Mr. *Bradford* and Mr. *Rogers* (two afterwards burnt for the Reformed *Religion*) to ſpeak to the People, and perſwade them to be quiet; upon which they both exhorted the People to behave themſelves more peaceably and reverently; and *Bradford* went into the Pulpit, that he might be the better heard; and ſo near was he to the Danger, that the Dagger pierced his Sleeve; yet theſe two were had in ſuch eſteem, that the Tumult was quieted; and they carried the Preacher ſafe home. One of them being to preach in the Afternoon, exhorted the People to be peaceable and quiet, and ſeverely condemned the Tumult that had been in the morning. But ſuch was the gratitude and juſtice of the Popiſh Party, that it was pretended, becauſe they had appeaſed the Tumult, that therefore they had alſo raiſed it: ſo they were upon that pretence put in Priſon, where they lay a Year and a half, till the Laws for burning were revived, and were then burnt for *Hereſy*.

Pag. 235. 73. He ſays, '*Commendone* was ſent by Order from the Pope into '*England*, who obtained a Writing from the Queen, wherein ſhe pro-'miſed Obedience to the See of *Rome*; upon which *Pool* was appoin-'ted Legat.

It is no wonder our Author underſtood not the Affairs of the Reformation aright, when he was ſo ill informed about the Tranſactions of his own Party. *Commendone* was not ſent by the Pope to *England*. The Legat at *Bruſſels* ſent him over from thence, without ſtaying for Orders from *Rome*.

Pag. 239. 74. He ſays, '*William Thomas*, Clerk of the Council, had conſpired 'to kill the Queen; for which he juſtly ſuffered.

Of

Of this I find nothing on Record; ſo it muſt depend on our Author's Credit, which is not infallible.

75. He ſays, 'The Impoſture of *Elizabeth Croſts*, was ſet up by the 'Perſwaſion of many of the Hereticks: and when it was diſcovered, ſhe 'confeſſed ſhe had been ſet on to it by other, and by one *Drake* in 'particular; but they all fled. *Ibid.*

In the Account that was then publiſhed of that Impoſture, *Drake* only is accuſed for it: what he was, does not appear to me, for I have never found him mentioned but on this Occaſion; ſo there was no reaſon to transfer the private Guilt of this Conſpiracy on a whole Party, as our Author does; though upon his Credit, one of our Writers has alſo done it.

76. He ſays, 'Thoſe in whoſe hands the Church-Lands were, had 'great apprehenſions of their being forced to reſtore them, becauſe the 'Queen had reſtored all the Land that were in her hands, and had 'again converted the Collegiat Church of *Weſtminſter* into an Abbey; 'But to prevent the ill Effects that might have followed on this, the 'Cardinal did, in the Pope's Name, abſolve them from all Cenſures, 'for poſſeſſing thoſe Lands, and that was confirmed by Letters ſent over 'from the Pope. *Pag.* 243.

He obſerves the order of Time very exactly, when he ſets the Queen's reſtoring the Church-Lands, and founding the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, as the occaſions of the Fears the Laity were in, of being forced to reſtore the reſt of the Church-Lands; and of the Cardinal's abſolving them from all Cenſures, for keeping them ſtill in their hands. The Order in which this was done, was thus; In *Novemb.* 1554. in the Act of Reconciliation with the See of *Rome*, there was a ſpecial *Proviſo* made for the Church-Lands, which the Cardinal confirmed in the Pope's Name. In the Year after that, the Queen gave up into the Cardinal's Hands, all the Church-Lands that belonged to the Crown; and two Years after, ſhe founded the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*; ſo little influence had theſe things on the other that were done before. But he was groſly miſtaken, when he ſaid the Pope approved All: for he, in plain terms, refuſed to ratify what the Cardinal had done; and ſoon after ſet out a ſevere Bull, Curſing and Condemning all that held any Church-Lands.

77. He ſays, 'All the Biſhops being ſenſible of their Schiſmatical 'way of entring into their Sees, did deſire and obtain a Confirmation 'from the Pope. *Kitchin*, Biſhop of *Landaff*, only excepted, who 'afterward relapſed into Hereſy under Queen *Elizabeth*; and ſays, it is 'likely the want of this Confirmation, made him be more eaſily over-'come. *Pag.* 244.

This our Author wrote, being a thing very probable; and ſeldom do his Authorities for what he aſſerts, riſe higher. It was alſo a pretty ſtrain of his Wit, to make the omitting of it, fall ſingly on the only Biſhop that conformed under Queen *Elizabeth*. But it is certain, there was no ſuch thing done at all; for if any had done it, *Bonner* was as likely as any other; ſince as none had been more faulty in King

Henry's Time; ſo none ſtudied to redeem that with more ſervile compliances than he did; yet there is nothing of this recorded in his Regiſter, which continues entire to this day.

Pag. 246. 78. He ſaid, 'The State of the Univerſities was reſtored to what it 'had been, and *Oxford* in particular; by *Petrus a Soto*'s means, who 'was in the Opinion of all, much preferred to *P. Martyr.*

He that gathered the Antiquities of *Oxford*, though no partial Writer on this occaſion, repreſents the ſtate of that Univerſity very differently; that there were almoſt no Divines in it, and ſcarce any publick Lectures. But when *Sanders* writ his Poem, the Spaniſh Councils were ſo much depended on, by him and his Party, that it was fit to put that Complement on the Nation, concerning *Petrus a Soto.* Whether it was true or falſe, was a Circumſtance which he generouſly overlook'd, for moſt part.

Pag. 248. 79. He ſays, 'Queen *Elizabeth* had done many things in Queen *Ma*-'*ry*'s Time, both againſt her Perſon and Government.

He knew this was ſo falſe, that there was never a Circumſtance, or a Preſumption brought againſt her; but the Information which *Wiat* gave, hoping thereby to ſave himſelf; and yet he denied that on the Scaffold. If there had been any colour to have juſtified the taking away her Life, both the Queen and her Counſellors were as much enclined to it, as our Author himſelf was.

Ibid. 80. He ſays, 'King *Henry* ſaid in Parliament, ſhe was not, and could 'not be his Daughter, for a ſecret Reaſon which he had revealed to the 'Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury.*

This was aptly enough ſaid by a Writer, that had emancipated himſelf from the Laws of Truth and Veracity, to appeal to ſuch a Story; yet to have made it paſs the better, he ſhould have named other Circumſtances; for ſuch a thing cannot be eaſily believed, ſince after *Ann Boleyn*'s Death, the King continued to treat *Elizabeth* ſtill as his Daughter; ſo that when ſhe writ to his next Queen, ſhe ſubſcribed *Daughter:* ſhe was in all things educated with the Care and State that became a King's Child; and was, both by Act of Parliament, and by his Will, declared to be ſo. Now to think that ſuch a King would have done all this, after he had in Parliament declared that ſhe could not be his Child, is a little too coarſe to be believed, and ſo ſhould have been ſupported with more than ordinary Proofs.

Ibid. 81. He ſays, 'She came to the Crown, meerly by virtue of the Act 'of Parliament, without being Legitimated.

In this, ſhe and her Siſter were upon the ſame Level; for neither of them were declared Legitimate; ſo this was not to be objected to the one, more than to the other Siſter.

Pag. 249. 82. He ſays, 'Queen *Mary* being declared, by Act of Parliament, 'in the beginning of her Reign, Legitimate; and her Mothers Mar-'riage being declared good, *Elizabeth* was thereby of new Illegitima-'ted; yet ſhe never repealed the Laws againſt her Title: but kept 'the

'the Crown meerly upon the Authority of an Act of Parliament, with-'out having any regard to her Birth.

Queen *Mary* came to the Crown, being in the ſame Condition; and was either a lawful Queen before that Act was made, or elſe that Act was of no force, if it had not the Royal Aſſent given by a lawful Queen. So Queen *Elizabeth* was as much Queen before any ſuch Act could have paſſed, as afterwards: and therefore ſince it was not neceſſary for the ſecuring her Tittle, it was a ſign of her tenderneſs of her Father's Memory, to which Queen *Mary* had no regard, not to revive the remembrance of things that muſt have turned ſo much to his diſhonour, as that would have done.

83. He ſays, 'Queen *Mary* not being able to prevent her Siſters *Pag.* 250.
'Succeſſion, ſent a Meſſage to her on her Death-bed, deſiring her to 'pay her Debts, and to preſerve the Catholick Religion; both which 'ſhe promiſed, but performed neither.

This is ſaid without any Proof, and is not at all probable; but is an Ornament added to ſet off the one, and blemiſh the other. Queen *Mary*'s Sickneſs was concealed as much as was poſſible. A week before her Death, they were burning Hereticks as buſily as ever; and by the managing Affairs in the Parliament, it appears there was great care taken to conceal the deſperate Condition ſhe was in: ſo it is not likely that any ſuch Meſſage was ſent by her to her Siſter.

And thus far have I traced our Author in the Hiſtory he gives of the Reigns of King *Henry* the Eighth, *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*, and have diſcovered an equal meaſure of Ignorance and Malice in him: but he was the fitter to ſerve their Ends who employed him, and were reſolved to believe him, how falſe or improbable ſoever his Relation might be. We ſee what uſe they have made of him ever ſince that Time. His Friends were ſo ſenſible of the Advantage their Cauſe received from ſuch a way of Writing, that they reſolved to continue down the Hiſtory through Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, in which, we are told, *Sanders* himſelf made ſome Progreſs; but that not being done to ſuch a perfection as *Riſhton* and others intended to bring it, they undertook it; and have written ſo skilfully after the Copy *Sanders* had given them, that if it is poſſible, they have out-done him in theſe two particular Excellencies of writing Hiſtories, in which he was ſo great a Maſter, *Impudence, and Falſhood as to Matter of Fact.* In one thing they had manifeſtly the better of him, that they writing of what fell out in their own Time, could not be ignorant of the truth of Things; whereas he writing of what was done before he was born, or when he was but a Child, might have ſaid many things more innocently, delivering them as he had them by report. But this Excuſe cannot fit them, who did knowingly, and on Deſign, prevaricate ſo groſly in Matters of Fact: A little taſte of theſe I ſhall give, only ſo far as I have carried down the Hiſtory of this Queen; for to examine all the Faults they have committed, would require a new Volume; but from the taſte I ſhall give the Reader, he will eaſily know what judgment to paſs on the whole work.

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As for the Decency of the Style, the first Period gives an Essay of it, in which the Author promises such a Description of the Queen's Reign, that this *Lioness shall be known by her Claws*: And for his sincerity in writing, the whole Preface is one indication of it, in which he accuses the Queen for acting against the Laws of Nature and Religion, in assuming the Supremacy; and represents it so, that the Reader must needs think she was the High Priest of *England*, that ordained Bishops and Ministers, and performed all other Holy Offices: whereas she was so scrupulous in this Point, that as she would not be called the *Supream Head of the Church*, so she made it be declared, both in one of the Articles of Religion, set forth in the beginning of her Reign, and afterwards in an Act of Parliament, what was the nature of that Supremacy which she assumed; making it both a part of the Religion, and the Law of the Land. By these it was declared, that they gave her not *the Ministry of God's Word, or of the Sacraments; but only that Prerogative which was given by God himself in the Scriptures, to Godly Princes; that they should rule all committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword, the stubborn and evil Doers.* If Men were not past shame, they could not, after such an express and publick Declaration, put on the confidence of writing as this Author does. I shall follow him in some more steps, and doubt not but I shall convince the Reader, that he was the fittest Man that could be found, to have writ a Continuation of *Sanders's* History.

Pag. 255. 1. He says, 'Henry the Second of *France*, in a solemn Assembly, did, 'after Queen *Mary's* Death, declare the Queen of *Scotland* his Daughter-in-Law, Queen of *England* and *Ireland*.

This was neither done in a Solemn Assembly, nor presently after Queen *Mary's* Death; nor was it done by *Henry* the Second. The Queen of *Scotland* did, by her Uncle's Advice, assume that Title, without any publick Act: and it was not done till they understood that *Philip* was moving for a Dispensation in the Court of *Rome*, for marrying Queen *Elizabeth*; King *Henry* did only connive at it, but neither ordered it, nor justified it, when the Queen's Ambassador complained of it. An Author that is so happy in his first Period, as to make three such Mistakes, is likely to give us an excellent History.

Ibid. 2. He says, 'The Arch-bishop of *York*, and all the other Bishops, 'one only excepted, refused to anoint her.

This was one of the most extraordinary things that ever was in any Government; that the Bishops refusing to crown the Queen, were not only not punished for it, but continued to hold their Bishopricks still: and the Arch-bishop of *York* was continued a Privy Counsellor many months after this. This is none of the Claws of the *Lioness*, but rather a slackness and easiness of Clemency, that deserves censure, if it had not been that the Queen resolved to begin her Reign, with the most signal Acts of Mercy that were possible.

Pag. 256. 3. He says, 'Cecil and his Friend *Bacon*, raised vast Estates to them-'selves, and involved the Government into vast Difficulties, and

'brought the Queen's Revenue into great, or rather inextricable 'Confuſion.

This may paſs among Foreigners, and perhaps be believed; but we at home, that when we wiſh for happy Times, and excellent Counſellors, do naturally reflect on the Days of that glorious Queen, and her wiſe Councils, will not be much wrought on by it. The Revenue was never better managed, the Undertakings of the Government were never greater, and the Charge was never leſs. This gives a Character of thoſe Miniſters beyond all exception. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* never raiſed himſelf above that Quality which he brought with him into the Court. And *Cecil* was not advanced above the loweſt Rank of Nobility, tho he was in the chief Miniſtry above thirty Years; and tho they both left good Eſtates behind them, yet far ſhort of what might have been expected after ſo long a courſe in ſuch great and high Employments.

4. He ſays, 'There was an Oath enacted in the Parliament for the 'Queen's Supremacy; and thoſe who refuſed to ſwear it, for the firſt 'Offence were to forfeit their Benefices, and all their Goods, and to be 'Priſoners for Life; the ſecond Offence was made Treaſon. *Pag.* 257.

Such a falſe recital of a printed Act, deſerves a ſeverer Animadverſion than I ſhall beſtow on it. The refuſing that Oath, did infer no other puniſhment, but the forfeiture of Benefices and Offices; and the Parties ſo refuſing, were ſubjected to no other Danger, nor was the Oath to be put to them a ſecond Time. It is true, if any did aſſert the Authority of any Foreign Potentate, that was more penal: Yet that was not as our Author repreſents it; for the firſt Offence there, was a forfeiture of ones Goods; or in caſe of Poverty, one Years Impriſonment: the ſecond Offence brought the Offender within a Premunire: and the third was Treaſon.

5. He ſays, 'The Change that was made, of the Title of *Supream* '*Head*, into that of *Supream Governor*, deceived many; yet others 'thought that the Queen might have thereby aſſumed an Authority for 'Adminiſtring the Sacraments; but to clear all Scruples, ſhe in the firſt 'Viſitation ordered it to be thus explained, that ſhe thereby pretended 'to no more Power than what her Father and Brother had exerciſed. *Pag.* 258.

In the firſt Viſitation ordered by the Queen, there was an Injunction given Explanatory to the Oath of Supremacy; declaring that ſhe did not pretend to any Authority for the Miniſtry of Divine Service in the Church, and challenged nothing, but what had at all times belonged to the Crown of *England*; which was a Soveraignty over all manner of Perſons under God: ſo that no Foreign Power had any Rule over them; and ſo was willing to acquit ſuch as took it in that ſenſe, of all the Penalties in the Act. So that it is plain ſhe aſſumed nothing but the Royal Authority, and was ready to accept of ſuch Explications as might clear all Ambiguities.

6. 'He reckons, among the Laws that were made, this for one, that 'Biſhops ſhould hold their Sees only during the Queen's Pleaſure, and 'exerciſe no other Authority, but only as they derived it from her. *Pag.* 259.

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The Laws he reckons, were those made by King *Henry* now revived; but this Law is falsly recited in both the parts of it: for the Bishops were to hold their Sees, as all others do their Free-holds, without any dependence on the Queen's Pleasure; and were to exercise their Jurisdiction in their own Names, and according to the Ecclesiastical Laws, and were not forced to take Commissions to hold their Bishopricks during the Queen's Pleasure, as had been done both in King *Henry* and King *Edward*'s Time.

Pag. 263. 7. 'After a long discourse against the Queen's Supremacy, he says, 'The Laws concerning it, and other Points of Religion, did pass with 'great difficulty in the House of Lords, all the Bishops opposing them, 'and those Noblemen in particular, who had gone to *Rome* upon the 'Embassy Queen *Mary* sent thither, did very earnestly dissuade it.

It is true, all the Bishops did oppose them, tho both *Tonstal*, *Heath*, *Thirleby*, and some others had consented to, and written for King *Henry*'s Supremacy; which was (at least as to the manner of expressing it) of a higher strain than that to which the Queen did now pretend. They had also submitted to all the Changes that had been made in King *Edward*'s Time. For the Temporal Lords, none dissented from the Act of Supremacy, but the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Viscount *Montacute*, so the opposition was small, where so few entred their Dissents; and of these, only the Viscount *Montacute* had been at *Rome*, sent thither by Queen *Mary*. It is true, the Marques of *Winchester*, and the Lords, *Morley*, *Stafford*, *Dudley*, *Wharton*, *Rich*, and *North*, dissented from the Bill for the Book of Common-Prayer, and some other Acts that related to the Reformation; but these being but few in number, were far short of those that were for them: and it is clear, the Queen left the Peers wholly to their freedom, since the Marques of *Winchester*, notwithstanding his Dissent, continued to hold that great Office of Lord Treasurer, in which he had been put in King *Edward*'s Time, and which he had kept all Queen *Mary*'s Reign, till his Death, fourteen Years after this; this may perhaps be justly censured, as looking too like a remissness in the Matters of Religion, when he that dissented to the Reformation, was yet so long employed in the greatest Trust in the Kingdom; but certainly this is none of the *Claws* to know the *Lioness* by.

Ibid. 8. He says, 'The Queen gave the Earl of *Arundel* some hopes that 'she would marry him, and so perswaded him to consent to the Laws 'now made; but afterwards slighted him, and declared, *she would live* '*and die a Virgin.*

The Journals of Parliament shew how false this is; for the Address was made to the Queen, persuading her to marry; to which she made the Answer set down by our Author, on the *6th* of *February*, and the Act of Supremacy, with the other Acts concerning Religion, passed in *April* thereafter: so that the Queen, after so publick a Declaration of her unwillingness to marry, could not have deluded the Earl of *Arundel* with the hopes of it.

Ibid. 9. He says, 'She wrought on the D. of *Norfolk*, by promising him 'a Dispensation in the Business of his Marriage, which he could not ob-'tain of the Pope.

It

It is not like the Duke of *Norfolk* was denied any ſuch Diſpenſation from *Rome*, nor are there any Diſpenſations granted in *England* for marrying in the forbidden Degrees: Couſin Germans are the neareſt that may marry. The obtaining a Licenſe for that at *Rome*, is a matter of courſe, ſo the Fees are but paid; and the Law allows that to all in *England*. Nor are there any Diſpenſations in Matrimonial Matters, except concerning the Time, the Place, or the asking of Banes; and it is not likely theſe were ever denied to any at *Rome*. As for his long Excurſion concerning that Duke's Death, it not falling within the compaſs of my Hiſtory, I ſhall not follow him in it.

10. He ſays, 'The Proteſtants deſired a publick Diſputation: ſo the 'Queen commanded the Biſhops to make ready for it; they refuſed it a 'great while, ſince that ſeemed to make the Faith of the Church ſubject 'to the judgment of the ignorant Laity; but at laſt they were forced 'to yield to it; and the Points were, Communion in both kinds, 'Prayer in a known Tongue, and the like. *Pag.* 266.

The Act of Council has it otherwiſe: By it we ſee that the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, being then a Privy Councellor, did heartily agree to it, and undertook that the reſt of his Brethren ſhould follow the Orders that were made by the Council concerning it; tho it is not to be denied, but ſome of the Biſhops were ſecretly diſſatisfied with it: as they had good reaſon; ſince a publick Diſputation was like to lay open the weakneſs of their Cauſe, which was never ſo ſafe, as when it was received in groſs, without deſcending to troubleſome Enquiries concerning it. The Communion in both kinds was not one of the Articles.

11. He ſays, '*Bacon* a Lay-man was Judg, the Arch-biſhop of *York* 'ſitting next to him, only for forms-ſake. *Ibid.*

Bacon was not Judg; the whole Privy-Council were preſent to order the Forms of the Debate; and he, as the firſt of that Board, did only give directions, according to the order that had been formerly agreed on.

12. He ſays, 'On the 3*d* of *April* they diſputed, but there was no- 'thing done with Order or Juſtice, the time was ſpent in Declamations, 'while the profane Judg directed all things at his pleaſure, ſo that it 'came to nothing. *Ibid.*

It is true, the Order was broken: But it had been unkindly done of our Author to tell by whom. The Papiſts refuſed the firſt day to give their Reaſons in writing, as had been agreed on before; and as was accordingly done by the Reformed; and upon the ſecond day they refuſed to proceed, unleſs, contrary to what had been concluded, the Reformed ſhould read their Papers firſt: So the Diſputation broke up, it appearing evidently, that the one ſide were not afraid of a publick Hearing, but that the other were.

The CONCLUSION.

I Purſue theſe Calumnies no further, becauſe I cannot offer a Confutation of them, without a larger digreſſion: ſince I break off my Hiſtory in the ſecond Year of this Reign; ſo that I cannot refer the

Reader to thoſe more copious Accounts given by me, as I have done in the former Remarques; where a ſhort hint was ſufficient. And I do not judg it worth the while, to enter into ſuch a full ſearch of theſe Matters, as a Confutation would require, only to expoſe *Riſhton*. Theſe Evidences which I have given of his Ignorance and Injuſtice, will ſatisfy impartial Readers; and I am out of hopes of convincing thoſe that are ſo wedded to an Intereſt, that they are reſolved to believe all that is ſaid of their ſide, how improbable ſoever it may appear, or how ſlenderly ſoever it may be proved.

And now I hope, the Reformation of this Church appears in its true Colours, and the Calumnies by which its Adverſaries have endeavoured ſo long to diſgrace it, are ſo evidently confuted, that they will be no more ſupported by their own ſide, nor ſo tamely aſſented to, by any that in their Hearts may perhaps love the Reformation, and yet are too eaſily prevailed on to drink in the Prejudices that are raiſed by the confidence with which thoſe Slanders have been vented. Now the Matter is better underſtood, and tho at this diſtance, and after the raſure of Records made in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, it muſt be acknowledged that there are many things, either quite paſt over, or ſo defectively related by me, that this Work wants that perfection which were to be deſired. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, beſides the faults of Style, Method, or way of Expreſſion, which may be more juſtly put to my account, tho having done it in the beſt manner I could, I have little to anſwer for, but the preſumption of undertaking a Deſign too high for me to perform with that Life and Perfection that ſuch a Subject required; and even in that, I rather ſubmitted to the Authority of others, who engaged me in it, than vainly fancied my ſelf able to accompliſh it; but after all thoſe Allowances that are neceſſary, of which there can none be more ſenſible than my ſelf, I am not out of hope but this Work may have ſome good effect, on ſuch as ſhall read it impartially and with candor; and that thoſe who are already of our Church, ſhall be induced to like it the better, when they ſee what the beginnings of our Reformation were: and thoſe who are not of our Communion, may the more eaſily be brought into it, when they ſee by what Steps, and upon what Reaſons the Changes were made: and if this Succeſs follows my poor Endeavours, I ſhall think my Time and Pains have been well employed.

I am apprehenſive enough of the Faults I may be guilty of, but I ſhall now give the Reader ſuch an aſſurance of my readineſs to correct them, as ſoon as I am convinced of them, that I hope, if any thing occurs to any that deſerves cenſure, they will communicate it firſt to my ſelf; and if I do not, upon better information, retract what I have written, then I ſhall allow them to make it publick in what manner they pleaſe. And it may be preſumed I will not be for the future unwilling to do this, by the following account of the Miſtakes which I made in the former Part, communicated to me by Mr. *Fulman*, of whom I made mention in the Preface. With theſe I conclude this Work.

Some

Some Miſtakes in the firſt Part of this Hiſtory, communicated to me by Mr William Fulman, *Rector of* Hampton Meyſey *in* Gloceſterſhire.

LOrd *Almoner*] It is queſtionable whether the *Almoner* was then called *Lord*, and more queſtionable whether *Wolſey* were then *Almoner*, when he was thus recommended to the King's Favour; for *Polidore Virgil* who lived in *England* at that time, or very near it, ſays he was Chaplain to King *Henry* the *7th*, and now made Almoner to King *Henry* the *8th*, being before that time Dean of *Lincoln*, made ſo 2 *Feb.* 1508. inſtalled by Proxy, 25 *March* 1509. and perſonally 21 *Auguſt* 1511. and ſo only he is ſtiled in the Univerſity Regiſter, 12 *April* 1510. when he was made Batchelor of Divinity. *P.7. l.10. from bottom.*

Theſe Numbers ſeem queſtionable, the Temporalities of *Lincoln* are ſaid to be reſtored, 4 *March*, 5 *Regni*, *i.e.* 151$\frac{3}{4}$; but then it was done before his Conſecration, which *Godwin* ſays, was the *26th* of *March* that Year. But this might be to give him a right to the mean Profits, by reſtoring the Temporalities before *Lady-day*, though he was not conſecrated till the *26th*. Before *November*, there ſhould be (6) added, for on that day was he tranſlated to *York*. And whereas it is ſaid he had the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, *May* 4. 20 *Regni*, *i.e.* 1528. this muſt be a miſtake, for *Fox*'s Regiſter reaches to the *9th* of *Septemb.* that Year; ſo perhaps it was 4 *March*, 20 *Regni*, *i.e.* in *March* 152$\frac{8}{9}$. 'But I took all theſe Dates 'from the Rolls; and I muſt add one thing, that I have often ſeen cauſe 'to queſtion the exactneſs of the Clerks in the enroling of Dates, though 'it ſeems a preſumption to queſtion the Authority of a Record. *P.8. Marg.*

Here, and in ſeveral other places, as *pag.* 35, 36, 134, 208, 321, it is ſuppoſed, That the next Heir apparent of the Crown was *Prince of Wales*. The Heir apparent of the Crown is indeed Prince, but is not *Prince of Wales*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, unleſs he has it given him by a Creation. And it is ſaid, That there is nothing on Record to prove that any of King *Henry*'s Children were ever created *Prince of Wales*. There are indeed ſome hints of the Lady *Mary*'s being ſtiled Princeſs of *Wales*; for when a Family was appointed for her, 1525. *Veyſey* Biſhop of *Exeter*, her Tutor, was made Preſident of *Wales*. She alſo is ſaid to have kept her Houſe at *Ludlow*; and *Leland* ſays, That *Teken-hill*, an Houſe in thoſe Parts built for Prince *Author*, was repaired for her. And *Tho. Linacre* dedicates his *Rudiments of Grammar* to her, by the Title of *Princeſs of* Cornwal *and* Wales. *P.10. l.16. from bottom.*

Beſides the Letter of Pope *Leo*'s declaring K. *Henry Defender of the Faith*, there was a more pompous one ſent over by P. *Clement* the *7th*, *March* 5. 152$\frac{3}{4}$, which, as is ſuppoſed, granted that Title to his Succeſſors, whereas the firſt Grant ſeems to have been only Perſonal. *P.19. l.26.*

P. 22. l. 2. No wonder there was no Seal to that Grant of King *Edgars*, for Seals were little uſed in *England* before the Conqueſt.

Ibid. l. 10. The Monks were not then ſetled in half the Cathedrals in *England*, their chief Seats were in the Rich Abbeys, that were ſcarce ſubject to the Biſhops.

Ibid. *Marg.* *April* 1524, was not the 14*th* Year of the King's Reign, as it is put on the Margent, but the 15*th*.

P. 44. l. 5. *from bottom.* The Lord *Piercy* was in the Cardinal's Family, rather in a way of Education (not unuſual in thoſe Times) than of Service.

P. 47. l. 12. *from bottom.* The General of the Obſervants in *Spain*, ſeems an improper expreſſion; for the Generals have the government of the whole Order everywhere; yet I find him ſo called in ſome Originals, ſee *Coll. pag.* 22, 23. 'whether it was doue improperly, or whether that Order was then on-'ly in *Spain*, I cannot determine.

P. 56. l. 19. How far the Cardinal had carried the Foundation at *Ipſwich*, it is not known; but it is certain he did never finiſh what he had deſigned at *Oxford*. 'But in this I went according to the Letters Patents, by which 'it appears he had then done his part, and had ſet off both Lands and 'Mony for theſe Foundations.

P. 69. l. 16. *from bottom.* *Campegio's* Son is by *Hall*, none of his Flatterers, ſaid to have been born in Wedlock, *i. e.* before he took Orders. This is alſo confirmed by *Gauricus Genitur.* 24. who ſays, he had by his Wife three Sons and two Daughters.

P. 77. l. 18. *Campegio* might take upon him to direct the Proceſs, as being ſent Expreſs from *Rome*, or to avoid the imputation that might have been caſt on the Proceedings, if *Wolſey* had done it, but he was not the ancienter Cardinal, for *Wolſey* was made alone, *Sept.* 7. 1515. and *Campegio*, with many more, was advanced, *July* 1. 1517.

P. 81. l. 32. The Lord *Herbert* ſays, the King gave him only the uſe of *Richmond*, which is more probable.

P. 82. l. 6. The Cardinal died *Novemb.* 29. as moſt Writers agree; ſo it is wrong ſet in the *Hiſtory* the 28, and in the Picture 26 for 29.

P. 85. l. 21. This Book is in the end of it, ſaid to be printed 1530, in *April*; but it ſeems an Error, for 1531: for the Cenſures of the Univerſities, which are printed in, and mentioned in ſeveral places of it, do all bear date after that *April*, except thoſe made by theſe of *Oxford* and *Orleans*.

from bottom, p. 86. What is ſaid concerning the Author of the *Antiquities* of *Oxford*, has been much complained of by him. 'I find he has Authorities for what 'he ſaid, but they are from Authors whoſe Manuſcripts he peruſed, who 'are of no better Credit than *Sanders* himſelf, ſuch as *Harpsfield*, and 'others of the like Credit. And I am ſatisfied, that he had no other De-

'ſign

'sign in what he writ, but to set down things as he found them in the 'Authors whom he made use of.

Calvin's Epistle seems not to belong to this Case, for besides that, he was then but 21, and tho he was a Doctor of the Law, and had often preached before he was 24, for then he set out *Seneca de Clementia*, with Notes on it; Yet this was too soon to think he could have been consulted in so great a Case. That Epistle seems to relate to a Prince who was desirous of such a Marriage, and not of dissolving it; though it is indeed strange, that in treating of that Question, he should make no mention of so famous a Case as that of King *Henry*, which had made so much noise in the World. *p.* 92.

The Letter dated the 8*th* of *Decemb.* should have been mentioned immediately after that of the 5*th*, being but three days after it, and the Appeal that followed should have been set down after it. It were also fit to publish the Appeal it self, for the power of Appealing was a Point much controverted. Pope *Pius* the 2*d* condemned it 1549; yet it was used by the *Venetians* 1509, and by the University of *Paris*, *March* 27. 1517. *P.* 110. *l.* 22.

Pool, as Dean of *Exeter*, is said to have been one of the Lower House of Convocation; which doth not agree with the Conjecture, *p.* 129. that the Deans at that time sat in the Upper House of Convocation. *P.* 113. *l.* 4.

These sent by the King to *Rome*, came thither in *February*, not in *March*; and the Articles they put in were 27, not 28, as it is there said. These, with other small Circumstances, appear from a Book then printed of these Disputes. *P.* 120. *l.* 8.

If *Cranmer* was present at *Ann Boleyn*'s Marriage, which was certainly in *Novemb.* *Warham* having died in *August* before, he could not have delayed his coming to *England* six months. *Antiq. Brit.* says, he followed the Emperor to *Spain*; but *Selden* says, that the Emperor went no further than *Mantua* this Year, and sailed to *Spain* in *March* following; and *Cranmer* could not go then with him, for he was consecrated not on the 13*th* of *March*, (which is an Error) but on the 30*th* of *March*. *P.* 126. *l.* 11.

The order in which these Books were published, is not observed, they were thus printed. *P.* 137. *l.* 10.

1. *De vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis & Ecclesiasticæ*, (written by *Edw. Fox* Bishop of *Hereford*) 1534.

2. *De vera Obedientia*, (by *Stephen Gardiner*) 1535. set out with *Bonner*'s Preface before it, in *Jan.* 1536.

3. *The Institution of a Christian Man*, 1537. which was afterwards reduced into another Form, under another Title, *viz. A Necessary Doctrine, and Erudition for any Christian Man*, 1540. But there was another written before all these.

De potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis contra Pontificis Tyrannidem; and the distinction there made between the Bishop's Book, and

and the King's Book ſeems not well applied. It is more probable that the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, ſet out by the Biſhops, was called their Book; and that being afterwards put in another Method, and ſet out by the King's Authority, it was called his Book.

P.150. l.19. *Bocking* is called a Canon of *Chriſts-Church* in *Canterbury*. But there were then no Canons in that Church, they were all Monks.

P.158. l.6. The Biſhops Suffragans were before common in *England*, ſome Abbots, or rich Clergy-Men, procuring under Forreign, or perhaps feigned Titles, that Dignity; and ſo performing ſome parts of the Epiſcopal Function, in large or neglected Dioceſſes; ſo the Abbot or Prior of *Tame* was one, *Gol. p.* 148. Such was *Robert King* Abbot of *Oſeney*, after Biſhop of *Oxford*; and *Thom. Corniſh* a Reſidentiary of *Wells*, who by the name of *Thomas Epiſcopus Tinenſis*, did confer Orders, and performed other Epiſcopal Functions for *Fox* while he was Biſhop of *Exeter*, from 1487, to 1492. and afterwards, when he was Biſhop of *Wells*, as appears by both thoſe Regiſters: He died in the Year 1513. Of this I could give more Inſtances if it were neceſſary.

P.202.l.5,6. It is ſaid, ſome were judged to be Hanged, and others to be Beheaded. But this being a Caſe of Treaſon, the Judgments muſt have been the ſame, tho executed in different ways, by order from the King. 'This 'I copied from Judg *Spelman*'s Common-Place Book.

P.203. l.21. The Original Declaration ſhould have been ſet down, 'but I thought 'that not neceſſary, for the L. *Herbert* has publiſhed it, only he forgot 'to add the Subſcription to it, which I ought to have mentioned in its 'proper place, but it eſcaped me, and therefore I do it here.

P.206. l.24. *Andre' Thevet*, a French Franciſcan, who writ ſome Years after this an Univerſal Coſmography, ſays, *Lib.* 16. *cap.* 5. That he was aſſured, by divers Engliſh Gentlemen, that King *Henry* at his Death, among his other Sins, repented in particular of the wrong he had done the Queen, in deſtroying her by a falſe Accuſation. And tho *Thuanus* makes him an Author of no Credit, yet there is no reaſon to ſuſpect him in this Particular, for Writers ſeldom lye againſt their Intereſt; and the Franciſcan Order had ſuffered ſo much for their adhering to Queen *Katherine*'s Intereſts, in oppoſition to *Ann Boleyn*, that it is not likely one of that Order would have ſtrained a Point to tell an honourable Story of her. This was made uſe of in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, to vindicate her Memory; ſee *Saravia Tract. cont. Bezam. cap.* 2. *verſus finem.*

P.220.l.4,5. The King's Proteſtation was not publiſhed till about eight or nine months after that was obtained, which you there mention, which was the 20*th* of *July*, 1536. And in the Proteſtation, mention is made of the putting off the Council from *May* to *Novemb.* 1537. which came out in *April* or *May* that Year. And in *April* 1538. the King ſet out another Proteſtation againſt a Bull for the Council at *Vincenza*, which is not mentioned in the Hiſtory.

Pool

Pool lived at *Padua* long before this time, and not after it, (as *Antiq. Brit.* from whom it is vouched has it) but that Society of Learned Men was now removed to *Rome*, whither *Pool* ſeems to have gone to them. P.221. l.10.

No wonder *Cheſter* was not here mentioned, ſince it was erected before. And ſo it might well be, tho the Charter for the preſent Foundation bears date after; for the former might be ſurrendred and cancelled, probably becauſe of ſome mention made in it of the Pope's Bull, of which you ſpeak *p.* 121. P.263. l.7.

Fox adds another Paſſage of that Diſcourſe between *Cromwel* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, which perhaps offended him much; that he was never ſo far in love with *Wolſey*, as to have waited on him to *Rome*, as he underſtood the Duke of *Norfolk* would have done. P.265. l.17. *from bottom.*

Coventry and *Litchfield* were never two different Biſhopricks, but two different Seats of the ſame See, which had ſometimes a third at *Cheſter.* P.228. l.23.

This was no deſigned interview; but *Charles* hearing of the Tumult at *Ghent*, went from *Spain* to *Flanders*, through *France*, as his neareſt way, and was met by *Francis* at *Loches* in *Berry*, and not at *Paris.* P. 272. l.1.

Cromwel was then Dean of *Wells*, and that was the reaſon of the *Proviſo.* P.279. l.20.

Hall and L. *Herbert* ſay, This was on the 25*th*, which you put on the 24*th* of *June.* P.280. l.5.

He in that place belongs to the King named before; ſo it ſhould have been expreſſed, that it is *Bonner* that is here meant. P. 297. *from bottom.*

It was not neceſſary to reſtore the Lord *Cromwel* in Blood, for he was made a Baron, when his Father was made an Earl, ſo that his Blood was not corrupted by his Fathers Attaindor. P.312. l.12.

Interludes were not then brought in firſt to Churches, but had been uſed in the Times of Popery, the greateſt part of their Religion being placed in outward Shews, ſo that theſe did well enough agree with it; and ſuch Repreſentations are yet in uſe ſometimes in the Roman Church, ſo that, by which they had formerly entertained the People, was now turned on themſelves. P.318. l.8.

Fox ſets down a Confeſſion of *Anne Askews*, (perhaps *Aſcough* was her right Name, for ſo is the Name of the Family in *Lincolnſhire* written) in which ſhe her ſelf relates this Paſſage of the Lord Chancellors racking her with his own hands; ſo there is no reaſon to queſtion the truth of it; and *Parſons*, who detracts as much from *Fox*'s Credit as he can, does not queſtion this particular. P.342. l.1.

The

P.344. l.10. The Story concerning *Cranmer*, muſt belong to the former Year, for *Butts* that bore a ſhare in it, died on the 17*th* of *Novemb.* 1545. as appears by the Inſcription on his Tomb-ſtone in *Fulham*-Church: So this Paſſage being after the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Death, which was in *Auguſt* that Year; this muſt be placed between *Auguſt* and *Novemb.* 1545.

P. 346. l. 6. The Earl of *Surrey* had not lived long a Widower, for his youngeſt Son, afterwards Earl of *Northampton*, is ſaid to have been at nurſe at his Father's Death.

P.355. l. 17. *from bottom.* The Year of Sir *Tho. More*'s Birth is not certain; by *Eraſmus* his Reckoning, it was in the Year 1479, if not higher; others ſay it was 1480; and other 1484.

P.359. l.30. *William Peyto: Thuanus* calls him *William*, and ſays, he was *Loci Ignobilis*; but his true Name, by which he was made Cardinal, was *Peter*; whether he was ſo Chriſtened, or aſſumed it only when he became a Friar, is not certain. He was deſcended from an Ancient and Eminent Family in *Warwick-ſhire*, yet remaining.

P.204. l.14. *from bottom.* *And not many of theſe.* Here ſeems to be a word or more wanting; 'It is wanting in the Original, but it ſhould have been ſupplied by a 'conjecture on the Margent; *Armed* ſeems to be the word that agrees 'beſt to the ſenſe.

FINIS.

A Table of the Records and Papers that are in the *Collection*, with which the Places in the *History* to which they relate are marked; the first Number, with the Letter *C.* is the Page of the *Collection*; the second with the Letter *H.* is the Page of the *History*.

	C.	H.
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